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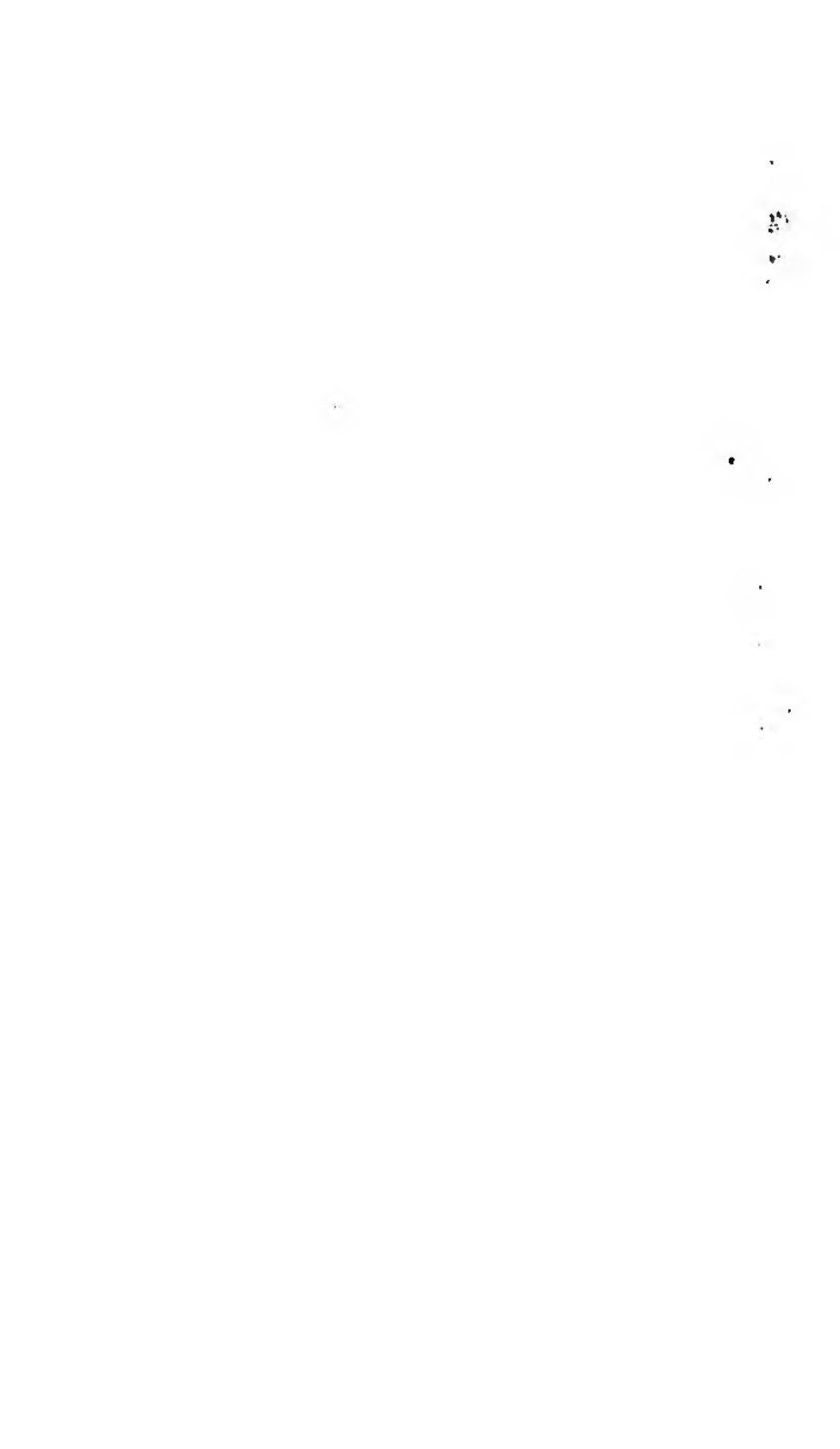
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9 April 1897

READINGS  
ON  
THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE



READINGS  
ON THE  
PURGATORIO OF DANTE

CHIEFLY BASED ON  
THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO  
DA IMOLA

BY THE  
HON<sup>BLE</sup>. WILLIAM WARREN VERNON M.A.

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With an Introduction

BY THE LATE  
VERY REV. DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL II

SECOND EDITION REVISED AND ENLARGED

London  
MACMILLAN AND CO. LIMITED  
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY  
1897

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Author,  
the  
Dante Soc.

DRYDEN PRESS

SAVY AND SONS, 137, LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.



# THE PURGATORIO.

VOL. II.

## CANTO XVI.

THE THIRD CORNICE (*continued*).—THE PUNISHMENT OF THE ANGRY.—MARCO LOMBARDO.—FREE WILL.—THE CORRUPTION OF THE WORLD.—DETERIORATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF LOMBARDY.

**T**HE latter part of the last Canto was devoted to the consideration of how to avoid the sin of Anger. The present Canto treats mainly of its expiation.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In Division I*, from v. 1 to v. 24, the penalty of the Angry is described.

*In Division II*, from v. 25 to v. 51, Dante converses with the spirit of Marco Lombardo, who during his lifetime had been exceedingly prone to anger.

*In Division III*, from v. 52 to v. 114, Dante questions Marco about some remarks that had fallen from

vision I. Dean Plumptre says: "The opening of the Canto are deliberately chosen. The punishment of Wrath is to be in Hell, with all its blackness, its bitterness and foulness. In the various methods which Dante depicts, we may find which he had found effective in his own life. To keep close to the highest human ideal in its calmness was something, but the prayer was found in the *Agnus Dei*, which they heard at every Mass and Litany. Of all the passions Anger was the most difficult for an Italian to control, with its tendencies to the proverbial *zozz* and *zozz*, and Dante's letter to Henry VII against the Florentines, and the immediately preceding Canto show how strong a hold it had on him, even about the time that he was writing this Canto."

Mr. Plumptre considers Dante happy in his mode of purgation of Wrath. The Angry man is depicted as doing penance in the midst of a black and foul smoke, so that one can never discern anything in it. Now smoke is produced by fire, and Anger is a kind of fire, for it

this sin must well understand its nature and property, for it both extinguishes the light of reason, and chokes it, as it were, in smoke.

Dante begins by stating that he never saw darkness equal to this in which he now finds himself enwrapped; neither that through which he has passed in lowest Hell, nor any darkness that he has known in the world. The effect of the smoke is so pungent, as to compel him to close his eyes.

Buio d' inferno e di notte privata  
 D' ogni pianeta sotto pover cielo,\*  
 Quant' esser può di nuvol tenebrata,  
 Non fece al viso mio sì grosso velo,†  
 Come quel fumo ch' ivi ci coperse,  
 Nè a sentir di così aspro pelo;  
 Chè l' occhio stare aperto non sofferse:  
 Onde la scorta mia saputa e fida‡  
 Mi s' accostò, e l' omero m' offerse.

5

\* *sotto pover cielo* "Allora si dice povero lo cielo quando alcuna luca, nè chiarezza à; e così, fatto cielo quando à di sotto di se notte, l' àe più oscura che quello che àe alcuna luce." *Luti*, *Cesari Bellezze*, vol. II, p. 286 explains the word well: "quel pover cielo adorta l' immagine, mostrando miseria (*misericordie*) d' ogni filo di lame. Anche i Latini usarono come *inops*, operativo questo *inops*, daendo *inops aquae*, *inops animi* (*inoprago* sto), *inops nubi* (che non sa partito da prendere). *inops*." So *Stanzini* takes *pover* to refer to the limited amount of light that one can see when looking up from a narrow valley.

† *sì grosso velo* Benvenuto commends this simile, for he says that a veil is usually both light and transparent, so that a person wearing it can both see through it, breathe through it, and feel of a soft texture to the skin; whereas this smoke blinded the eyes, choked the breath, and irritated the skin. "And note, how exactly Dante has represented this, for, in truth, no sin is unpunished among the living, or is punished in Hell among the dead, when so much darkens the eyes of the intellect as Anger; and therefore he has done well to depict the angry in Hell tearing and rending each other barbarously with their teeth."

‡ *saputa e fida*: But thinks Virgil here represents theoretic



slave himself, though he did not omit to entrust the correction to another.

Dante takes advantage of Virgil's proffered assistance, and draws close up to him.

Si come cieco va dietro a sua guida 10

Per non smarrirsi, e per non dar di cozzo

In cosa che il molesti, o forse ancida ;

M' andava io per l' aere amaro e sozzo.\*

Ascoltando il mio Duca che diceva

Pur: --"Guarda, che da me tu non sie mozzo."-- 15

Even as a blind man goes behind his guide in order not to go astray, or to knock against aught that may hurt or even kill him, so went I through that pungent and foul air, listening to my Leader, who merely said: "Take heed that thou dost not get parted from me."

Benvenuto points out that the angry man is worse off than the blind, for the latter only loses his bodily sight, while his mental perception is preserved to him and even rendered more sensitive, but the angry man loses the light of Reason. According to Livy, the Romans fought against the Samnites with such ferocity that their eyes literally seemed to blaze, and such was their fury that, after they had won the victory, they turned their swords against the horses.

Dante now describes the devout prayer of the shades of the Angry.

\* *amaro e sozzo*: Fratseili's comments on these two words: "*Amaro* peccato aere a respirarsi: ~~sozzo~~, se che annerito dal fumo." Dante uses *acerbo* in the same sense, as applied to *summo*, in *Inf.* ix, 75.

"Per in li ove quel summo è piu acerbo."

Compare Virg. *Æn.* xii, 587, 588:

"Inclusas ut cum latebrosa in punice pastor  
Vestigavit apes, fumoque implevit amaro."

Si che pareva tra esse ogni concordia.

I heard voices, and each appeared to be praying peace and for mercy to the Lamb of God, that take away sins. *Agnus Dei* was their only prelude. It was (but) one word and one measure for them all that there appeared among them complete agreement. I were uttering the same prayer, which they were chanting in unison to the same intonation; in a monotone.

*peccata* for *peccati*. Nannucci: *Teorica dei Nomi*, that in the early days of the Italian language, there was an indecision as to the terminations to be adopted for the plurals of nouns of masculine gender. It is stated giving to the plurals of nouns of masculine gender the same termination in *i* that they had in Latin. The termination in *a* to others that were derived from Latin. In the first instance they used to say *i reperi*, *i regni*, *i fundamenta*, *gli edificata*, etc. But a few examples of the termination in *a*, that it is not so common, it very soon fell into complete disuse. Nannucci gives examples from early writers of *i reperi* in Fra Guittone; *laucarone* di Messer Boccione; *ii peccata* from *Vita di S. Maria Maddalena*; *i dimenti* from the *Sermo di Fra Giordano*; *i mogliera* from Fra Guittone, etc.

*Le loro exordia*: Dante must have used the Latin word of *exordium* here. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* iv, 284.  
"que prima exordia sumat!"

*Una parola in tutte era*, etc. "Anger throws between two souls, and the wrathful man is not only a peaceable folk, but as much, and even more, will be like himself. Now, as according to Dante's

Benvenuto thinks the above passage to mean, that whereas in life these spirits were ever seeking each other's destruction, they now ever pray for their common liberation.

Dante, eager to know who these are, asks Virgil, who explains to him that they are the spirits who have to purge themselves from Anger, that hard knot, which binds a man and deprives him of his power to fly up to God.

— "Quei sono spirti, Maestro, ch' l'odo?"—

Diss' io. Ed egli a me : - " Tu vero apprendi,  
E d' iracondia van solvendo il nodo. \*"

"Master," said I, "are those spirits that I hear?"  
And he to me "Thou apprehendest truly, and they  
go loosening the knot of Anger."

*Division II* Dante is now addressed by one of the spirits in the smoke, who, though invisible to Dante, has heard his conversation with Virgil, and surmising that he is mortal, asks him who he is, while at the same time he reveals to Dante his own identity. Dante's question to Virgil, "Are those spirits that I hear?" would convince the spirit at once that it was not one like himself who spoke. It is the spirit of Marco Lombardo, or Marco the Lombard, of whom more anon.

— "Or tu chi se', che il nostro fummo fendi,

25

E di noi parli pur come se tue

\* *d'iracondia . . . il nodo*: Scartazzini observes that the sin of Anger binds the Angry like a knot and prevents them from flying up to God. Compare *Prov* v 22 "His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sin." And *Isaiah*, v, 18: "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope.



Partissi ancor lo tempo per calendî?\*"—

Così per una voce detto fue.

"Now who art thou, who art cleaving our smoke, and yet speakest of us, as though thou didst still portion out the time by calendîs?" Thus was it spoken by a single voice.

Marco means to ask Dante if he is a mortal man: as in Purgatory the spirits do not count time at all. Benvenuto thinks he had probably felt a movement in the black smoky air, caused by Dante's mortal body, besides having heard his voice.

Dante, in obedience to Virgil's commands, invites Marco to accompany them, in the same way that Sordello had done before. Marco explains, that he may not go beyond the smoke, but with that reservation he will go with the Poets.

Onde il Maestro mio disse — "Rispondi,  
E domanda se quinci si va sue."—

30

Ed io: "O creatura,† che ti mondi,  
Per tornar ‡ bella a colui che ti fece,

\* *calendî*. The *Vita della Crusca* says that this plural word has indifferently the form *calendî* or *calendîs*, and what generally signifying the first day of the month, is sometimes, as in this passage, used figuratively to signify a month. Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* canto xxxvi, 27.

"E ben gli disse l'anno e le calendî."

† *O creatura, che ti mondi*. Gioberti admires the appropriate and courteous *creatura* with which Dante pretfers his addresses to some of the spirits in Purgatory. Compare *Purg.* xiii, 85-87:

"O gente secura,"

Incominciu, 'd'averer l'alto lame

Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura," etc

‡ *Per tornar*. Compare Eccles. vii, 7. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Compare also ll. 88-90 of this Canto:

"L'anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,

Salvo che, mosso da lieto fattore,

Volentier torna a ciò che la trastalla."

Maraviglia udrai se mi secondi."—

— "Io ti seguirò quanto mi lece,"—

Rispose; — "e se veder fummo non lascia,

35

L'udir ci terrà giunti in quella vece."—

Whereupon my Master said to me: "Answer thou, and ask if it is in that direction that one ascends." And I: "O Being that art making thyself pure, so as to return beautiful to Him Who created thee, if thou wilt accompany me, thou shalt hear a marvellous thing." "I will follow thee," he answered, "for so far as it is permitted me; and if the smoke permits not our seeing, in its stead shall hearing keep us together."

In obedience to this invitation, tacitly expressed by Marco, Dante tells him he is alive, and, in so many words, begs him not to be astonished at his walking alive through Purgatory, as he has already passed alive through Hell. Benvenuto thinks his words are equivalent to saying: "In my toilsome journey through Hell I acquired the knowledge which I sought of my sins, and now I am going to get them purged away in Purgatory."

Allora incominciai.—"Con quella fascia \*

Che la morte dissolve † men vo suso,

E venni qui per la infernale ambascia;

E se ‡ Dio m'ha in sua grazia rchiuso

40

\* By *fascia* Dante means the mortal body, which is man's swathing-band or integument while he is alive.

† *deum* &c. Compare II *Cor.* v, 1. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. And II *Tim.* iv, 6 (in the *Vulgate*). "Ego enim jam delibor, et tempus resolutionis meae instat."

‡ *se*: Benvenuto says that *se* is here to be taken in the sense of *quasi*, and scatters in that it is not conditional but declarative, and he cites several examples of its use in the sense of *because*, *since*, etc. Compare *Petrus*, n. part. n. son. lxxxviii, st. 2.

\* *Dammi, Signor, che l'mio dir gianga al segno,*

Then I began: "With those swathing bands  
 body) which death will (hereafter) dissolve I am  
 my way upwards, and I have come hither thro'  
 the anguish of Hell, and since God has so graciously  
 enfolded me in His Grace, as to will that I should  
 behold His Court, by a mode entirely foreign to  
 modern usage, do not hide from me who thou art  
 before thy death, but tell it me, and tell me also  
 am on the right way to the pass (above), and let  
 words be our escort."

aticelli explains line 42 to mean that the vision is  
 is totally different to the usual routine, which re-  
 quire death to precede the possibility of ascent to  
 Heaven, but Benvenuto, Lana and Buti all interpret  
 et the passage as meaning that, under the influence of  
 the earlier Renaissance, it had gone completely out  
 of fashion for poets to describe a vision if they  
 had ascended up to Heaven. Besides Æneid and  
 Paul, there were many records of a like pilgrimage

Delle sue lode, ove per sè non sale ;  
 Se vera, se beata non ebbe eguale  
 Il mondo, he d'aver lei non fu degno.  
 Purg. xx, 37-39  
 "Non fu senza mercè la tua parola,  
 Non fu torto a compier sì cammin torto  
 Di quella via che al termine sc'la.

in the visions of ancient monks and hermits, as for instance, St. Alberigo and St. Brandan.

Marco now names himself; but whether we are to understand his name to be Marco Lombardo, in the sense understood by Boccaccio, who calls him *Marco di Co' de' Lombardi da Vinegia*, or whether simply as an Italian from Lombardy, it is not easy (says Lubin) to determine. There are different accounts about him. We may at once dismiss the idea of his being the navigator Marco Polo, who survived Dante, and died 1323. All seem to agree that he was a Venetian nobleman, a man of wit and learning, and a friend of Dante. *L' Ottimo* tells us that nearly all he gained, he spent in charity. Benvenuto that he was a man of a noble mind, but disdainful, and easily moved to anger. Buti that he was a Venetian, and his name was Marco Daga; he was a very learned man, had many political virtues, and was very courteous, giving to poor noblemen all that he gained, and he gained much, for he was a courtier, and was much beloved for his virtue, and much was given him by the nobility; and as he gave to those who were in need, so he lent to all who asked him. And when he was at the point of death, having much still owing to him, he made a will, and, among other bequests, this, that whoever owed him aught, should not be held to pay the debt, "Let whoever has," said he, "keep."\*

\* The following anecdote of Marco is related in the *Novellino* (Novella xxxvii) "Marco Lombardo fue uno nobre uomo di corte e molto savio. Fu a un Natale a una città dove si donavano molte robe, e non ebbe nezia. Trovo un altro uomo di corte, lo quale era nesiente persona appo Marco, e avea avute robe *had received Christmas gifts*. Di questo naeque una

Having answered Dante's first question by telling him who he was, Marco then answers his second question as to the correctness of the way the Poets are pursuing, and then adds a petition on his account.

— " Lombardo fui, e fui chiamato Marco :  
 Del mondo seppi,\* e quel valore amai  
 Al quale ha or ciascun disteso l' arco †  
 Per montar su ‡ drittamente via."—  
 Così rispose ; e soggiunse — " Io ti prego 50  
 Che per me preghi, quando su sarai"—

" I was a Lombard (or, one of the Lombardi family) and was called Marco. I knew (the ways) of the world, and I loved that virtue (from aiming) at which now-a-days has every one unstrung his bow : for mounting upwards thou art going rightly.' Thus he answered, and added " I beseech thee that when thou shalt be above (i.e., in Paradise), thou wilt pray for me.'

*Division III.* In the long and difficult passage which now follows, Dante, having heard Marco deploring the open hostility to virtue, and the general corruption that prevailed throughout all Italy, and

bella sentenza; ch'è quello giullare *buffoon* disse a Marco 'che è co. Marco, ch' i ho avuto sette robe tu non muna? E se' troppo (*it is not a little*) migliore a me e più sano ch' io non sono.' E Marco rispose "non è arto, se non che tu trovasti più di tuoi ch' io di miei. (*it only means, that you found more portions of your stamp, i.e. fools, than I of mine, i.e. wise men.*)"

\* *Del mondo seppi.* Biagioli: "seppi i bei costumi, usi, e negozi del mondo"

† *disteso l' arco.* *Tendere l' arco* means "to bend a bow," *distendere l' arco* is the contrary, namely "to unbend, to unstring a bow."

‡ *Per montar su.* Notice the difference between the meanings of *su* in this line, which means up to the Fourth Cornice, and l. 51, where *quando su sarai* means when thou shalt have reached Paradise.

remembering also the words of Guido del Duca on the same subject (Canto xiv), asks Marco why this is so. He prefaces his question by a propitiatory assurance that, when he reaches Heaven, he will do what Marco had asked him.

Ed io a lui :—" Per fede mi ti lego  
 Di far ciò che mi chiedi ; ma io scoppio  
 Dentro a un dubbio, s' io non me ne spiego.\*  
 Prima era scempio,† ed ora è fatto doppio 55  
 Nella sentenza tua, che mi fa certo  
 Qui ed altrove, quello ov' io l' accoppio.

And I to him : " I pledge thee my faith to perform what thou askest me ; but I am hursting with an inward doubt, if I do not free myself of it. It was at first a simple (doubt), and now it has become a double one, from thine (expression of) opinion, which both here (in thy words) and elsewhere (in Guido's) has made that (doubt) into a certainty, when I couple the two together.

Dante shows here how greatly the reiteration by Marco of opinions previously expressed by Guido del Duca has influenced him to ask the question. The two opinions of Marco and Guido put together seem

\* *s' io non me ne spiego*. But explains this. " Creperci, s' io non l' aprisse, e però dice *s' io non me ne spiego, e o' s' io non me ne dimiario, cioè s' io non me ne aprò e spaccio, che sono amplito in esso.*" The *Voc. della Crusca*, s. v. *spiegare*, § 5, says: "E. n. s. m. neutr. pass. *Liberarsi*," and quotes this passage in illustration.

† *Prima era scempio, et seq.* Biagioli thinks the words should be taken in the following order: " il mio dubbio era scempio prima che tu mi parlassi, ora è fatto doppio nella (ovvero per la) sentenza tua, la quale, qui (nelle cose udite qui da te), ed altrove (in quelle udite altrove, nel precedente Canto), mi fa certo (mi dimostra esser un fatto certo) quello (l' udito altrove ov' io l' accoppio) al quale lo unisco." *Scempio* is derived from the Latin *simplex*, and the *Voc. della Crusca* says of it: "Contrario di doppio."

to harmonize, so as to strengthen in Dante's mind the doubt as to whence comes such great wickedness in men, whether from celestial influences or from innate corruption.

I follow Benvenuto in referring *quello* in l. 57 to *dubbio*; "*che mi fa certo quello, scilicet dubium; ita quod si primo credebam, nunc videor mihi certus.*"

Dante now tells Marco what is this doubt of his, and he repeats and confirms Marco's previously uttered lament, that virtue is so banished from the world.

Lo mondo è ben così tutto deserto  
 D' ogni virtute, come tu mi suone,\*  
 È di malizia gravido e coperto: †  
 Ma prego che m' aditi ‡ la cagione,  
 Sì ch' io la veggia, e ch' io la mostri altrui;  
 Chè nel cielo uno, ed un quaggiù la pone."—

\* *come tu mi suone*. Buti "cioè, come tu, Marco, mi dici ne la tua sentenza." *Suonare* has various meanings, but nearly all are in the neuter sense. In the active sense, however, Dante uses it to signify "to proclaim, celebrate." See *Purg.* xi, 109-111.

† *Colui, che del cammin s, poco piglia*  
 Dinanzi a me, Toscana sono tutta,  
 Ed ora a pena in Siena senispiglia."

And *Inf.* iii, 129.

‡ *Ben puoi saper omai che il suo dir suona.*"

† *coperto*. Benvenuto observes that wickedness grows much in the same way that tares spread quickly all over a field, and choke the good wheat. Compare *Job*, vi, 35: "They conceive mischief, and bring forth variety, and their belly prepareth deceit." And *1 John*, v, 19. "The whole world lieth in wickedness."

‡ *m' aditi*. Buzioli says: "propriamente *aditare* è mostrare, accompagnando l'atto col cenno del dito, puossi distinguere di questo accidente; ma gli resta pur non so che forza di più del semplice *mostrare*. *Aditare* is the regular idiomatic word for "to point out," in Tuscany. "Would you point out to me 's *Madonna dell' S. Siggiola*?" "Mi vorrebbe *aditare* la *Madonna* della *Seggiola*."

The world is in truth, as utterly devoid of all virtue, as thou tellest me, and is pregnant with all wickedness and overspread by it : but I beg of thee to point out to me the cause, in order that I may discern it, and explain it to others ; for one places it in heaven (*i. e.*, the planets), and another places it down here (*i. e.*, on earth).

This last clause means that sin comes to Man by his free will. This latter (says Benvenuto) is the healthy opinion, the true one to be cultivated by all, whereas, to ascribe the wickedness of men to planetary influences is altogether erroneous.\*

Marco answers Dante's question at considerable length, but he begins by uttering a deep sigh, as though he would say (thinks Benvenuto) : " O what a wrong and mischievous opinion this is of ascribing the wickedness of the world to the influence of heavenly bodies."

Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in " hui," †

Mise fuor prima, e poi cominciò — " Frate, 65

Lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui.

\* On this erroneous belief, see Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, Paris, 1839, p. 135. " Une opinion commune et trompeuse attribue tous nos actes à des astres, comme si le ciel entraînant tous les êtres dans une direction nécessaire. Le ciel exerce sans doute une sorte d'initiative sur la plupart des mouvements de notre sensibilité ; mais cette initiative peut rencontrer en nous une résistance qui, laborieuse d'abord, devient invincible après avoir fidèlement combattu. Une puissance plus grande, celle de Dieu, agit sur nous sans nous contraindre. En nous-même, cette partie meilleure de nous-mêmes, qui n'est point soumise aux influences du ciel. Il nous a départi la volonté libre et ce don, le plus excellent, le plus digne de sa bonté, le plus précieux à ses regards, toutes les créatures intelligentes, et elles seules, l'ont reçu."

† *Hui*. The *Vita della Crusca* has: *Hui*. Quella voce, che si chiama hui, per qualche dolore. Lat. *heu*. Greek *φῆ*. Buti comments upon it: " Duolo strinse in *Hui*, imperocchè non



A deep sigh which grief wrung into "Ah me!" he first heaved forth, and then began: "Brother, the world is blind, and thou in truth comest from it."

Benvenuto says, in proof of the world being blind, that many who are reputed great sages, were in that blind ignorance, that they took everything as coming from necessity, not perceiving that things foreseen by God can be altered by the exercise of the Free Will that He has given to man. In like manner Cicero, in wishing to avoid one error, fell into another, for he denied Providence, for which St. Augustine censures him severely in his book, *De Civitate Dei*.

Benvenuto also comments on the words *e tu vien ben da lui*, by supposing Marco to say: "And thou evidently comest from this world of blindness, for thou admittest that this doubt is so great in thy mind that thou art nearly bursting with it."

Marco next explains what is this doubt of the blind

Voi che vivete, ogni cagion recate \*  
 Pur suso al ciel, così come se tutto  
 Movesse seco di necessitate †

comp. di mettere fuori tutto il sospito, ma finite in questa voce *dua*, che è *interiectio delictus*, cioè voce che significa *discreta*. The modern Italian form is *ohimè!* Compare Ovid, *Metam.* x. 215, 216

"Ipse suos gemitus solus inscribit et AIAI  
 Flos habet inscriptum"

and Tasso *Ger. Livr.* xi. st. 96.

"Alm<sup>o</sup> sorgando un luzzimoso rivo,  
 In un languido omè proruppe"

\* *cagion recate . . . al ciel*. In Homer, *Odys.* i. 32-34, Jove is made to say:

"ὦ νόστοι, νόστον δὲ ἐν θεοῖσι βροτῶν ἀντιβροτῶν  
 Ἐξ ἡμεῶν γὰρ φασὶν εἶναι τῶντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ αἰετοὶ  
 Σφῆραι ἀνασθάλονται ἵππερ μῆρον βλάψῃ Ἰχθυοῖσι"

† *di necessitate*. We find in Boethius, *Consol. Philos.* v. Pros. 11. "Sed in hac humentium sibi serie causarum, est ne ulla

Ye who are living, assign every cause up to the heavens only, as though they of necessity moved all things with themselves.

Benvenuto states that Seneca used often to quote a saying of the ancient Stoic philosopher Cleanthes: *Fata volentem ducunt, nolentem trahunt*, which is the exact opposite of the erroneous views which Marco censures, for Cleanthes shows that some future things are necessary, from having their predeterminate causes, as for instance that man must die, that the Sun must rise to-morrow; while other things may depend on some contingency which may or may not take place

nostræ arbitrii libertas, an ipsos quoque humanorum motus animarum fatalis catena constringit? Est inquit. Neque enim fore ut ulla rationalis natura quam eidem libertas adsit arbitrii. Nam quod rat. one uti naturaliter potest, id habet iudicium quo quodque discernat per se. igitur fugienda optandave dignoscit. Quod vero quis optandum iudicat esse, petit; refugit vero quod existimat esse fugiendam. Quare quibus inest ratio, ipsis etiam inest valendi nolendique libertas. Sed hanc non in omnibus æquam esse constituto. Nam supernis divinisque substantiis et participat iudicium, et incorrupta voluntas, et efficax optatorum præsto est potestas. Humanas vero animas liberiores quidem esse necesse est: cum se in mentis divine speculatione conservant: minus vero cum dislabantur ad corpora, minusque etiam, cum terrenis artibus colligantur. Extrema vero est servitus, cum vitis dedite, rationis propriæ possessione ceciderint. Nam ubi oculos a summe luce veritatis ad inferiora, et tenebrosa decesserint, mox inscitæ nube caligant, perniciosus turbantur affectibus; quibus accedendo, consentiendoque, quam maxime sibi, adjuvat servitutem, et sunt quodam modo propria libertate captiva. Que tamen ille, ab æterno cuncta prospiciens, Providentia cernit intuitus, et suis quæque meritis prædestinata disponit (ut de Sole ait Homerus, *Iliad*, l.)" Compare also Milton, *Par. Lost*, li, 557-561.

"Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,  
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high  
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate;  
Fad fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

And Benvenuto goes on to show the opinion of Ptolemy and others, that the planets were not active agents to bring good or evil, but were only the signs of things about to happen to us. Others have said that some good or evil would happen to man by the influence of the planets, not however so that it must happen of necessity, but in order that what Nature, or God through Nature, works, should take place through the influence of the planets. St. Augustine has treated this very fully in his fifth book of *De Civitate Dei*.

Marco strongly condemns this error, on account of the great inconvenience that would follow it.

Se così fosse, in voi fora distrutto 70  
 Libero arbitrio,\* e non fora giustizia,  
 Per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto.

Were this true, all Free Will would be destroyed in you, and it would not (then) be justice to have joy (in requital) for good, and grief for evil.

There would be no necessity for Hell, Purgatory or

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\* *Libero arbitrio*. See St. Thom Aquin. *Summ Theol* pars 1, qu. cxi, art. 1. "Respondeo dicendum quod corpora celestia in corpora quidem imprimunt directè et per se, in vires autem animæ que sunt actus organorum corporeorum, directè quidem, sed per accidens: quia necesse est huiusmodi actus horum potentiarum in pediri secundum impedimenta organorum, sicut oculus turbatus non bene videt. Unde si intellectus et voluntas essent vires corporeis organis alligatæ sicut posuerunt aliqui dicentes, quod intellectus non differt a sensu ex necessitate sequeretur quod corpora celestia essent causa electionum et actuum humanorum, et ex hoc sequeretur quod homo naturali instinctu ageretur ad suas actiones, sicut cætera animalia, in quibus non sunt nisi vires animæ corporeis organis alligatæ: nam illud quod fit in istis inferioribus ex impressione corporum celestium, naturaliter videtur; et ita sequeretur quod homo non esset liberi arbitrii, sed haberet actiones determinatas, sicut et cætera res naturales: quæ manifestè sunt falsa, et conversationi humane contraria."

Paradise, says Benvenuto, and all good counsels and prayers would be in vain, and many other consequences destructive to the world would follow from this, as Boethius shows in his fifth book.\*

Marco now begins to explain away Dante's doubts, first, by showing how things come by heavenly influence or the contrary.

Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia,†

Non dico tutti : ma, posto ch' io il dica,

Lume v' è dato a bene ed a malizia,

75

\* The passage referred to in Boethius is in *lib. v.*, *pros. iii.* : "At nos illud demonstrare nitamur, quoque modo sese habeat ordo causarum, necessarium esse eventum præscitarum rerum, etiam si præscientia futuris rebus eveniendi necessitatem non videatur interire. Etenim si quispiam sedeat, opinionem quæ eum sedere coniectat, veram esse necesse est : at e converso falsæ s. de quoquam vero sit opinio, quoniam sedet, eum sedere necesse est. In utroque igitur necessitas inest ; in hoc quidem sensu, ut vero in altero veritas. Sed non ideo quisque verus, non iam vera est opinio : sed hæc potius vera est, quoniam quispiam sedere præcessit. Ita cum causa veritatis ex altera parte procedat, inest tamen communis in utraque necessitas. Similia de Providentia, futurisque rebus ratiocinari oportet. Nam etiam si ideo, quoniam futura, sunt providentia ; non vero ideo quoniam providentur, eveniunt. nihilominus tamen a Deo vel ventura provideri, vel provisæ evenire non se est : quod ad penitendam arbitri libertatem solum satis est." See also *Par. xvii.*, 37-42 :

"La cont'ogenza, che fuor del quaderno

Delli vostra materia non si stende,

Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno.

Necessità però quindi non prende,

Se non come dal viso in che si specchia,

Nave che per corrente giù discende."

† *Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia* : According to the astrological belief in the middle ages, everything on earth is subject to the influence of the planets. See *Pur. xiii.*, 61-66. Every one of the heavens is endowed with a particular power, which kindles the first appetites in us. Dante does not deny the action of the planets, but only the necessity of obeying their influence. Man is endowed with free will, by means of which

E libero voler, che, se fatica  
Nelle prime battaglie col ciel dura,\*  
Poi vince tutto, se ben si nutrica.

The heavens *do* give the first impulse to your movements, I do not say all: but, even supposing that I did say it, light has been given you (to discern) between right and wrong, and Free Will, which, even though it combats against fatigue, in the end gains a complete victory, if only it nourishes itself well.

The first impulses of Man are bodily; as walking, sitting, etc.; but the movements of the mind were not supposed to fall under planetary influences, such as would be, to understand, to will, etc. Man's good fight is by resistance to the sins to which he is most easily predisposed, and for this combat he must give to his Free Will the nutriment of Wisdom, Love, and Virtue.

Scartazzini observes that, if we recapitulate what Marco explains from l. 67, we obtain the following points, as believed by Dante.

he can curb his desires or direct them to what is good. (Scartazzini). Compare St Thom Aquin *Summ. Theol.* pars II, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. xciv, art. 5. "Unde corpora caelestia non possunt esse per se causa operationum liberi arbitrii, possunt tamen ad hoc dispositivè inclinare, in quantum imprimunt in corpus humanum, et per consequens in vires sensitivas, quæ sunt actus corporaliùm organorum, quæ inclinant ad humanos actus."

\* *se fatica . . . dura*: Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that *durare* is only used by Dante in this one passage in the sense of "to resist." In that sense it is used by Berni (*Orl. Innam.* Canto ix, st. lxxxii):

"Ma henchè Brighador la via divora,  
Pur con Batardeo non la può durare."

See also Boccaccio (*Decam.*) in the *Proemium* to the first Novel (Giorn I, Nov. 1): "Senza niuno fallo nè potremmo noi, che viviamo mescolati in esse e che siamo parte d' esse, durare nè ripararci, se spezial grazia di Dio forza e avvedimento non ci prestasse."

1. Men seek to excuse their evil actions by attributing the cause to planetary influences, as though they were driven by necessity.

2. Such a doctrine destroys Free Will, and accuses of injustice that God, Who rewards good and punishes evil.

3. It is true that the planetary influences instil into Man, his first inclinations, though not all, for some take their origin in the evil habits that have been contracted.

4. If man will only make use of the light of Reason and Revelation, as also of his free will, he can and ought to be able to resist planetary influences, or natural inclinations to evil.

5. This resistance is at the first exceedingly hard and laborious; yet

6. Man can succeed in completely overcoming the planetary influences if only his Free Will gets properly nourished (*ben si nutrica*) with the food of wisdom and of grace.

Marco next shows that if men are subject to planetary influences, they are, in their freedom, subject to the greater might of God, to that better nature, which, through baptism or otherwise, they may claim as His gift to them. Dante solves the problem that has vexed the souls of men in all ages, and leaves them with the gift of freedom, and therefore the burden of responsibility. Throughout he follows St. Thomas Aquinas, as the latter had followed St. Augustine.

A maggior forza ed a miglior natura  
Liberi soggiacete, e quella cria

La mente in voi, che il ciel non ha in sua cura.\*

Though free, ye are subject to a mightier force, and to a better nature (God's own), and that creates in you your mind, which the heavens have not under their control.

Marco having condemned the first part of the distinction as false; namely, that all things must happen of necessity, concludes that the second part must be true, and that the wickedness of the world lies in the generation now living in the world, and not in the planets.

Però, se il mondo presente disvia,  
In voi † è la cagione, in voi si cheggia,

\* *il ciel non ha in sua cura*: According to Longfellow, Ptolemy is supposed to have said: "The wise man shall control the stars." And a Turkish proverb says.

"Wit and a strong will are superior to fate."

Benvenuto remarks that it is too absurd to suppose that man is under the influence of the planets, when one may more reasonably suppose that the planets were created on account of man. He relates, in confirmation of this, a story which he considers a very merry one. Not long before there flourished in the city of Padua one Pietro de Abano, a distinguished philosopher, astrologer and physician, who at one time held this pernicious doctrine. One day, being very angry with his servant who had come home late, he wanted to beat him, but the servant, who was very intelligent, said with ready wit: "My Master, and Lord, I confess that I have done wrong; but pray condescend to hear one word from me, before thou givest me my well-deserved punishment. I have often heard thee say that all things arise from necessity; how then could I come home more quickly?" Pietro, more angry than ever, exclaimed, while brandishing his stick: "And it is necessary, thou good-for-nothing servant, that I should give thee a good beating for thine insolence." The servant, not being daunted, laying his hand upon his dagger, said: "And certainly, merciful Master, it is necessary for me to bury thee in thine entrails." Fear tempered Pietro's wrath, and he said: "Thou shalt always remain with me, as thou wilt; and I promise thee that I will never again hold or teach those doctrines."

† *In voi*: This means, in defects for which the free will of the present generation is responsible.

Ed io te ne sarò or vera spia.\*

Hence, if the present generation goes astray, in yourselves is the cause, in yourselves must it be sought, and I will not be to thee a true expounder of the same.

Scartazzini (in his *Edizione Minore*) gives a very lucid *résumé* of this passage. Marco has said, that men themselves are in fault if the present generation of them wanders from the right path. The human soul issues full of innocence out of the hands of its Maker, and instinctively turns to what seems to it most sanctifying and beautiful. As soon as it has begun to taste worldly goods it runs after them, deluding itself that it will find in them the highest good, unless some trustworthy guide directs it to the Sublimest Excellence, or unless some curb be found to restrain it from running after deceptive joys. But at the present day the laws have become inoperative, because the Chief Pastor of the Church continues to show a bad example, and mixes up spiritual with temporal matters. This pernicious government of the world is the cause of corruption that Dante seeks to investigate, and not any influence of the planets, or even the wickedness of the human race.

The point insisted on is the usurpation by the Pope of functions that rightly belong to the Emperor, but have been by him neglected.

\* *spia*: The *Voc. della Crusca* (§ 1) explains this as "Chunque rievocare, Latin *delator, narritor*." Fratelli says that, in ancient use, the word had not the same invidious sense that it has now. Scartazzini interprets, "verare indicatore, esploratore." Compare Shakespeare, *King Lear*, act v. sc. 3:

"And take upon 's the mystery of things,  
As if we were God's spies."



Esce di mano a Lui,\* che la vagheggia † 85  
 Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla,  
 Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia,  
 L'anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,‡

\* *Esce di mano a Lui . . . . L'anima semplicetta*, et seq. : Gioberti, in his commentary on this passage, considers this is one of the most divine touches in the *Divina Commedia*. The picture is highly dramatic, without any mythology, and only replete with true poetry, and philosophic meaning. The style is as natural, graceful, and beautiful as it well can be. It seems as though the innocence and beauty of the soul described by Dante is also imparted to his descriptive powers. How ever did that fierce and terrible Dante, so unapproachable in his power to terrify or to move to tears, acquire such a marvellous grace of forms and conceptions? Here we have a new affinity between Dante and Shakespeare : between Dante's horrors and beauties on the one hand, and the contrasts such as Shakespeare creates between Ariel and Caliban in the *Tempest*. Both Poets have a marvellous kindred power of representing with an unrivalled hand the most opposite subjects, and of creating their masterpieces from the most striking contrasts . . . . Those of Dante have assuredly a resemblance to those of Shakespeare, who, in the sublime, the pathetic, the facetious, the terrible, the grotesque, the horrible, the loveable, the graceful, the comic, and in the satirical, is always sublime.

† *vagheggia* : Of this verb the *Voc. della Crusca* says that it either means, as in this passage, which is quoted, "Stare a rimirar trattamente con diletto, e con attenzione l'amata, Lat. *intente amantem inspicere*," or, "Fare all'amore—to court, to make love to." I have preferred the former meaning of the word, though both are adopted by different translators. In the sense of "contemplates," compare *Par.* viii, 11, 12 :

"Pigliavano il vocabol della stella  
 Che il sol vagheggia or da coppa or da ciglio."

And *Par.* x, 10, 11 :

"E li comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte  
 Di quel maestro."

‡ *che sa nulla* : According to Fraticelli, Dante, in stating that the newly created soul knows nothing, shows that he followed the doctrine of the Peripatetics, who said that the human soul, when it is first created by God, is made apt to learn everything, but does not thereby have any knowledge or innate ideas. And this, says Fraticelli, is the most probable and general opinion. The Platonists thought the contrary, holding that the soul, from

Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,  
 Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla.\* 90  
 Di picciol bene in pria sente sapore ;  
 Quivi s' inganna, e dietro ad esso corre,  
 Se guida o fren non torce suo amore.

Forth from the hand of Him, Who contemplates it  
 with delight ere it even exists, like to a little maid  
 that cries and laughs in her childish sport, issues the  
 soul, so simple that it knows nothing, save that, set  
 in motion by a blithe Creator, it eagerly turns to that

the instant of its creation, has in itself the germs of knowledge, which in time are developed and brought out by instruction or study. Dante also followed the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*, p. 1, qu. lxxxv), which is too long however to quote here.

\* *Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla*: The new soul turns instinctively to all that appears to charm it. It has not yet acquired ideas. Compare with this the beautiful passage in *Convito* vii, c. 12, ll. 135-176: "Il sommo desiderio di ciascuna cosa, e prima dalla Natura dato, è lo ritornare al suo Principio. E però ch'è l'Ido è Principio delle nostre anime e Fattore di quelle simili a se sicome è scritto. 'Facciamo l'uomo ad imagine e simiglianza nostra', essa anima massimamente desidera tornare a questo. E siccome peregrino che va per una via per la quale non sa, che ogni casa che da lungi vede, crede che sia l'albergo, e non trovando ciò essere, dinza la credenza all'altra, e così di casa in casa tanto che all'albergo viene, così l'anima nostra, incontanente che nel nuovo e mai non fatto cammino di questa vita entra, dinza gli occhi al termine del suo Sommo Bene, e però qualunque cosa vede, che pare avere in sè alcun bene, crede che sia esso. E perchè la sua conoscenza prima è imperfetta, per non essere sperta né dottrinata, picciol bene le paiono grandi, e però da quelli comincia prima a desiderare. Onde vedemo li parvoli desiderare massimamente un pomo; e poi più oltre procedendo, desiderare uno uccellino; e poi più oltre, desiderare bello vestimento; e poi il cavallo, e poi una donna. E poi le ricchezze non grandi, poi grandi, e poi grandissime. E questo incontra perchè in nulla di queste cose trova quello che va cercando, e credelo trovare più oltre. Per che vedere si puote che l'uno desiderabile sta dinanzi all'altro agli occhi della nostra anima per modo quasi piramidale, ch'è l'minimo li copre prima tutti, ed è quasi punta dell'ultimo desiderabile, ch'è Dio, quasi base di tutti."

which gives it pleasure. Of tasting good at first it tastes the savour; herein it deceives itself (mistaking the gratification of the senses for the highest good) and runs after it, unless (some wise) guide or restraining curb turn not its desire (to better things).

Benvenuto, taking this passage nearly in its literal sense, gives some intimate details of infantile delights, beginning with a baby's first impressions of its first warm bath, and tracing its nursery experiences up to the time when the full-grown man seeks greedily after riches, next after honour, glory, fame; and thence falling into pride and envy. Fraticelli explains it entirely allegorically; by *guida* he understands education, and by *fren*, the restraints of the law.

Marco adds that for this reason the law was invented, and a shepherd given to the flock.

Onde convenne legge per fren porre :

Convenne rege \* aver, che discernesse

95

Della vera cittade † almen la torre.

\* *rege*: The Emperor. Although Benvenuto tries to explain this as meaning a spiritual ruler, who should by his teaching declare to men the sublimity of bliss in the Eternal City of God, Butz, Lana, Fraticelli and others, say that it became necessary to have a ruler who should make men observe the laws, and who, at all events in a general way, should have such understanding of the real good as to know that justice is the bulwark and defence of the eternal city. Butz observes, "Let the Ruler know that what guards our rationality is justice, and if he cannot know all the other species of virtues, let him at least have a general knowledge of them . . . All gentlemen are not philosophers, though, from being placed above others they ought to be, but, at least, they ought to have their intellects disposed towards justice, and this is shown by Dante making Marco speak of men being the cause of the corruption of the world." Compare *De Monarchia*, i, 12, 13; also *Conv.* iv, 4.

† *vera cittade*: On this Andreoli, in his commentary, observes that Dante, in *Convito* iv, 24, divides life into two cities, one of good life, and the other of wicked life, following St. Augustine's

Hence it became necessary to establish laws as a restraining bit, it became necessary to have a Monarch, who should discern at least the towers of the true city.

Marco, having declared that laws are necessary to direct men to what is good, next upbraids the rulers who administer the laws in word only, but not in deed; the consequence of which is general depravity. In the lines that follow Benvenuto notices the extraordinary power that Marco exhibits of saying biting things (*Dicit ergo Marcus qui consueverat in vita bene scire mordere*).

Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse?

Nullò; perocchè il pastor che procede

Ruminar \* può, ma non ha l' unghie fesse.

The laws exist, but who sets a hand to them (*i.e.*, who sees to their observance)? No one; because the shepherd who takes precedence (in Pontifical dignity), can chew the cud, but does not divide the hoof.

Benvenuto contends that Dante means the modern Shepherd, the Pope, chewing the cud in the sense of having the law of God constantly on his lips, and

(definition of *la Città di Dio*, and *la Città del Diavolo*), and in this passage Dante means to say that of the good city, it is the duty of the Emperor to point out the boundaries; for Dante always held that the imperial power should never overstep the limits of the supreme direction of the universal monarchy.

\* *Ruminar* "Dieu défendit aux Hébreux de se nourrir d'aucun animal qui ne ruminât, et n'eût les ongles fendus." *Le xi.* Selon les interprètes de l'Écriture, le *ruminer*, dans le sens mystique, signifie la sagesse, et les *ongles fendus*, l'action. Appuyant cette analogie à la doctrine développée par lui dans son *ivo De Monarchia*, Dante dit que le Pasteur qui précède le Pape, dont la fonction est la plus noble, peut *ruminer*, c'est-à-dire préparer l'aliment spirituel pour le corps de la République chrétienne, mais qu'il n'a pas les *ongles fendus*, ou le pouvoir temporel, lequel appartient à l'Empereur. — *Lamennais*.

fully discussing it. In truth Boniface VIII had a thorough knowledge of the laws and the Holy Scriptures, and wrote treatises on canonical law, but did not divide the temporal power from the spiritual, but rather confounded the two.

Marco then proceeds, from the above premisses, to infer the conclusion which he had been gradually developing, viz. : that the wickedness of the Shepherd is the principal cause of the perversion of the world.

The Papacy becomes a temporal and worldly power, seeking after worldly good, and clergy and laity alike follow its example.

Per che la gente, che sua guida vede	100
Pure a quel ben * ferire ond' eil' è ghiotta,	
Di quel sì pasce, e più oltre non chiede.	
Ben puoi veder † che la mala condotta	
È la cagion che il mondo ha fatto reo,	
E non natura che in voi sia corrotta.	105

On this account the people, who see their guide aiming only at those (temporal) goods for which they are eager, feed (in their turn) on the same, and ask for nothing further. Well canst thou perceive that evil governance is the cause that has made the world guilty, and not that nature is corrupt in you.

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\* *quel ben* : This means earthly possessions. In some old French satirical verses the following lines (quoted by Longfellow) occur :

“ Au temps passé du siècle d'or,  
Crosse de bois, évêque d'or ;  
Maintenant changent les lois,  
Crosse d'or, évêque de bois.”

† *puoi veder* : Compare *Isaiah*, lii, 11 : “ They are shepherds that cannot understand — they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter.” And *Jer.* i, 6 : “ My people hath been lost sheep : their shepherds have caused them to go astray, they have turned them away on the mountains.”

What Marco would say is : "From what I have set forth, you can now recognise that the cause of the world being so empty of virtue, and so charged with vice, cannot be attributed either to the influence of the planets or to the corruption of human nature, but to the evil guidance, and bad government of the world."

Marco now gives a kind of retrospect of the early Empire, of which Dante also speaks (*Convito*, iv, 5) as a golden age. Perhaps the period of the Antonines is meant, when the Emperor ruled righteously in temporal things, and the successor of St. Peter exercised an independent authority over the church in spiritual things. But the endowment of the church of Rome by Constantine had spoiled everything.

*Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo,\**

*Due Soli † aver, che l'una e l'altra strada*

\* *Roma, che il buon mondo feo*: Compare *Convito*, iv, 5, ll. 16-32. "Volendo la smisurabile Bontà di vna l'umana creatura a sè riconformare, che per lo peccato della prevaricatione del primo uomo da Dio era partita e disformata, eletto fu in quell'altissimo e congruentissimo Concistoro divino della Trinità, che l'Figliuolo di Dio in terra discendesse a fare questa concordia. E però ch'è nella sua venuta nel mondo, non solamente il Cielo, ma la Terra conveniva essere in ottima disposizione; e la ottima disposizione della Terra sia quand' ella è Monarchia, cioè tutta ha uno Principe, come detto è di sopra; ordinato fu per lo divino Provedimento quello popolo e quella città che ciò dovea compiere, cioè la gloriosa Roma."

† *Due Soli*, etc. This, which is the leading theory (says *Philalethes*) in Dante's political system, he brings out very forcibly in the following passage in the *De Monarchia*, iii, 16, ll. 24-82. "Ad hujus autem intelligentiam sciendum quod homo solus in entibus tenet medium corruptibilem et incorruptibilem; propter quod recte a philosophis adsimilatur horisonti, qui est medium duorum hemisphaerorum. Nam homo, si consideretur secundum utramque partem essentialem, scilicet animam et corpus, corruptibilis est, si consideretur tantum secundum unam, scilicet corpus; si vero secundum alteram, scilicet animam, incorruptibilis est. Propter quod bene Philosophus

## Facean vedere,\* e del mondo e di Deo.

inquit de ipsa, prout incorruptibilis est, in secundo de Anima, quum dixit. 'Et solum hoc contingit separari, tanquam perpetuum, a corruptibili.' Si ergo homo mediam quoddam est corruptibilem et incorruptibilem, quum omne medium sapiat naturam extremorum: necesse est hominem sapere utramque naturam. Et quum omnis natura ad ultimum quandam finem ordinetur, consequitur ut hominis duplex finis existat, ut sicut inter omnia entia solus incorruptibilitatem et corruptibilitatem participat; sic solus inter omnia entia in duo ultima ordinetur: quorum alterum sit finis ejus, prout corruptibilis est; alterum vero, prout incorruptibilis. Duos igitur fines Providentia illa enarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos, beatitudinem scilicet hujus vite, que in operatione propriæ virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vite æternæ, que consistit in fructu ñe divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lum ne divino adiuta, que per Paradisum cœlestem intelligi datur. Ad has quidem beatitudines, velut ad diversas conclusiones, per diversa media venire oportet. Nam ad primam per philosophica documenta venimus, dummodo illa sequamur, secundum virtutes morales et intellectuales operando. Ad secundam vero per documenta spiritualia, que humanam rationem transcendunt, dummodo illa sequamur secundum virtutes theologicas operando, videlicet, Spem scilicet et Caritatem. Has igitur conclusiones et media licet ostensa sint nobis hæc ab humana ratione, que per philosophos tota nobis innotuit; hæc a Spiritu Sancto, qui per Prophetas et Hagiographos, qui per cœlestem sibi Dei Filium Jesum Christum, et per ejus discipulos, supernaturalem veritatem ac nobis necessariam revelavit humana cupiditas postergaret, nisi homines tanquam equi, sua bestialitate vagantes, in campo et freno compescerentur in via. Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem: scilicet summo Pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam æternam, et Imperatore, qui secundum philosophica documenta genus humanum ad temporalem felicitatem duceret.

\* *l'una e l'altra strada Facean vedere*: The two powers worked hand in hand for the public weal, and Benvenuto says this was the case when Constantine was Emperor and Sylvester Pope; when Justinian was Emperor and Agapetus Pope; when Charlemagne was Emperor and Adrian Pope. On this Gherberti remarks in his commentary: "What a mind must Dante have had, to rise up as he does to ideas that were in later times developed by Bossuet, in an age when a contrary opinion prevailed everywhere!"

Rome, which made the world good (*i.e.*, reformed it) was used to have two Suns, that pointed out the one and the other way. (the Emperor) that of the world, and (the Pope) that of God.

Marco then goes on to show that it is the cupidity and ambition of the Shepherd that has destroyed this harmony, for one person cannot well administer two offices so dissimilar.

L' un l' altro ha spento ; ed è giunta la spada  
 Col pastorale, e l' un con l' altro insieme      110  
 Per viva forza mal convien che vada ;  
 Peròchè, giunti, l' un l' altro non teme.  
 Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga,  
 Ch' ogni erba si conosce per lo seme.

The one has quenched the other ; and the sword is joined to the crozier, and the two together must of necessity go ill ; for when joined, the one no longer fears the other. If thou dost not believe me, consider the full grown ear of corn, for every plant is known by its seed.

The last line is from St. Luke vi, 44. Marco means that, if Dante wants to know the cause of the world going astray, he will find it in the confusion of the two powers, and let him look at the bad habits that are the fruit of a disordered civil government. From the strife between the Pope and the Emperor Frederick II, Lombardy, the flower of Italy, was nearly annihilated.

*Division IV.* In confirmation of what he has said before, Marco now goes on to describe the great change that has come over Lombardy, which, in consequence of the above-mentioned strife between Pope and Emperor, has lost all its advantages, both spiritual



Prima che Federico avesse briga :  
Or può sicuramente indi passarsi  
Per qualunque lasciasse per vergogna  
Di ragionar col buoni, o d' appressarsi

In that land which the Adige and the Po  
valour and courtesy were wont to be found,  
that Frederick had his conflict. Now it can  
versed in security by any one, who from  
shame, would abstain from speaking with good  
or (even) approaching them.

Meaning, that whoever would feel ashamed  
himself bad, to converse with good and cour-  
can safely go through Lombardy from end  
now he will not find any good men left there  
nuto relates several anecdotes illustrating Ma-  
gent and ready wit, and says that, having :

\* The dissension and war between these two p  
related in stately diction by Dean Milman (*His-  
Christianity*, London, 1855, 4 vols. 8vo, book v, ch  
pp. 312-321.) The whole of this passage, too long to  
should be studied. Dean Plumptre remarks that  
retrospect of the history of the previous century  
diction, proving his position. Lombardy, Romagna  
Marca Trevigiana, described after Dante's manner  
92. *Inf.* xviii, 61), by their rivers, had, in the good  
the emergence from Barbarossa, caused

the people of Lombardy a general rule of unworthiness, he next, by way of a sop to their feelings, makes a special exception: for he observes that in these two provinces there do still survive three worthy men, who retain some of the old-fashioned virtue and courtesy.

Ben v' en \* tre vecchi ancora, in cui rampogna  
L' antica età la nuova, e par lor tardo  
Che Dio a miglior vita li ripogna; †  
Corrado da Palazzo, ‡ e il buon Gherardo, §

\* *v' en*. See Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, p. 444): "*Eno, en, enno*. Dalle terze singolari nascendo con la giunta di un *No* le terze plurali, come abbiamo notato a *sono*, n. 37, così dalla terza singolare *i* si ha secondo la regola la terza plurale *eno*, e per iscoro *o en*." Compare Lapo Gianni (in Nannucci's *Manuale della Letteratura della Lingua Italiana*, vol. 1, p. 250):

"È vederai, meraviglia sovrana,  
Com' en formate angeliche bellezze."

And *Paradiso*, xv, 76-78:

"Perocch' il Sol, che v' allumb' ed arse  
Col caldo e con la luce, en si uguali,  
Che tutte simiglianze sono scarse."

I have quoted the reading adopted by Nannucci, but Dr Moore reads, *è si uguali* (Nannucci adds, "*Eno è dunque voce originale e regolare, e non usata per la rima, come suppongono gli interpreti delle vecchie carte. Quindi si fece enno, come *anno, tanno, tanno, da *anno, stano, sano, tano*, etc.*" Moore (see Nannucci) always fiercely opposed the idea, which he treated with the greatest contempt, that Dante could possibly require to alter a word for the sake of rhyme.*

\* *a miglior vita li ripogna*. Benvenuto thinks this is said *hyperbolically*. These three illustrious old men wish that they could be put back to the better life, that is, to the more virtuous one in which they lived, as compared with modern times.

‡ *Corrado da Palazzo*. Benvenuto relates: "Corrado da Palazzo was a noble of the State of Brescia, of whose bravery I have heard, that when he once bore the standard of his country in battle, though his hands had been cut off, he hugged the standard with his stumps until he died." He was Captain of the people at Florence in 1279. The English reader will remember Witherington in the Ballad of Chevy Chase.

§ *Gherardo*, of the noble house of Camino, was a soldier and

Marco, and Guido da Castello, who is better  
after the French fashion, the honest Lombard.  
At this point Marco, in concluding his lecture,  
teaches Dante what answer he ought to re-  
spond to any one who should question him on  
this great matter.

Di' oggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma,  
Per confondere in se due reggimenti,  
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la somma

of Treviso, a principality always held by his  
kind, humane, courteous, liberal, and a friend  
of the poor, surnamed *the good*.

\* *Guido da Castello* was of the family of the  
Reggio, of which there were three branches, the  
Roberti di Tripoli, the Roberti di Furno, and the  
Castello. He flourished at Reggio in the time of  
that State was in great prosperity, and was govern-  
ed by a prudent and upright man, beloved and he-  
lieved in counsel. His liberality was great, and Di-  
d experience it, having been received into his house  
of honour. As to his being called *semplice Lombard*,  
poets have tried to explain that, on account of his gr-  
and fame extended to France, and he was called  
Lombard. "But that," says Benvenuto, "is ab-  
surd. We know that the French call all Italians Lombard,  
and therefore Marco, in the French mode of speaking, he would  
be called merely a Lombard." Compare *Purg.* vii,  
la semplice vita."

Dante's Commentaries upon the Divine Comedy

Say thou from this day forward that the Church of Rome, from confounding in itself two governments, falls into the mire, and befouls both itself and its charge."

Dante, it must be positively asserted, was a perfectly faithful and devoted son of the Church of Rome.

Let it be remembered that he never sought to substitute any other religion in her place, and would have placed in Hell, among the Heretics in the fiery tombs of the city of Dis, any one who should have attempted to do so, but he was an uncompromising foe to her temporal power, which excited the ambition of the clerical hierarchy; and of her worldly possessions, which, by stimulating the cupidity of the priesthood, destroyed their purity of mind, and unfitted them for their sacred office.

He goes on to confirm Marco's words by the authority of Holy Scripture; but he has noticed with some curiosity, that while Marco has given to Conrad and Guido their family names, he has, in the case of Gherardo, only spoken of him by his christian name. He asks who he is.

— "O Marco mio,"—diss' to, "bene argomenti; 130

Ed or discerno perchè da retaggio \*

Li figli di Levi furono esenti :

*Deus, unumquemque debere materiae pondus propriis humeris ex-  
tere aequale, re forte humerorum nimio gravatam virtutem in  
omni respicere necesse sit. Hoc est quod magister noster  
Hieronymus precipit, cum in principio *Poeticae* 'Sumite materiam,'  
c. lxxv.*

\* *da retaggio*: dal *retaggio*: see *Numbers*, xviii, 20, and *Leviticus*, xiii, 14. Dante can now comprehend, on account of the evil arising from churchmen being invested with temporal power, why God had forbidden the Levites to have an inheritance like the other tribes, and left them to depend for all

now I perceive why the sons of Levi were  
from inheriting: but what Gherardo is it  
sayest has remained an ensample of an extir-  
pation, as a reproof to this savage age?"

Marco answers Dante's question, but Benve-  
nuto that he feels a doubt as to Marco's meaning  
declares that he does not know Gherardo  
other surname, for the family name of the D  
was famous, not only in Lombardy but th  
all Italy. And especially was Marco intit  
the family and the former head of it, Riccar-  
of Gherardo.\* Benvenuto thinks that this  
want of knowledge was feigned for a double  
(1) that he (Dante) might mention Gherardo's

except their dwellings on the tithes and offerings of  
The Christian priesthood ought to have followed the  
see *Puz.* xix, 115. *Mon.* iii, 10.

\* Benvenuto relates how Marco on one occasion, h  
taken prisoner, and an immense ransom demand  
beration, sent a messenger to Riccardo da Carni  
Treviso, begging him not to let him die in prison,  
giving real pay for the straits in which his friend  
of, wrote at once to several great princes in Lon-  
those courts Marco had been a frequent and welc  
order that they might confer with him as to the  
effecting his liberation. Marco was very obligat  
to this, and sent off another messenger

goodness, for he understood that Gherardo ought to be more celebrated for his goodness than from the distinction of the noble family of Da Camino; and (2) that he might have an opportunity of censuring the memory of Gherardo's daughter Gaja, who was unfortunately but too well known as *mulier vere gaia et vana, et Tarvisina tota amorosa*; and as though Marco would say: "Neither do his noble blood, or his private virtues, render him so celebrated as does the unfortunate notoriety of his daughter."

Finally, Marco, having bid the Poets God-speed, points out to them the pure light into which they are about to pass, whereas he himself must still remain in the black smoke.

— "O tuo parlar m'inganna o e' mi tenta,"—

Rispose a me; — "chè, parlando Tosco,  
Par che del buon Gherardo nulla senta.

Per altro soprannome io nol conosco,

S'io nol toglessi da sua figlia Gaia.

140

Dio sia con voi, chè più non vegno vosco.

Vedi l'albòr \* che per lo fummo raia,†

\* *L'albòr*. Scartazzini aptly points out that we are not to translate this, as so many have done, the whitening of the dawn, or the sun's rays penetrating through the smoke. It is the radiance of the Angel of Peace who is near at hand, and his shining brightness is seen through the darkness, not so the rays of the sun. The words *L'Angelo Pira* are the explanation of the cause. Dante describes the more excessive brilliancy of his radiance, when, in the next Canto, the Poets approach the Angel. See *Purg.* xvii, 44, 45:

"un lume il volto mi percosse,

Maggiore assai che quel ch'è in nostr' uso."

† *raia for raggi*. Compare *Par.* xv, 55-57:

"Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei

Da quel ch'è primo, così come raia

Dall'un, se si conosce, il cinque o il sei."

And *Par.* xxix, 136:

"La prima luce che tutta la raia."

or they are meant to prove me (*i.e.*, to show I know more about him), for, addressing me (*o*dest) in Tuscan, it would seem as though thou hadst no knowledge of the good Gherardo. I know him by no other name added, unless I were to tell thee from his daughter Gaia. May God be with you, I bear you company no farther. Behold the brightness that radiates through the smoke is a whitening, and I must needs away—the Angel is there—before I be seen by him." So he turned back, and would not hear me more.

Larco has to turn back into the smoke because of the appearance of the Angel. He can only present himself before him when his penance shall have been completed.

END OF CANTO XVI.

## CANTO XVII.

THE THIRD CORNICE—ANGER (*concluded*).—EXIT FROM THE SMOKE.—EXAMPLES OF THE PUNISHMENT OF ANGER.—THE ANGEL OF PEACE. ASCENT TO THE FOURTH CORNICE.—THE SECOND NIGHT IN PURGATORY.—LOVE, ACCORDING TO VIRGIL, THE ROOT OF ALL SIN AS WELL AS OF ALL VIRTUE.

IN the last Canto Dante defined the purgation of Anger in general. He now speaks of the remedial measures for curbing fierce anger, and treats of *Accidia*, a word for which there is no good modern English equivalent. Perhaps "spiritual sloth" best expresses its meaning, but as we have the authority of Chaucer for "*Accidie*," we can use that word.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In Division I*, from v. 1 to v. 39, Dante points out what is the best curb to Anger.

*In Division II*, from v. 40 to v. 75, he relates how the Angel of Peace purified him from the sin of Anger, and showed him the way up to the Fourth Cornice, in which *Accidie* is chastened.

*In Division III*, from v. 76 to v. 139, before speaking of *Accidie*, Dante proceeds, with consummate skill, to enquire into the source and origin of it, and of the other capital sins.



tell you, in language that you can understand, issued from that pitchy smoke, and came from the luminous air? Imagine, at some time when crossing the Alps or Apennines, a cloud covered you, so that you could see nothing, and after a while, as the cloud gets rarified by the sun, you begin to recover the sight of things around you, not only in the feeble and imperfect way that a poet has supposed to do."

"It is well here to remember," says Betsey, "that although there are divers Alps in different parts of the world, yet our Poet is probably speaking of the Apennine Alps, and of that part of them which lies between Bologna and Florence, where he was at the time he wrote this. I have met with such an experience as he describes: and I must add that he himself remembered this, when he was once enveloped in the same way when crossing the Apennines."

Ricorditi, lettore, se mai nell' alpe \*

Ti colse nebbia, † per la qual vedessi

\* nell' alpe · The *Voc. dell' Crusca*, on the word *montagna altissima*, propriamente quella che fa scendere la Tramontana to the North; and † "qualunque cosa generalmente." It must be remembered that

Non altrimenti che per pelle talpe ; \*  
 Come, quando i vapori umidi e spessi  
 A diradar † cominciansi, la spera  
 Del sol debilmente entra per essi ;  
 E fia la tua imagine leggiera ‡  
 In giugnere a veder com' io rividi  
 Lo sole in pria, che già nel corcare era.

"As when the south wind o'er the mountain tops  
 Spreads a thick veil of mist, the shepherd's bane,  
 And friendly to the nightly thief alone,  
 That a stone's throw the range of vision bounds ;  
 So rose the dust cloud, as in serried ranks  
 With rapid step they mov'd across the plain."

\* *talpe*: Benvenuto requests his readers to "Take note that the mole appearing to see is shown in two ways. First, because it has eyes, and Nature creates nothing in vain; and secondly, because we know that the mole dies as soon as it beholds the light; so it is made to see feebly, because a beneficent and foreseeing Nature has given it this membrane over its eyes, that they may not be injured, seeing that it lives entirely underground." And he adds that the angry man in the heat of passion is very like a mole. It is somewhat remarkable that, in the Italian language, there is no well-recognised word signifying a rat, as distinguished from a mouse. The more usual way is to say *topo* for mouse, and *lepo* for rat, but as a matter of fact both words, as well as the old Italian *ratto*, all mean mouse. At Florence, where moles are not so often seen, it is the popular practice to speak of rats as *talpe*. There was once an amusing dispute on this subject between my two friends, the late Sir James Lacouta and Count Ugo Bazzani. They agreed to refer to the porter at the entrance to the *Accademia della Crusca*, and asked him what were those animals that ran about in the streets, particularising the size of an ordinary rat. "Ma Lor Signor intendono *talpe*," was the answer.

† *Diradar*. This verb in the neuter signification, according to the *Vie della Crusca*, has the force of *divenir rado*, to get thinner. Compare *Purg.* i, 121-123:

"Quando noi fummo dove la rugiada  
 Pugna col sole, e per essere in parte  
 Dove adrezza, poco si dirada"; etc.

‡ *Leggera*: prompt, easy: "La tua immaginazione aiutata da questa similitudine sarà pronta a comprendere." (Venturi).

... a cloud has overtaken thee, through  
thou couldst not see otherwise than does it  
through the membrane (of its eye); how w  
humid and condensed vapours begin to c  
themselves, the orb of the sun feebly pe  
through them; and (then) thy imagination  
prompt in coming to perceive how I at first  
sun again, which was at the point of setting.  
measuring my steps by the trusty ones  
Master, I came forth out of that cloud into the  
sunbeams, which on the lower slopes had  
expired.

Dr. Moore (*Time-References*, p. 100) puts th  
very clearly before us: "As they are lea  
Third Cornice, the Sun is on the point o  
and in the lower valleys his light had  
departed. As they ascend to the Fourth  
where *Accidia*, or Sloth, is punished, twi  
come on, the last light in the sky is rapidl  
and the stars are beginning to appear  
here. It was the sunset of Easter Mond  
6.30 p.m."

When Dante speaks of Virgil's steps bei  
we must remember that he was walking with  
resting upon his Master's shoulder (*See xvi*,  
In the next six lines Dante, having l

O immaginativa,\* che ne rube †  
 Tal volta si di fuor, ch' uom non s' accorge,  
 Perchè d' intorno suonin mille tube, 15  
 Chi move te, se il senso non ti porge?  
 Moveti lume, che nel ciel s' informa  
 Per sè, o per voler che giù lo scorge.‡

\* *Imaginativa*: i. e. the imaginative power of fantasy. Compare St. Tho. Aqu. (*Summ. Theol.*, pars i. qu. lxxviii. art. 4), "Ad barum autem formarum retentionem aut conservationem ordinatur phantasia, sive imaginatio quæ idem sunt; est enim phantasia, sive imaginatio quasi thesaurus quidam formarum per sensum acceptarum." And again pars i., qu. lxxxiv, art. 6, "Procul dubio oportet: . . . in vi imaginativa ponere non solum potentiam passivam, sed etiam activam."

† *che ne rube*: Benvenuto relates the following anecdote which may also be found in Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*. "It happened once to him (Dante) in the city of Siena that he was shown a book of great reputation, and which he had never seen before, and as he could not get any better opportunity of seeing it, he leant his breast against an apothecary's counter and read the whole book through with such attention (steadfastly keeping his eyes fixed upon it from the sixth hour until vesper time), that he was not aware of anything passing around him, although a bridal procession was passing close by, with shouts, songs and music. And when people asked him how he could manage to go on reading without noticing so distinguished a festival, with its agreeable sight of so many of the ladies of Siena, and the beautiful music of so many instruments, he answered that he had not perceived that anything was going on, and after that people had marvelled greatly at that, they were struck with a second wonder even greater, when they remembered that Dante was an especial admirer of love songs, such as were being sung close to him."

‡ *Scorge*: The primary meaning of *scorgere* (*Voc. della Crusca*) is "Vedere, Discernere." But under § 1, we find: "*Scorgere, per Guidare, Mostrare il cammino, Far la scorta.*" Compare *Inf.* viii, 92, 93:

"tu qui rimarrai

Che gli hai scorta sì buia contrada."

And *Purg.* xxi, 20, 21:

"Se voi siete ombre che Dio su non degni,

Chi v' ha per la sua scala tanto scorte."

And *Petrarch, Part II, son. xlvi*:

"Così sua vita subito trascorse

light (of the intellect) which is formed in  
sets thee in motion, either spontaneously, or  
will (of God) which guides it downward.

Or, according to Benvenuto: "By the D  
which transmits the light itself to man w  
intermediation of the heavens; as t  
would say: Such powers of imagination  
motion by light from heaven formed spo  
or transmitted from God."

Dante now demonstrates by three exam  
in a kind of mystic imagination, he fancie  
three effects of Anger, one bad, another v  
the third worst of all.

Dell' empiezza \* di lei, che mudò forma  
Nell' uccel che a cantar piu si diletta,  
Nell' imagine mia apparve l'orma : †

Quella che già co' begh occhi mi scòra  
Ed or convien che col pensier la segua  
And Part ii, *Cantone vii*, st. 10.  
"Scorgimi al nu, lior guado ;  
E prendi in grado i cangiati desiri "

\* *empiezza*: Benvenuto says *empiezza* means t  
quotes the following words from Jacopo della Lana :  
"una specie pestilenta d'ira ondata". He adds that  
case when perpetrated of naive aforesight.  
at x, 83, 84, where Farinata degli Uberti asks Dg  
Florentines persecute his family with such persisten

E qui fu la mia mente sì ristretta \*  
 Dentro da sè, che di fuor non venia  
 Cosa che fosse allor da lei recetta.

Of the cruelty of her (Phylomela), who changed her form into (that of) the bird that most delights in singing (the nightingale), there appeared the outline in my imagination. And hereupon was my mind so shut up within itself, that whatever thing was received by it, did not come from without.

Commentators have differed considerably as to which of the two sisters, after the cruel vengeance of one or the other of them upon Tereus, is here meant; Procne, whom Jupiter changed into a swallow, or Phylomela who became a nightingale

Dante now turns his thoughts to a second instance of Anger that is worse than that just alluded to; because it is one which shows how there are times when a man can be so inflamed with anger, on account of a slight injury done him by one, that he will set his mind to work the destruction of a large number of innocent persons.

Haman, because Mordecai omitted to do homage to him, compassed the death of the whole of the Jews that were in Persia.

Poi piove \* dentro all' alta fantasia † 25

Di Procne e Filomela Procne in atto tale, che l'empietà si recosta nella sua testimonianza." (Goberti)

\* *mente sì ristretta*. Compare *Purg.* iii, 12, 13:

"Lamente mia che prima era ristretta,

Lo intento rillago.

† *Angelo*. As an angel descends from heaven, so did these visions come down from on high, and enter into Dante's conceptions. *Angelo* is frequently used by Dante in the sense of something that comes down from heaven, whether some attribute of God, or, as *Par.* viii, 83, the rebellious Angels, turned into Demons, after having been expelled from Heaven.

‡ *alta fantasia*: Compare *Par.* xxxiii, 142:

crucified (Haman), contemptuous and haughty look, and with that demeanour (*cotal*) was Around him were the great Alasuerus, his consort, and the righteous Mordecai, who was integrity both in word and deed.

We now come to the third example, the destroyer from Wrath. Benvenuto considers this example of a sin of the worst kind. This is that of Amata, wife of King Latinus; she threw herself in anger and despair because she thought Turnus had been slain, to whom her daughter was betrothed.

E come questa imagine rompeo

Sè per sè stessa, a guisa d' una bulla

"All'alta fantasia qui mancò possa."

Scartazzini observes that Dante calls his phantasmagoria because it was detached from the senses, and from earthly, and soared up to Heaven.

\* *rompeo*: According to the English version changed; the *Vulgate* has: *suspensus . . . in palatio*. It is probable that he was empaled.

\* *il giusto Mardocheo, Che fu . . . così intero*: Noting Dante's panegyric of Mordecai, I prefer Birkbeck's view, *Holy Bible*, by Wordsworth, 1871, that there is no single person in the Book of Esther of lofty elevated character, or of a devout mind. He says that the Book of Esther must be read in connection with the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah. The devout Jews started to undergo privations and persecutions.

Cui manca l'acqua sotto qual si feo ;  
 Surse in mia visione una fanciulla,\*  
 Piangendo forte, e diceva :—" O regina,  
 35 Perchè per ira hai voluto esser nulla ?  
 Ancisa t' hai per non perder Lavinia ;  
 Or m' hai perduta ; io son essa che lutto,  
 Madre, alla tua pria ch' all' altrui ruina."—

And as this image broke up of itself, after the manner of a bubble, when the water under which it was formed fails it ; there uprose in my vision a young maiden weeping bitterly, and saying : " O Queen, why through wrath hast thou chosen to be naught ? Thou hast slain thyself so as not to lose (me) Lavinia ; now thou hast lost me. I am the one, Mother, that mourns thy destruction, before that of another."

By *altrui*, Lavinia means Turnus, who had not yet been slain by Æneas, as Amata thought was the case. It was not until after Amata's death that Æneas slew Turnus.†

Benvenuto says Virgil adapted this story from one

\* *fanciulla* : The death of Queen Amata is related in Virgil's *Æneid*, xii, 595-607, but space forbids my quoting it in full.

† Suardani points out that, after having beheld three visions of sweet gentleness (*Purg* xv, 85-114), Dante sees by way of contrast many visions of dire wrath. *Perez / Sette Cerchi*, p. 164, has the following :—" Filomela uccide : Amano è ucciso : Amata si uccide. Filomela uccide per gustare ne' suoi pensieri, la bellezza della vendetta, e perde la facilità de' pensieri, la ragione ; Amano, volendo perdere altrui, perde sè stesso : Amata si uccide per non perder Lavinia, e la perde per sempre : sono sempre infelici dell' ira. Di Filomela fan vendetta i Cesari, di Amano fan vendetta gli uomini : di Amata fa vendetta ella stessa : tre vendette che sovente s' uniscono insieme. Così il volto di due regie donne, orribilmente dall' ira trasformato, mette in orrore al sesso gentile una passione che cancella dalle sembianze umane ogni traccia di bellezza ; e l' ira d' un regio ministro che cade nei lacci tesi ad altrui, ira politica e religiosa insieme, ammonisce tutti coloro che della patria e della religione fanno strumento d' ire e vendette superbie."



sions, instead of accepting apparent evil  
of a greater good.

*Division II.* Dante now describes the  
of an Angel, whom we shall find to be  
Peace, who purifies him from the sin of  
directs him to the stairway leading up to  
Cornice.

Before proceeding to speak of other matters,  
relates how he was suddenly roused from  
trance, and he compares his own case to  
man fast asleep in his room, on whose  
rays of the Sun strike through the window  
him to awake with a great start of fear,  
the brilliancy of the Angel awake. Dante  
vision, and strike him with awe.

Come si frange il sonno, ove di butto\*  
Nuova luce percote il viso chiuso,  
Che fratto guizza pria che muova tut

\* *di butto*: Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 104, 105:

"La polver si raiolse per sè stessa,

E in quel medesimo ritorno di butto."

† *guizza pria che muova tutto*. On this Lombardi  
come il pesce, tratto fuor d'acqua, guizza prima  
per catalessi appella *guizzare* quella sforzo e  
sono la di rimetterci, prima che del tutto scian

Così l'immaginar mio cadde giuso,  
 Tosto ch' un lume il volto mi percosse,\*  
 Maggiore assai che quel ch' è in nostr' uso. 45

As sleep is broken, when on a sudden a new light strikes upon the closed eyes, and broken, struggles ere it wholly fades away; so did my illusion vanish (*lit.* fall down), so soon as there smote upon my face a light far exceeding the one to which we are accustomed (*i.e.*, the Sun).

The radiance of the Angel is so dazzling, that although Dante eagerly longs to know whose is the voice he hears inviting him to approach, his mortal eye is powerless before it, as on earth it would be to gaze on the Sun.

Io mi volgea per vedere ov' io fosse,  
 Quand' una voce † disse: — "Qui si monta:"—  
 Che da ogni altro intento mi rimosse;

E lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre,  
 Sì ne scia è la sua subita vigilia,  
 Fin che l'estimativa nol soccorre; † etc.

*Introductiva* there means the faculty of judgment.

\* *un lume il volto mi percosse*, et seq. We learn from *Canto* xv., 144, that the sudden light which blazed into Dante's eyes † was from the radiant form of the Angel. Compare *125* v. 36

"Come virtù che al troppo si confonda."

And Milton (*Par. Lost*, iii, 380)

"Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear."

And (*Par. Lost*, i, 593):

"The excess of glory obscured."

And Moore in the *National Air* beginning, "Say, what shall be our sport to day?"

"That, like the lark which sunward springs,  
 'Twas giddy with too much light."

† *una voce*: "A Dante, che colla rapida immaginazione sta ancor suo ne' miserabili fatti dell'ua, ferisivo negli occhi una luce improvvisa, e mentre vinto e amaro vien chiedendo a sè stesso dov' egli sia, alla la e s'aggiunge una voce, che invitando dolcemente a salire, gli fuga dall'anima ogni truce vis one. E la luce è la voce dell'Angelo della Pace. Luce, che con sua

E fece la mia voglia tanto pronta  
 Di riguardar chi era che parlava,  
 Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta.\*  
 Ma come al sol, che nostra vista grava,  
 E per soverchio sua figura vela,  
 Così la mia virtù quivi mancava.

50

I was turning round to see where I was, when a voice said: "Here is the ascent:" and this withdrew me from every other thought, and made my will, to behold who it was that was speaking, so eager, that never would it have ceased (longing), until it were brought face to face (with the being who had spoken). But as before the sun, which overpowers our sight, and from its excess (of light) conceals its form, so here did my power fail me.

The voice had caused an interruption of Dante's meditations on Anger, and had prepared him for further wonders. Just as the effulgence of the Angel surpassed all lights hitherto seen by Dante, so must the voice have sounded like no mortal voice, and hence his desire to behold the speaker.

At this point Virgil, seeing Dante's inability to distinguish the shining form which has addressed him, explains the cause of the radiant vision. Virgil himself is gifted with a sight more perfect and penetrating than that which Dante's human eyes can afford him.

vivezza può ben confondere e opprimere gli occhi di colui che esce appena dal fumo dell'ira; ma che presto, congiunta con una voce che penetra nel profondo dell'anima, schiarata e afforza l'uomo nelle più tenebre ove prosperano i passi de' mansueti." (*Perez*, p. 167)

\* *Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta*. Many of the old commentators attach a deeper signification to these words, especially Lana who interprets: "That voice sounded to me of such sweetness, that my mind will never more rest until I am able to hear it again face to face, that is, when this first life is ended."



forestalls our petitions." And in this passage Benvenuto considers that Virgil censures (*arguit*) a common error of men, who, seeing their neighbour have need, although they wish to help him, yet expect and desire to be asked.

Virgil tells Dante that he ought to show his appreciation of the Angel's courtesy by at once moving forward.

Ora accordiamo a tanto invito il piede :  
Proccacciam di salir pria che s'abbui,  
Chè poi non si porfa, se il dì non riede."—

Now let us make our feet accord unto so gracious an invitation ; let us endeavour to ascend before it gets dark, for after, it would not be possible, until the day returns."

Virgil is anxious that they should reach the top before the darkness arrests their steps, so that they should not have to sleep upon the stairway, as in fact (*Cant.* xxvii, 70) they have to do on the following night.

The ascent to the Fourth Cornice is described.

Così disse il mio Duca, ed io con lui  
Volgemmo i nostri passi ad una scala :  
E tosto ch' io al primo grado fui,  
Senti' mi presso quasi un mover d' ala,  
E ventarmi nel viso, e dir :— " *Beati*  
*Patrici*, che son senza ira mala."\*—

Thus spoke my Leader, and I with him turned our

\* *senza ira mala*: Scartazzini contends that all wrath is not sinful, for in Holy Scripture the wrath of God, which cannot be unrighteous, is repeatedly spoken of. Compare *Ephes. iv, 26*: "Be ye angry, and sin not." St. Thos. Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, qn. clyiii, art. 1) quotes from St. Chrysostom: "Qui sine causa irascitur, reus erit; qui vero cum causâ, non erit reus; nam si ira non fuerit, nec doctrina proficiat, nec iudicium stant, nec crimina compescuntur." And St. Thos. Aqu. adds: "Ergo irasci non semper est malum."

steps towards a stairway ; and as soon as I was on the first step, I felt close by me as it were the movement of a wing, and a fanning on my face, and (I heard) said : "*Blessed are the Peacemakers, who are free from sinful anger.*"

Benvenuto wishes us to remark that Dante has used the expression *ira mala* intentionally, for some anger can be righteous, and without sin, though Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations*, and Seneca in his book on *Anger*, have sought to demonstrate at length, that all anger is sinful and detestable.

Dante now describes at what time of day they entered on the stairway, on which Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 100) observes: "As they ascend to the Fourth Cornice, where *Accidia*, or Sloth, is punished, twilight has come on, the last light in the sky is rapidly fading, and the stars are beginning to appear here and there."

Già eran sopra noi tanto levati

70

Gl' ultimi raggi \* che la notte segue,

Che le stelle apparivan da piu lati.

Already were the last rays, upon which the night follows, so high above us, that the stars were shining forth on every side (*lit.* in many places).

At this point Dante begins to feel symptoms of fatigue.

\* *Gl' ultimi raggi*: Tommasèo quotes the following remarks of the astronomer Antonioli: "*Ultimi*. Del cat. ssima P osser-  
vazione, e compiuta quanto profondo scrutatore dei fenomeni  
naturali a fosse il nostro Poeta. Quando infatti ci troviamo sopra  
un' alta montagna, e il sole, occultato al nostro occhio nonchè ai  
bassi punti, indora soltanto, e leggermente le piu elevate cime  
de. e montagne, ad aria limpida e pura cominciano a vedersi in  
p. parte del cielo le stelle di prima grandezza, alle quali non la  
grazie ostacolo quel candido velo, che dalla luce crepuscolare  
ancora rimane."

and laments that his strength is failing. The reason for this sudden weakness is the approach of night which, according to the laws of Purgatory, impeded their further progress. (*Purg.* vii, 43-60).

—"O virtù \* mia, perchè sì ti dilegue?"—

Fra me stesso dicea, chè mi sentiva  
La possa delle gambe posta in tregue.

"O my strength, why art thou thus melting away?"  
I kept saying within myself, for I began to feel that  
the power of my legs had ceased for awhile (*lit.* had  
been placed in truce).

*Division III.* In this Division is investigated the origin of Spiritual Sloth (*Accidie*), and also of the other sins chastised in Purgatory, not only those that have been already purged in the three first Cornices viz. Pride, Envy and Anger, but also those in the three remaining Cornices, viz. Avarice, Gluttony and Self-Indulgence.

Dante first describes the spot where they pass the night. It was at the summit of the stairs, and at the boundary of the Fourth Cornice.

Benvenuto greatly admires the comparison Dante now makes: "As a ship is attached to the shore where it can remain for a time, and eventually succeed in getting into the port, in which it can lie in perfect security, so here, the genius of Dante, which, in the opening words of the *Purgatorio*, he has likened to a bark, had fortified and fixed itself on the summit of the stairs for the night. This had already taken place

\* *virtù*: Tommasèo interprets this "*virtù del piede, i. e. walking powers.*" Scartazzini: "*forza di muoversi*"

in another spot on the previous evening,\* and will happen again on the following evening,† until he finally reaches the presence of God, in whom, as in a tranquil harbour, his mind, after its long voyage, may repose in peace."

Noi eravam dove più non saliva  
La scala su, ed eravamo affissi,  
Pur come nave ch' alla spiaggia arriva :

Ed io attesi un poco s' io udissi

Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone ; ‡

Poi mi volsi al Maestro mio, e dissi :

80

— "Dolce mio Padre, di' quale offensione

Si purga qui nel giro dove semo ?

Se i piè si stanno, non stea tuo sermone."

We were (now) where the stairway ascended no further (i.e., at its summit), and were motionless, even as a ship when it reaches the shore : and a while I gazed if I might hear anything in the new circle ; then I turned me to my Master and said : " My beloved Father, tell me what offence is purged in this Cornice where we are ? Even though our feet tarry, let not thy speech be stayed."

\* " Colà, disse quell' ombra, ' n' anderemo,  
Dove la costa face di sè grembo,  
E quivi il nuovo giorno attenderemo."

*Purg.* vii, 67-69.

† " E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense  
Fosse orizzonte fatto d' un aspetto,  
E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,  
Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto,  
Che la natura del monte ci attrasse  
La possa di salir pria che il diletto."

*Purg.* xxvii, 70-75.

‡ *Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone* : We may remember that Dante had heard sounds immediately on entering each of the first ascending Cornices. In the second he heard the voice of the Angel crying aloud, *Vinum non habent*, see Canto xiii, 25-28. In the third, he heard the spirits praying for peace and mercy, see Canto xvi, 16-18). In this new Cornice no sound came upon his ears.



Dante recollects that, during their enforced delay on the previous night, Sordello had turned the time to good account by pointing out to him the shades of the departed great in the flowery valley, and he is now anxious to discuss with Virgil some matter profitable for what lies before him.

Benvenuto remarks that our poet, with great accuracy proceeds to make a useful and necessary investigation, in which he gives a clear distinction of the who of Purgatory through all its Cornices; just as we read, in *Inf.* xi, that he does of all the circles of Hell.

Virgil answers him :

Ed egli a me — "L' amor del bene,\* scemo  
Di suo dover, quitta si ristora,  
Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo † :

\* *L' amor del bene, scemo Di suo dover*: Cesari (*Bellezza* vol. II, p. 311) says: "Da queste parole apparisce quivi essere punita l'Accidia. . . . Qui Dante monta in cattedra, e mediano ad una lezione di etica." St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars I, qu. lxxi, art. 2) defines *Accidia* thus: "Accidia vero est quedam tristitia quæ homo redditur tardus ad spirituales actus propter corporalem laborem, quæ daemonibus non competit." And (*Summ. Theol.* pars II, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. xxxv, art. 1), "Accidia deprimit animum hominis, ut nihil ei agere libeat; sicut ea quæ sunt acida, etiam frigida sunt. Et ideo accidia importat quoddam tardum operandi."

† *si ribatte il mal tardato remo*: Biagioli says that Dante has taken this figure from the cruel treatment that the unhappy galley-slaves experienced in his time. They were chained to an oar, and were mercilessly beaten if unable to row fast enough. If the vessel got sunk or burnt, they were deliberate left to perish. In Massimo d'Azeglio's novel, *Niccolò de' Lani* cap. 14, in an account of a naval action of Andrea Doria, a terrible picture of this is given. Cesari (*op. cit.* p. 311): "Or il Poeta vuol accennare questa lentezza e nausea del ben operare, colla magne de' vogatori *remers*, i quali se il cottimo volga in là gli occhi, allentano il vogare e si pagnano alquanto di sosta."

And he to me: "The (mere) love of what is good, when lacking its proper duty (of activity in seeking after it) is atoned for on this very spot, here is plied again the ill-belated oar.

We have in the above lines Dante's definition of *Acedie*."

\* *Acedie*: See this word in the *New English Dictionary* edited by James A. H. Murray, Oxford, 1884. "*Acedie*. (The Forms: *acedie*, *ac. yde*; *acedie*, *ac. ydye*, *a. ydye*, *ac. ydye*. O Fr. *acedie*, *ac. yde*, O. Norm. Fr. *ac. ydye*, *ac. ydye*. ad. med. *Acidies*, corrupt. Of late Lat. *acedia*, a Gr. ἀκεία, heedlessness, torpor in Cicero *Att.* xv, 45) noun of state from ἀ, not, and κεία, care, ἐκεία, I care, *lit.* non-caring state. *Acedia* became a favourite ecclesiastical word, applied primarily to the mental prostration of recluses, induced by fasting, and other physical causes; afterwards the proper term for the 4th cardinal vice, with sluggishness. (See Chaucer, *Persones Tale*, 603.) Its Greek origin being forgotten, the word was variously 'derived' from *acidum* sour—see *Cæsarius* quoted in Du Cange and Roquefort '*Acide* = Ennui, tristesse, degout: d' *acidum*) and from *accidere* to come upon one as an *accident* or *access*, whence the Med. Lat. corruption, *accedia*, and O Fr. and Eng. *accedie*, *ac. yde*. The latter is Norman, the former Parisian; the later Eng. accentuation was *accedie*. With the restoration of Greek learning, the Latin became again *acedia*, whence a rare *Acidie* in 17th century.) Sloth, torpor. Among a number of illustrations given in the *New Eng. Dict.*, I select two.

"Under *accedie*, þet ich creopede slouþþr."

(*Anglen Kende*, A. D. 1230)

"A man that hath acedye or slouthe hath sorowe and angre the whye that he knoweth that an other man doth wel."  
(*Chaucer, Ordre of Chivalry*, 81, A. D. 1384) Chaucer thus defines *Acedie* in *The Persones Tale* under the head of *The Acedia*: "After the sin of wrath, now wol I speke of the state of *accedie*, or slouth for envye blindeth the herte of a man and ire troubleth a man, and *accedie* maketh him levy, *accedie* and wraue (*accedie*) Envy and ire maken bitternesse in herte, which bitternesse is nother of *accedie*, and *accedie* hit, the love of alle goodnesse, than is *accedie* the *accedie* of a troubled herte. And Seint Augustine sayth: It is an enny of goodnesse and annoye of harme. Certes this is a venyable synne, for it doth wrong to Jesu Crist, in as moche as it benimeth the service that men shulde do to Crist with

Benvenuto says that *accidia* is a defective love of the highest good, which we ought to seek for ardently. It is therefore a kind of negligence, a tepid, lukewarm condition, and, as it were, a contempt for acquiring the desirable amount of goodness. Thus it is that the man, who rowed lazily during the day-time, finds himself obliged to beat the water with far greater exertion during the night with his oar, if he would regain what he has lost, and get safely and speedily into port; and in like manner, the man who, in his life-time, strove carelessly after the good, is compelled after death, to run diligently round this Fourth Cornice, as we shall read in the next Canto.

And now Virgil begins to discourse at considerable length on the origin and cause from which the seven principal sins are derived, and he says that Love is

all diligence. He doth all thing with annoye, and with wrawnesse, slakenesse, and excusation, with idleness and uniaist. For which the book sayth. Accursed be he that doth the service of God negligently. That is accidie enemy to every estate of man. . . Now certes this foul syn of accidie is eke a ful gret enemy to the livelyede of the body; for it ne hath no parveiance agensit temporel necessitee, for it forsleutheth, forsauggeth, and destroeth all goods temporel by rechelesnesse. Dean Paget *Life of Discipline, Introductory Essay*, pp. 21, 22) says of the above passage. "Such are the main points in Chaucer's wonderful delineation of the subtle, complex sin of accidie. In strength of drawing, in grasp of purpose, in moral earnestness, in vivid and dispassionate perception, it seems to the present writer more remarkable and suggestive than any other treatment of the subject which he has read; or equalled only by the significance of that brief passage, where the everlasting misery of those who wistfully and to the end have yielded themselves to this sin is told by Dante in the *Inferno*." There would seem to be a distinct difference between the penitent *accidiosi* in Purgatory, whose fault is a defective love of the highest good; and the Fifth Circle of Hell, who represent the sulen or sarky type of Anger (*ira*).

the cause of all (by Love must be understood our inclinations, aspirations and longings). He apparently means that Pride, Envy and Anger arise from the love of evil against one's neighbour; *accidie*, or Sloth, from a tardy desire of discerning and acquiring the true good. The three remaining sins, Avarice, Gluttony and Self-Indulgence spring from an excessive love or desire of what is not the true good. And so, Virgil shows that Love is the perverted origin and root of all sins.

Virgil first draws Dante's attention to these distinctions, promising him that he will derive profit to himself by considering them.

Ma perchè più aperto intendi ancora,  
 Volgi la mente a me, e prenderai  
 Alcun buon frutto di nostra dimora. 90

But that thou mayest understand yet more clearly,  
 turn thy attention to me, and thou shalt gather some  
 good fruit from our delay.

And Benvenuto points out that it was in truth very great fruit, for, from the discourse of Virgil that follows, we can gather the whole form and condition (*qualitas*) of Purgatory, and not only is the matter that has already been discussed become clearly laid open before us, when we have taken in these three distinctions, but also that of which we are going to treat as we go on.

Virgil enters on his subject by laying down a general principle necessary for comprehending these distinctions.

Benvenuto says that, to understand the text better, it is perhaps well to explain that there are

two kinds of Love,\* the higher and the lower. The higher, which can never be the cause of sin, seeks the good, and the divine light. But the lower, on account of Free Will, can be the cause of sin. As for instance, when one loves a thing which ought not to be loved, but which seems good to oneself, such as the ruin of a neighbour's prosperity. Or, when one loves a thing worthy of being loved, but loves it inordinately. Or, when one loves a thing worthy of our highest love, but in a careless slothful way, as in the case of *Accidie*, which is punished in this Cornice.

—“Nè creator, nè creatura mar,”—

Cominciò ei, —“figliuol, fu senza amore,  
O naturale, o d' animo ; † e tu il sai.

Lo natural è sempre senza errore ;

Ma l' altro puote errar per malo obbietto,

O per poco, o per troppo di vigore. ‡

95

\* *two kinds of Love*: Ozanam (*Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, pp 130-131) seems to speak of three: “Dans l'ordre moral, les premiers faits qui se rencontrent sont encore du nombre de ceux où l'Âme se montre passive; c'est pourquoi on les nomme excellentement Passions. Il serait long de les énumérer. Mais toutes se ramènent à des dispositions antérieures qu'on appelle appetits. Il y a trois sortes d'appetits. Le premier naturel, qui n'a point conscience de soi, et qui est la tendance irrésistible de tous les êtres physiques à la satisfaction de leurs besoins; le second sensitif, qui a son mobile externe dans les choses sensibles, et qui est concupiscent ou trahiscent tour à tour; le troisième intellectuel, dont l'objet n'est appréciable qu'à la pensée. Ces appetits eux mêmes peuvent se réduire à un seul point de commun, l'amour. . . . L'homme est doué d'un amour qui lui est propre pour les choses honnêtes et parfaites, ou plutôt, comme sa nature tient à la fois de la simplicité et de l'imminence de la nature divine, l'homme réunit en lui tous ces genres d'amour.”

† *O naturale, o d' animo*: Natural love is innate instinct. *Amore d' animo* is man's Free Will.

‡ *l' altro puote errar . . . vigore*: We are here shown three

"Neither Creator nor creature"—he began—"was ever without Love, either natural or spiritual; and thou knowest it. The natural (*i.e.*, instinct left to itself) is always free from error; but the other (the spiritual) can err from a bad object (as its aim), or from defect or from excess of fervency (*lit.* vigour).

Virgil next shows when love errs, and when it does not.

Mentre ch' egl' è ne' primi \* ben diretto,  
E ne' secondi sè stesso misura,  
Esser non può cagion di mal diletto :

As long as it is directed towards the chiefest excellencies (*i.e.*, towards God and virtue), and in the secondary ones keeps itself within moderation, it cannot be the cause of sinful pleasure;

How love may be sinful.

Ma quando al mal si torce, o con più cura      100  
O con men che non dee † corte nel bene,  
Contra il fattore adopra sua fattura.

in which Free Will can err; (1) *per malo obbietto, i. e.* by deliberately choosing the evil:

(a) by seeking one's own predominance and the abasement of one's neighbour (*Pride*);

(b) anxiously dreading to be oneself abased when one sees one's neighbour's advancement (*Timidity*);

(c) strongly resenting and seeking revenge for every little injury (*Anger*).

2. Loving the eternal good insufficiently, and showing oneself lukewarm in attaining unto it (*Acedie*).

3. Loving a perishable good unduly:

(a) Undue longing after riches, or the abuse of them (*Avarice and Prodigality*);

(b) ill-regulated love of food (*Gulotony*);

(c) unbridled concupiscence of the flesh (*Sensuality*).

\* *ne' primi* - Cristoforo Landino, in a note on this passage, says that there are two kinds of love or desire; the first (*ne' primi*) is natural, which is naturally implanted in all creatures, through which they seek after that good with which they find their self-preservation; the other love (*ne' secondi*) is animal, that is, of the mind, and this proceeds from the will, in which there is power of election and free will.

† *men che non dee*. The love we owe to God is given in *St.*

But when it is perverted to evil, or pursues the good with more zeal or with less than it ought, then the creature is working against its Creator.

Benvenuto says this animal love can turn itself to work evil against one's neighbour through Pride, Envy, or Anger; it can be too solicitous after temporal goods, through Avarice, Gluttony, or Sensuality; and it can pursue the highest good with less zeal than it ought through Accidie, or Sloth.

And Virgil draws the following conclusion.

Quinci comprender puoi \* ch' esser conviene  
Amor sementa in voi d' ogni virtute,  
E d' ogni operazion che merita pena.

105

Hence thou mayest understand that love must be the seed within yourselves of every virtue, as well as of every action that merits punishment.

And thus, Benvenuto remarks, we have it that Love is the root and origin of every action, whether meritorious or the reverse, when it is turned aside to evil, or runs after what is good with greater or less solicitude than it ought.

Virgil next proceeds to demonstrate what sins arise from love of what is bad, and yet which may seem to be good. He first shows that such Love is always towards another, and not to oneself, for Love always takes care of the person in whom it is set, and every one desires his own welfare.

*Mark*, xii, 30. "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength."

\* *Quinci comprender puoi*, etc. : Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, q. xx, art. 1. "Præmota voluntatis et cuilibet appetitiva virtus est amor." And again qu. lx, in prin. "Omnis actus appetitiva virtutis ex amore seu dilectione derivatur."

Or perchè mai non può \* dalla salute  
 Amor del suo soggetto † volger viso,  
 Dall' odio proprio son le cose tute :

Now inasmuch as love can never avert its sight from the welfare of its own subject (*i.e.*, the object loved), all things (susceptible of love) are secure against their own hatred.

One never wishes harm to oneself, unless under the mistaken impression that one is doing oneself good when doing oneself harm ; as, for instance, the unhappy suicide does not deliberately imagine that what he is doing is for his harm, but erroneously fancies it is for his good ; to escape from disgrace, debts, or the burden of grief.

Virgil next draws another important conclusion, namely, that no one can hate God.

E perchè intender non si può diviso,‡

\* *non può* See in illustration of this passage, one in St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ Theol* pars 1, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. xxx, art. 4, *Quomodo quis possit habere odio seipsum*). The passage is too long to quote here.

† *soggetto* Scartazini explains that *soggetto* is a scholastic term, and in its most restricted sense signifies "person." Here Dante makes it to mean the being in whom this love resides.

‡ *intender non si può diviso . . . dal primo*. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ Theol* pars 1, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. xxxiv, art. 1) :

"*Quomodo est quod habet naturam appetitive potentie, quod non movetur nisi ab aliquo apprehenso. Deus autem dupliciter ab homine apprehendi potest uno modo secundum seipsum, puta cum per essentiam videtur, alio modo per effectus suos, cum videtur in rebus. Deum per ea que facta sunt intellecta comprehendit. Deus autem per essentiam suam est ipsa bonitas, quam nihil habere odio potest, quia de ratione boni est ut amari, et ideo impossibile est quod aliquis videns Deum per essentiam, cum odio habeat. Sed effectus eius aliqui sunt qui non modo possunt esse contrarii voluntati humane, quia esse nocere et interficere est et appetibile omnibus ; quare sunt quidam effectus Dei. Unde etiam secundum quod Deus*



E per sè stante, alcuno esser dal primo,  
Da quello odiare ogni affetto è deciso.\*

And since no being can be thought to exist severed from the First (Being), and standing of itself (*i.e.*, independently), every affection is removed (*lit. cut off*) from hating That One.

From the above intricate and difficult passages, we may affirm that Dante claims to have proved that, however ill-regulated Man's affections may be, there is no intention in him to hate or do harm to himself. He also shows that Man's hatred is never again against God. And thence he draws the conclusion, that Man's hatred must be against his fellow men.

Resta,† se dividendo bene estimo,  
Che il mal che s'ama è del prossimo, ed esso  
Amor nasce in tre modi ‡ in vostro limo.

apprehenditur ut auctor horum effectuum, non potest odium haberi. Sunt autem quidam effectus Dei qui repugnant innatae voluntati sicut inflictio poenae, et etiam solutio peccatorum per legem divinam: quae repugnant voluntati depravatae per peccatum. et quantum ad considerationem talium effectuum ab aliquibus Deus odio haberi potest, in quantum scilicet apprehenditur peccatorum prohibitor, et poenarum inflictor.\*

\* *de isto*: Here used in the sense of the Latin *decidere*, to cut off, to remove. Giovanni Villani (Lib. X, cap. 226) also uses it in the same sense. "Non si conveniva a Papa di muovere questione sospette contra la fede cattolica, ma chi le movesse decidere e estirpare."

† *Resta*. Scattazzeni says this is a scholastic term equivalent to the Latin *relinquitur*. If a man can neither desire his own ill, nor that of the First Being, and cannot either hate himself or his Creator, it follows, as a natural sequence, that the evil which he does love can only be that of his neighbour, and this love of one's neighbour's hurt may have a triple origin.

‡ *in tre modi*: Tommaso well defines the three ways. "Non si può dunque voler male ad altri che al prossimo, e questo o per superbia abbassando altrui a fine d'innalzare sè; o per invidia, attaccandosi dell'altrui potere e onore, per tema di perdere quant'altri ne acquista, o per ira di male patto o

It follows then—if in my division I rightly estimate—that the evil which is loved is that of one's neighbour, and that self-same love takes its birth in your clay in three ways.

Here Virgil, in beginning to speak of the three worst sins, touches on the first, which is Pride. The Proud man, because he desires his own exaltation, wishes to see his neighbour abased.

E chi per esser suo vicin soppresso  
Spera eccellenza, e sol per questo brama  
Ch' e' sia di sua grandezza in basso messo.\*

There are who by the abasement of their neighbour hope themselves to excel, and for this reason only crave to see him cast down from his greatness.

Benvenuto says that this affection of Pride is really and truly evil: for it seeks one's neighbour's overthrow and ruin. He quotes the following extract from P'ny: "What should a wretched man be proud of? Does he not know that he is a receptacle of squalor, a home of sorrows, a possession belonging to death?" Benvenuto adds: "Nothing is so odious to God as Pride. Verily, while some other sins have their excuse, even though undeservedly, Pride has none; no more has its own daughter Envy, which follows close in the footsteps of its mother. Therefore the proud

l'ama. Questi tre abusi dell' amore purgansi ne' giri di sotto, e son più gravi. Ora resta dell' amore inordinato o per tiepidezza, e dicesi accidia; o per troppo ardore, e può spingersi a usare oro, cibo, piaceri. Avarizia, come più rea, sta sotto a quella gola sotto a lussuria, che è men lontano alla cima."

\* *Prima Ch' e' sia . . . in basso messo*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars II, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. clix., art. 3): "Superbia dicitur esse amor proprie excellentie, in quantum ex amore causatur inordinata presumptio alios superandi; quod proprie perit ad superbiam."

mannikin has much in him of the nature of a monster."

Virgil next touches upon the second kind of the love of evil, from which springs Envy. The envious man, because he dreads that his neighbour's prosperity may be the cause of his own not being so great, is grieved at the other's happiness. So he goes on to say :

E chi \* podere, grazia, onore e fama  
Teme di perder perch' altri sormonti,  
Onde s' attrista sì che il contrario ama ;

There are who fear to lose power, favour, honour and renown should others mount above them, and so much do they take it to heart, that they desire the opposite.

"And mark well," notes Benvenuto, "that it is especially among near neighbours that envy reigns supreme: thus you will find that the King of the Romans does not envy the King of the Parthians nor vice versâ; but, when their empires border

\* *E chi podere . . . Teme di perder, et seq.*: Compare Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. xxxvi, art. 1) "Invidia est tristitia de alienis bonis . . . Objectum tristitiæ malum proprium. Contingit autem id quod est ad enim bonum apprehendi ut malum proprium; et secundum hoc de bono alieno potest esse tristitia. Sed hoc contingit dupliciter . . . Alio modo bonum alterius æstimatur ut malum proprium, quantum est diminutum propriæ gloriæ vel excellentiæ, hoc modo de bono alterius tristatur invidia; et ideò præter de illis bonis homines invident in quibus est gloriæ, et in quibus est gloriæ, et in quibus homines amant honorati et in opibus esse." Compare also *Convito*, I, 11, ll. 117-125 "Lo invidioso per argomenti, non biasimando di non sapere dire colui che dice mal biasima quello che è materia della sua opera, per tanto che pregiando l' opera da quella parte) a lui che dice onore e fama siccome colui che biasima il ferro d' una spada, non per biasimare dare al ferro, ma a tutta l' opera dal maestro."

their mutual envy was great. Do not our own troubles weigh hard enough upon us without our taking in others to torture us? The old proverb says: *Envy is blear-eyed, and cannot see.* Hence neighbourhood and prosperity are the parents of Envy. What can be sadder than Envy, which only feeds on ills, and is tortured by prosperity? Well did Alexander of Macedon say that envious persons were nothing else than the plague of his life. And certainly that was a weighty argument from the lips of a flighty young man (*et certe verbum grave erat lævis juvenis*).

And now Virgil passes on to the third kind of evil love, from which springs Anger. Benvenuto observes that the angry man longs to be revenged on those who hold him of small count, for man is at all times eager to be honoured.

Ed è chi per ingiuria \* par ch' adonti  
 Sì che si fa della vendetta ghiotto;  
 E tal convien che il male altrui impronti.+

And there are who appear to feel such resentment for an injury, that they become greedy for vengeance; and such must needs contrive harm to others.

\* *ingiuria*: Tommaséo interprets this "injustice" in corroboration of which he cites Virg. *Æn.* iii, 255-257:

"Sed non ante datam cingetis munibus urbem,  
 Quam vos dua fames nostraque injuria cædis  
 Ambesas subigat malis absorbere mensas."

+ *impronti*: Buti says: "cioè faccia, o faccia fare, male al tuo co suo." The primary meaning of *improntare* is "to give the impress, to cast, to coin," and the *Voc. della Crusca* says that in this passage it is used figuratively: "cioè metta avanti il male altrui effigandolo." Lombardi interprets: "chieda, cerchi," and Donkin *Dict. Romance Languages*, London, 1864) says it is derived from the French *emprunter*.

Benvenuto enlarges on this: "And note, that although this disease of Anger destroys and tortures others, yet it often does so to its possessor: hence, though Homer has said that Anger is sweeter than honey, yet nothing seems more bitter. The Roman Senator Cælius, a most violent-tempered man, once, being in a great rage with a friend of his, who always acquiesced in everything he said, exclaimed: 'Do for goodness sake say something contrary, that we may be two persons.' Thus it is that we make every little word into a capital offence; nor is there any stumbling block so great to us as our pride. But the noblest form of revenge is to spare; and therefore the greatest of orators once said in praise of one of the noblest of leaders, that he never forgot anything except a personal injury. And Adrian, when he was made Emperor, said to one whom he held to be his deadliest enemy: 'Thou hast escaped.' That was in truth a noble, magnificent, and imperial speech."

Virgil sums up his discourse on these three kinds of ill-directed Love by adding:

Questo triforme amor quaggiù disotto

Si piange; or vo' che tu dell' altro intende, 125

Che corre al ben con ordine corrotto.

This threefold Love is wept for down below there (in the first three Cornices). Now I wish thee to understand about the other (kind of love), which runs after good in an ill-regulated manner.

Virgil, wishing to distinguish the love of good, and to show what sins are committed against it, invites Dante's attention to that Love he described in verse 95, *che puote errar per malo obbietto, o per poco, o per troppo di vigore.*

And then, wishing to show how spiritual sloth arises, he first lays down a general principle necessarily applicable to it.

Ciascun confusamente un bene apprende,\*

Nel qual si queta l'animo, e disira :

Perchè di giugner lui ciascun contende.

Se lento amore † in lui veder vi tira,

130

O a lui acquirar, questa cornice,

Dopo giusto pentir, ve ne martira.

Every one, in a confused sort of way, has a conception of a good wherein his mind may rest, and longs for it: every one therefore strives to attain unto it. If sluggish Love (alone) attracts you to see that good, or to obtain it, this (Fourth) Cornice, after due penitence, torments you for it.

Only on condition of a genuine repentance before

\* *apprende*: Gioberti says that this word "ha qui a parer mio un significato complesso, che mal si potrebbe altrimenti esprimere. Suona quella come confusa cognizione mista ad amore che aspira al sommo bene; e il sollecito afferrar che facciamo coi nostri sforzi questa idea." Compare Boethius, *Consol. Met.* III, pr. II: "Omnis mortalium cura, quam multiplicitum studiorum labor exeret, diverso quidem calle procedit, sed ad unum tamen beatitudinis finem nititur pervenire. Id autem est bonum, quo quis adeptus nihil ulterius desiderare queat. Quod quidem est omnium summum bonarum, cunctaque intra secula continens. . . . Hunc . . . diverso tramite mortales omnes appetunt adipisci. Est enim mentibus hominum veri boni desiderium in-erta cupiditas: sed ad falsa devius error abducit. Sed ad hominum studium revertor: quorum animus, et si desiderante memoria, tamen bonam summum repetit; sed, velut inanis, domum quo tramite revertatur, ignorat."

† *Lento amore*: "Tale concetto dell'Accidia ci porge S. Tommaso *Summ. Theol.* pars II, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. xxxv, art. 2, col quale s'ispirava il Poeta, che venuto al quarto cerchio, dopo aver nominato di Dio, si volge a dire: Bene supremo che acquieta ogni desiderio dell'intelligente creatura, soggiunge [here are quoted lines 132 of the text] le parole *veder* e *acquirar* (che, segnando rispettivamente il doppio termine gaudioso della carità, la contemplazione e l'opera, e insieme la doppia ragione onde un'animazione e s'attedia l'accidioso." *Peres*, p. 176-177.

death, could the soul come to Purgatory at all; failing this, it would have to go among the Lost in Hell.

Virgil describes another good from which spring three other sins.

Altro ben è che non fa l' uom felice ;

Non è felicità, non è la buona

Essenza,\* d' ogni buon frutto e radice.†

135

There is another good which does not render man happy ; it is not happiness, it is not the good essence, the fruit and root of every good.

Biagioli says that Dante means to speak of all earthly possessions, which men strive after, according to the different dispositions of their minds, as the good beyond which there is nothing to be desired.

\* *la buona Essenza* : " Solus Deus est bonus per suam essentiam. Unumquodque enim dicitur bonum, secundum quod est perfectum. Perfectio autem alicujus rei triplex est. Prima quidem, secundum quod in suo esse constituitur ; secunda verò prout ei aliqua accidentia superadduntur ad suam perfectam operationem necessaria, tertia verò perfectio al cuius est per hoc quòd aliquid aliud attingit sicut finem ? utpote prima perfectio ignis consistit in esse, quod habet per suam formam substantialem ; secunda vero eius perfectio consistit in caliditate, levitate et siccitate, et hujusmodi ; tertia verò perfectio ejus est, secundum quod in loco suo quiescit. Hæc autem triplex perfectio nulli creato competit secundum suam essentiam, sed soli Deo, cujus solius essentia est suam esse, et cui non adveniunt aliqua accidentia ; sed quæ de aliis dicuntur accidentaliter, sibi conveniunt essentialiter, ut esse potentem, sapientem, et alia hujusmodi ; ipse etiam ad nihil aliud ordinatur sicut ad finem, sed ipse est ultimus finis omnium rerum. Unde manifestum est quod solus Deus habet omnimodam perfectionem secundum suam essentiam ; et idèd solus est bonus per suam essentiam." St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars 1, qu. vi, art. 3.

† *ogni buon frutto e radice* : According to St. Thomas Aquinas, God is the root and the fruit of all good. (*Summ. Theol.* pars 1, qu. vi, art. 4). " Unumquodque dicitur bonum bonitate divina, sicut primo principio exemplari effectivo, et finali totius bonitatis."

Therefore one man toils after riches, another after honours, another after great power, another after reputation. But this is not happiness, for it does not exclude every other desire; it is not the Good Essence, that is, God, the root and the fruit of all good, the origin of every Heavenly Grace, and that Good in which all other goods are contained.

In closing his discourse Virgil explains to Dante that he purposely leaves the exact description of this Love of temporal good somewhat indefinite, in order that Dante may work it out for himself by personal experience.

L' amor ch' ad esso troppo s' abbandona,  
Di sopra noi si piange per tre cerchi;  
Ma come tripartito si ragiona,

Tacciolò, acciocchè tu per te ne cerchi."—\* 139

The Love that yields itself too much to this is wept for in three Cornices above us; but in what way it is spoken of as tripartite, I say nothing thereof, in order that thou mayest investigate it for thyself."

The disquisition that we have laboured through, as well as some forty lines in the next Canto, are a true specimen of the scholastic philosophy prevalent in the time of Dante.

What is known as the scholastic philosophy may be considered to have flourished from Scotus Erigena in the IXth century to William of Occam at the end of the XIVth century. Its chief activity ranged from the XIth century onward, and it reached the climax of development with Thomas Aquinas and Duns

\* *De hi*: Compare *Comito*, iii, cap. 5, li. 194-196: "Siccome omni per quello che detto è, potete vedere chi ha nobile ingegno, ai quale è bello un poco di fatica lasciare."



Scotus towards the end of the XIIIth and beginning of the XIVth centuries. The term *doctor scholasticus* was originally applied to any teacher in the schools attached to mediæval ecclesiastical foundations, but came to mean specially one who occupied himself with dialectics, a logical and philosophical questions arising. Briefly stated, scholasticism is the application of aristotelian logic to the doctrines of the scholastics. The scholastics placed less reliance upon the reason than did Thomas Aquinas. The one were known as Thomists and the other as Scotists. The great work of Thomas Aquinas, *Theologia*, written about 1272, is an encyclopædic synopsis of all the theological and philosophical science of the age, arranged in logical forms. It was deeply studied by Dante.

END OF CANTO XVII.

## CANTO XVIII.

THE FOURTH CORNICE.—ACCIDIE.—THE NATURE OF LOVE.—LOVE AND FREE WILL.—SPIRITS OF THE SLOTHFUL RUNNING IN HASTE, AS THE PENALTY FOR ACCIDIE.—THE ABBOT OF SAN ZENO. — THE SCALIGERI. — DANTE FALLS ASLEEP.

IN the last Canto Dante showed how all sins have their origin in some kind of Love. In this Canto he describes the faults of purgation of Accidie or Spiritual Sloth, which comes from some remissness in Love for the only True Good.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 39, Virgil, at Dante's request, continues his profound disquisition, and gives a definition of Love.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 40 to v. 75, Virgil clears up a doubt which has arisen in Dante's mind in consequence of the definition.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 76 to v. 105, the penalty of the Slothful is described, after that Dante has given an indication as to the time of day.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 106 to v. 129, Dante relates his conversation with the Abbot of St. Zeno at Verona.

*In the Fifth Division*, from v. 130 to v. 145, Virgil, by way of teaching Dante how Accidie is to be avoided, shows him some of its unfortunate effects.

*Division I.* Dante's mental questionings have been partly quieted, partly aroused. What is that Love, the right or wrong direction of which is the cause, on the one hand of all holiness, on the other of all evil? He still has some doubts on the subject, and leaves it to be inferred that he has reasoned within himself as to whether enough has been said on what the Scholiasts termed the "Matter of Love," and has come to the conclusion that there has not. He adds that Virgil restores his confidence by telling him, in words which he does not quote, that he need not be afraid to speak out the doubts that he feels.

Posto avea fine al suo ragionamento

L' alto Dottore, ed attento guardava

Nella mia vista \* s' io pareva contento :

Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,

Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea :—" Forse

Lo troppo domandar, ch' io fo, gli grava." †

Ma quel padre verace, che s' accorse ‡

Del timido voler che non s' apriva,

Parlando, di parlare ardir mi porse.

\* *Nella mia vista*: Scartazzini prefers interpreting this, "into my eyes," and quotes *Convito*, iii, 8, ll. 77-90: "L' Anima . . . dimostrasi negli occhi tanto manifesta, che conoscer si può la sua presente passione, chi bene la mira. Onde conciossiacosachè sei passioni siano proprie dell' Anima umana . . . di nulla di queste puote l' Anima essere passionata, che alla finestra degli occhi non vegna la sembianza, se per grande virtù non si chiude."

† *gli grava*: Compare *Inf.* iii, 79-81:

"Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi,  
Temendo no' l' mo' dir' gli fusse grave,  
Infino al hunc di parlar mi trassi."

‡ *s' accorse Del timido voler*: Virgil had read Dante's thought as in *Inf.* xiiii, 25-30; as in *Purg.* xv, 127-129, and as in *Par.* xvii, 7-12, where, during Dante's interview with his great-grandfather Cacciaguida, Beatrice observing in Dante's

The exalted Teacher had put an end to his discourse, and was looking attentively into my face, (to see) if I appeared satisfied: and I, whom a fresh thirst was already goading on, was outwardly silent, and within was saying: "Perchance the too much questioning I make is giving him annoyance." But that true Father, who comprehended the timid wish that did not show itself, by speaking, emboldened me to speak.

He must have spoken words like those of Beatrice (*Par.* xvii, 7-12. See note). Dante with renewed confidence proceeds to unburden himself of his doubts, but, before doing so, he breaks out into an exclamation of affection and gratitude to Virgil. Benvenuto says that he does him honour by a cumulative process. First he speaks of him as *alto Dottore*, then *padre verace*, and now calls him *Maestro*.

Dante explains to Virgil that he had been telling him what Love did, and in what it was the cause either of good or of evil, but he says: Thou hast not yet told me, to begin with, what Love is!

Ond' io :—" Maestro,\* il mio veder s' avviva      10  
 Sì nel tuo lume, ch' io discerno chiaro  
 Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva :  
 Però ti prego, dolce Padre caro,  
 Che mi dimostri amore, a cui riduci

*io* a wish to ask further questions, and his hesitation to do so, encourages him to speak out

" Per che mia donna : ' Manda fuor la vampa  
 Del tuo disio,' mi disse, ' sì ch' ella esca  
 Segnata bene della interna stampa ;  
 Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca  
 Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi  
 A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.' "

\* *Maestro* See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 424, footnote? in *Maestro*.

Ogni buono operare e il suo contrario.\*

15

Whereupon I: "Master, my sight is so vivified in thy light, that I clearly discern all that thy reasoning imports or describes: therefore I beg thee, dear gentle Father, to define for me that Love to which thou ascribest every good action, and its contrary."

Virgil answers Dante, and begs him to give the closest attention to his words, as the subject is intensely difficult.

"Drizza,"—disse,—*"ver me l' acute luci  
Dello intelletto, e fietti manifesto  
L' error dei ciechi che si fanno duci.*

"Direct," said he, "on me the keen eyes of the understanding; and (then) will be clear to thee the error of those blind ones who make themselves leaders.

The error of the blind leaders of the blind is that of the Epicurean philosophers, who contended that, as a man's desires naturally turned to good, every such desire must, by that fact alone, be worthy of praise, and ought therefore to be gratified.

In the lines that follow here we are reminded of the beautiful figure in the last Canto but one (xvi, 86).

L' animo, ch' è creato ad amar presto,  
Ad ogni cosa è mobile che piace,  
Tosto che dal piacere in atto è desto.†

20

\* *contrario* for *contrario*. See Nannucci 'Teoria dei Nomi, pp. 631-637' "*Del troncamento dei nomi terminati in -ario, -erio,*" etc., in which he speaks of the great frequency of these elisions among old Italian writers, e.g. *contrario* for *contrario*, *necessario* for *necessario*; *avversario* for *avversario*, etc. Compare *Purg.* viii. 94. 95:

"Com' ei parlava, e Sordello a sè il trasse  
Dicendo: 'Vedi là il nostro avversario.'"

† *in atto è desto*: On this Buti observes: "Qui dimostra che questa naturale potenza d' amare stassi cheta nell' animo e non si produce in atto, se non provocata dal piacere."

The soul, which is created prone to Love, is readily moved towards everything that pleases, so soon as by pleasure it is roused to action.

Benvenuto reminds us that we read in the last Canto that neither Creator nor created thing was ever without some kind of Love, and that therefore the soul is naturally inclined towards everything that, at first sight, seems pleasing to it, as soon as it is awakened, and set in motion from the delectation born within it; [Benvenuto reads *piacer innato*, instead of *piacere in atto*.] Just as when you see a beautiful woman, her form enters through the windows of your eyes into the chamber of your mind, and moves it to love her, although she is absent and the mind will never behold her.

Virgil explains this.

Vostra apprensiva da esser verace \*

Tragge intenzione,† e dentro a voi la spiega,  
Sì che l'animo ad essa volger face.

\* *da esser verace*: The faculty of apprehending, perceiving, and comprehending, is set in motion by the reality of external things round us, and this develops in us the wish to show it *wisely* of Love. Mr. Butler extracts from Mansel's notes to *Aesch.* "Apprehension or conception consists in the power which the mind has of forming an image of attributes. Images so formed are first intentions (*species intelligibiles*) as when we regard the individual Socrates as man, white, etc. *Second* intentions are obtained by abstracting the relations of *first* intentions to one another, as humanity, whiteness, etc. First intentions are predicable, second not."

† *intenzione*: The scholastic philosophers called images, or likenesses of things, by the names of "*species*" or "*intentiones*." See Meiser, *Lexicon quo Veterum Theologorum locutiones explicantur*, Coloniae, 1855, p. 77: "5. *Species tam expressa, quam impressa dicitur saepe intentionalis quia per eam potentia videtur, sive intendi in objectum*." Compare Varchi, *L'Hercolano*, Venice, 1570, pp. 23-24: "Il parlare, o vero favellare

E se, rivolto,\* in ver di lei si piega,

humano esteriore non è altro, che manifestare ad alcuno i *concetti dell'animo*, mediante le parole . . . Ho detto i *concetti dell'animo*, perchè il fine di chi favella è principalmente mostrare di fuori quello, che egli ha racchiuso dentro nell'animo, o vero mente; cioè nella fantasia, perchè nella virtù fantastica si riserbano le immagini, o vero similitudini delle cose, le quali i Filosofi chiamano hora *sperte*, hora *intenzioni*, e noi le diciamo propriamente *concetti*, e tal volta *pensieri*, o vero *intendimenti*, e bene spesso con altri nomi." A great number of Commentators including the *Vex. della Crusca*, Scartazzini, Cameroni, Poletto, Andreoli, Tommaséo and others, give this reference wrongly, simply wrung: "Varchi, Ercol. 29."

\* *E se, rivolto*, et seq.: See Ozanam (*Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*), p. 132: "Aussitôt qu'un objet se présente capable de plaire, il nous réveille par une sensation de plaisir. La faculté qu'on nomme appréhension entre en exercice, elle perçoit le rapport de l'objet avec nos besoins, elle le développe jusqu'à faire que l'âme se retourne vers lui et s'y incline. Cette inclination est l'amour, et le plaisir nouveau dont cette modification est accompagnée, nous la rend chère et en même temps durable. Puis l'âme ébranlée entre en mouvement, ce mouvement spirituel est le désir, ce désir ne trouve de repos que dans la jouissance, c'est à dire dans la possession de l'objet aimé." Giuberti in his commentary remarks on these words: "Questa è un'analisi rigorosa che dà un saggio della eccellenza di Dante a filosofia. Topline l'invoglio poetico, e alcuni accessori peripatetici, e sarà degno della scienza oderna." Biagioli says that the following words of the *Convito* III, 8, ll. 18-23, admirably explain this passage: "Amore, veramente pigliando e sottamente considerando, non è altro, che unimento spirituale d'anima e della cosa amata; nel quale unimento di propria natura l'anima corre tosto o tardi, secondochè è libera o perduta." And ll. 36-7: "E perochè il suo essere dipende da l'è per quello si conserva, naturalmente disia e vuole a essere unita per lo suo essere fortificare. E perochè nelle badi della Natura la ragione si mostra Divina, viene naturalmente l'anima umana con quelle per via spirituale si unisce tanto più tosto e più forte, quanto quelle più appaerfette. Lo quale appaerimento è fatto, secondochè la conosce dell'anima è chiara o impedita. E questo unire è quello noi dicemo Amore." Therefore, Biagioli adds, as it is natural to the soul to desire to unite itself to God, as a support to existence, so, by like motive, is it natural for it to unite itself to the goodnesses of nature, which is a radiance of the Chief Good.

Quel piegare è amor, quello è natura  
Che per piacer di nuovo in voi si lega.\*

Your apprehensive faculty draws an image from something really existing, and displays it within you, so that it makes the mind turn to it. And if thus turned, it (the mind) inclines towards this (image), that inclination is Love; it is Nature, which by pleasure is bound in you with a new tie.

Benvenuto reminds us that there is nothing in the intellect that was not first in the senses, and that did not enter into the soul by sight or hearing. Love therefore is shown to be the inclination of the soul towards a thing that is in itself agreeable, and which the external senses have offered to it.

And now Virgil, having given the definition of Love, shows by a comparison its power and efficacy.

Poi come il foco movesi in altura,  
Per la sua forma + ch' è nata a salire  
Là Ì dove più in sua materia dura ;

30

\* *si lega*: is binding itself anew within you; or, is striking a fresh root.

+ *Per la sua forma*: This Scartazzini explains: "Per la sua natura essenziale." He adds that in the scholastic phraseology *forma* is that which gives the entity of everything, that, owing to which, things are just precisely what they are. The *forma* of fire, therefore, is its essence, that which makes it to be fire.

† ††. That is to say, the sphere of the Moon which the ancients thought was the sphere of fire:

"Tutta la sfera varcano del fuoco."

*Ariosto Orl. Fur.* xxxiv, st. 70.

The ancients did not know that the air, by its specific gravity, drives fire upwards, and thought it was made to rise naturally. Dante says, in *Convito* iii, 3, ll. 5-13: "Onde è da sapere che ciascuna cosa . . . ha il suo spenziale amore. È però il fuoco [avendo] alla circonferenza di sopra, lungo il cielo della luna, e però sempre sale a quello." Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vii, st. 79:

"S' alzar volando alle celesti spere,  
Come va fuoco al ciel per sua natura."



Così l'animo preso entra in disire,  
 Ch'è moto spiritale, e mai non posa  
 Fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire.

Then even as fire moves upwards, by virtue of its form which is made for rising to where it dwells more in its element; so does the captive soul enter into a longing, which is a motion of the spirit and never rests until the thing it loves gives it enjoyment.

Virgil, having shown what Love is, and how it is born in men, exposes the error of the blind teachers, of whom he had previously spoken. He points out to Dante what is the cause of the error of those who consider the substance of Love must be good, whereas nothing is really loveable but what is good; for they did not consider that anything may appear good, which, in itself, is evil, but yet is loved because it appears good.

Or ti puote apparer quant' è nascosa  
 La veritate alla gente ch' avvera  
 Ciascuno amore in sè laudabil cosa ;  
 Perocchè forse appar la sua materia \*  
 Sempr' esser buona ; ma non ciascun segno  
 È buono, ancor che buona sia la cera."

35

\* *materia* for *materia*: "L'ideale a cui l'anima si volge (Scartazzini). " Il bene è materia dell'amore sempre dunque la materia è buona, perchè anche nel male che s'ama è sempre alcun bene reale, cagion dell'amore: ma il troppo amore che minor bene si porta, e il poco che al maggior, sono quasi brutto suggello impresso in buona cera. Gli Aristotele chiamano *materia* il genere delle cose, determinabile dalle differenze come la materia prima è determinabile da più forme. La cera appunto è la materia determinabile; il segno la figura ch'ella prende e la forma determinante. E siccome la cera o buona o non cattiva, può essere impressa di mal segno così il naturale amore non tristo in sè può piegare a mal segno (Tommaso). Compare *Convito* I, 8, ll. 85-92. "Onde, perchè il dono faccia lo ricevitore amico, conviene a lui essere perocchè l'entità suggella la memoria dell'immagine del quale è nutrimento dell'amista."

Now can it be evident to thee how much the truth is hid from those people who aver that each Love is in itself a praiseworthy thing: Because its subject-matter may perchance appear to be good always; yet not every sealed impression is good, although the wax may be excellent."

And thus Love, however good in itself, may become evil, if it takes its impress from an unlawful object— if it turns itself to anything that is wrong.

*Division II.* Benvenuto tells us that we shall find this Division much more difficult than the first. Dante puts forth a question which arises from Virgil's answer, to clear up this doubt: If Love comes to you from without, that is, from the attractiveness of the thing offered, in what can the mind be deserving either of blame or praise, when the cause is from without?

In the following dialogue we have a type of the scholastic disputation between master and scholar of a mediæval university, such as Dante may himself have taken part in.\*

"Le tue parole e il mio seguace ingegno,"— 40

    Risposi lui,— "m' hanno amor discoperto;

    Ma ciò m' ha fatto di dubbiai piu' pregno;

Chè s' amore è di fuori a noi offerto,

    E l' anima non va con altro piede,

    Se dritta o torta va, non è suo merito." 45

"Thy words," I answered him, "and my mind attentive to follow them, have revealed Love to me; and yet this (revelation) has made me more pregnant with doubt; for if Love be offered to us externally, and

\* Compare *Par.* xxiv. xxv. and xxvi. wherein Dante relates the successive examinations, by St. Peter on Faith, St. James on Hope, and St. John on Love.

the soul stands on no other footing, then whether it goes right or wrong is not its own merit."

All operations, therefore, whether good or bad, proceed from Love, and Love is generated from some pleasing object, which is presented to us from without, to which pleasing quality the soul feels irresistibly drawn; therefore it would seem neither to deserve merit nor censure. But if the mind has received from its Maker the attribute of being born to take pleasure in external objects presented to it, and through such disposition loves, if it loves badly it is not its fault, and if it loves well it is not its merit.

As representing human wisdom, Virgil offers but a partial solution of the problem of Free Will. The full explanation must come from Beatrice, as Theology, the *Scientia Scientiarum*.

Ed egli a me : " Quanto ragion qui vede  
 Dirti poss' io ; da indi in là t' aspetta  
 Pure a Beatrice ; ch' opera è di fede.

And he to me : " As far as Reason can see here, I can tell thee ; beyond that look thou only to Beatrice, for that is a work of faith.

Virgil now begins to solve Dante's problem, but first assumes a general principle to be necessary for his purpose. And the better to understand this very difficult passage (says Benvenuto), you must first know that the vegetative and sensitive soul is evolved out of the power of substance, and is born with it and dies with it, as we see in plants and animals ; but the rational soul is not evolved out of the power of substance, nor does it come into life with a body, but is infused into it by God, and given instead of a form. Now here Dante wishes to say that each rational soul

has a certain power innate in itself, which cannot be recognised unless it is brought into outward action; therefore, if natural science sees that the soul has a delight in what is good, it judges it to be good, and if it sees the contrary, it judges the contrary.

Ogni forma sustanzial,\* che setta  
 E da materia, ed è con lei unita, 50  
 Specifica virtù † ha in sè colletta,  
 La qual senza operar non è sentuta,  
 Nè si dimostra ma' che ‡ per effetto,  
 Come per verdi fronde in pianta vita.

\* *forma sustanzial*: On this Dean Plumptre writes: "The soul is, in scholastic terminology, the 'substantial form,' *i.e.*, the essence of man's nature. Without it the man is not. As such, it has its own specific virtue, *i.e.*, its own ideas, tendencies, and capacities. These are known in their effects, as the nature of the plant is known by its leaves and flowers and fruits, as the nature of the bee is seen in its making honey; but what is the source either of the primal conceptions or the primal desires, whether innate, inspired, or determined by stellar influences or laws of heredity, Dante will not say. The first desires, even if directed to counterfeits of good, are simply neutral, deserving neither praise nor blame; but with them there is innate in the soul here Dante is not doubtful, for with him it was a primary form of consciousness) a power that judges, warns, advises, — what we know as conscience. This stands as warder at the gate through which desire passes into act, brings with it the sense of merit or demerit, is the foundation of human liberty, and therefore of all systems of ethics which are worthy of the name, chiefly that of 'il maestro di color che sanno.' *Inf.* iv, 117. Hence, if we allow that every desire in men may be traced to a law of cause and effect, and admit so far the postulates of determinism, there is yet a 'noble virtue' in man, which theory embodied in Beatrice, recognises as keeping man from being bound hand and foot in the iron chain of necessity." Compare *Par.* v, 19. *Forma sustanzialis* was, in the schools, the name for that form, which, united to primal matter, common to all bodies, forms the different species of them.

† *Specifica virtù* is, according to Dante in *Convito* iv, 21, ll. 113-122; and 22, ll. 48-52, the natural appetite of the soul.

‡ *ma' che* = *magis quam* = more than.

Every substantial form that is distinct from matter, and yet is brought into union with it, has a specific power collected in itself, which cannot be recognized save by being brought into operation, nor is it made manifest except by its effect, as life in plants by green leaves.

We do not think of primal motive powers, and it is only by their being brought into operation that we can perceive them, or when we put into action the special power given to us, and so by them we have no special merit or demerit.

Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto 55  
 Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape,\*  
 Nè de' primi appetibili † l' affetto,  
 Che sono in voi, sì come studio ‡ in ape  
 Di far lo mele ; e questa prima voglia  
 Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape. § 60

\* *sape*, for *sa*, is the natural third singular, present tense of *sapere*. It is frequently used by the Poets. (Nannucci, *Analisi critica*, p. 662.)

† *nè de' primi appetibili*: Gioberti in his commentary writes "Noi ignoriamo donde ne vengano 1° le prime notizie dell' intelletto, . . . cioè i principi della nostra ragione, e le tre, le fondamentali dell' intelligenza, 2° l' affetto de' primi appetibili cioè quelle primitive inclinazioni, questi appetiti proprii da cui null' uomo va esente, come l' amor del vero, della felicità del bello, del bene, la curiosità, la simpatia, e tutti i movimenti gli affetti estetici, e morali, che formano la parte affettiva dell' anima, come le prime notizie dell' intelletto, gli assenti e le forme logiche, etc., ne costituiscono la parte intellettuale. Donde ne venga tutto ciò è da noi ignorato."

‡ *studio in ape Di far lo mele*: In *Georg.* iv, in the first two lines, Virgil speaks of this instinct of the bees:

"Protinus aern melius caelestia dona  
 Exequar. Hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.  
 Admiranda tibi leuism spectacula rerum,  
 Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine gentis  
 Mores, et studia, et populos, et parua dicam."

§ *Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape*: Gioberti goes on to say: "Questa facoltà primitiva e queste disposizioni sono taor"

And so, man knows not whence comes his understanding of the primal conceptions, nor the bent of the first appetites, which are in you, just as there is in the bee the instinct to make honey; and this primal desire is not in itself capable of praise or censure.

The next three lines are exceedingly obscure, and have given rise to much controversy. I follow the interpretation of Lombardi, ridiculed by Biagioli in his usual ungracious vein, but supported by Gioberti, Scartazzini, Trissino, Tommaséo, Philalethes, Witte, and Blanc.

Or, perchè a questa ogni altra si raccoglia,  
Innata v'è la virtù \* che consiglia,  
E dell' assenso de' tener la soglia.

Now in order that to this (first will) every other may be gathered (*i.e.*, harmonized), there is innate in you the faculty which counsels (*i.e.*, Reason), and ought to hold the threshold of assent.

Vergil goes on to explain that Reason is the regulating principle from which come our merits and demerits.

libero arbitrio, e sgorgano dal seno della nostra natura senza opera della nostra volontà; onde non producono merito di lode, ed demerito, cioè non sono imputabili. Acciocchè poi a questa virtù non si beva, ma naturale cioè a questo complesso di natura istintiva e tendenze, vengano dietro e si accompagnino (*si consiglia*) quegli appetiti, que desi, che come libero possono essere tenuti, o rei. La Natura ha posto nell' Uomo una Virtù consistente nel tenere *la soglia* dell' assenso, e del dissenso, cioè della ragione; la qua. Virtù e la Ragione; innata nel senso detto di sopra, poichè ella fa parte di quelle *prime notizie*, la cui origine è ancora, ma di cui certo si sa che non hanno nascita dal sensi. Perciò, posto per una parte il libero arbitrio, e per l'altra la ragione consigliatrice, si è capace d' imputazione; e gli amori che liberamente s' accorgono sono imputabili, perchè si possono lume per conoscere la bontà, o la mazzia, e libertà per accettarli, o rigettarli.

\* virtù. Scartazzini says that *virtù* must be understood here as *reason*.

out good and bad loves.

Aristotle and Plato, as well as other philosophers of men, by their investigations, and discernment of the real nature of things, cognized the Freedom of the Will, and held to the world those moral doctrines, by which they exercise government over their own selves.

Color che ragionando ¶ andaro al fondo,  
S' accorser d' esta innata libertate,  
Però moralità § lasciaro al mondo.  
Onde pognam che di necessitate  
Surga ogni amor che dentro a voi s'  
Di ritenerlo è in voi la potestate.

\* *Quest' è il principio*: "Judicium medium est appetus, nam primo res apprehenditur, deinde bona vel mala judicatur, et ultimo judicans profugit." (*De Monarchia*, i, cap. xii, ll. 17-21). See also

+ *vaglia*: See Blanc (*Voc. Dant*): "*vagliare*, polve il grano dopo battuto ora, *vagliare*. In *P* (significa *scogliere, distinguere*." Benvenuto writes *rusticorum purgantium frumentum in area*."

¶ *Color che ragionando, etc.*: The philosophers, investigations, attained the hidden truths of nature.

§ By *moralità* understand moral philosophy, which been of no avail without the principle of freedom. Benvenuto says the philosophers placed a check to prevent its declining to evil.

They who penetrated to the uttermost depths of reasoning, took note of this innate freedom, and therefore bequeathed moral philosophy to the world. Let us assume then that every Love which is kindled in you arises of necessity, but in you there exists the power to restrain it.

"Now mark here, reader," says Benvenuto, "that if this reasoning be well considered, it ought to convince every one. For what medical man would agree that it is no use curing a sick person? But that *would* be true, if everything happened by necessity. What astrologer would be willing for his art to be condemned, when he maintains that one can avert coming misfortunes, if they be foretold by his lore? What judge would not be indignant, were he told that he punishes evildoers unjustly? What merchant would not say that negligence is very prejudicial to trade? What wise man does not prove that much wisdom (*multa concilia*) is necessary for the world? What husbandman does not know that agriculture is profitable for fertilising crops? But all men try to make excuse, throwing the responsibility for all their vices and sins upon Heaven, upon destiny, upon fortune, saying like the philosopher, Cleantes :

'Volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt.'

libero, e che pertanto possa essere imputato. Ma siccome voi avete lume di ragione per disaminare le qualità morali degli oggetti, a cui vi sentite inclinato, od avverso; siccome voi avete libertà di far questa disamina, e, fattala, di assentire, o di dissentire ai moti primi della natura: si fa luogo a imputazione rispetto a questo vostro assenso, o dissenso; e ne nasce perciò una serie di amori buoni, o rei, ma liberi sempre, perchè dall'essere accompagnati del vostro libero arbitrio, i quali pertanto sono degni di lode o di biasimo, e meritevoli di premio, o di castigo.



cause by effect ; but Beatrice understood as a noble virtue, the most excellent that man has, is Free Will, for by it we deserve either heaven or everlasting punishment.

La nobile virtù \* Beatrice intende

Per lo libero arbitrio, e però gli

Che l' abbi a mente, s' a parlare

This noble faculty, Beatrice (Theology) calls as Free-Will, and therefore look that the intellect, or mind, should she take to speaking to

*Division III.* Dante now describes the Slothful, but, before doing so, he describes the position and appearance of the Moon.

\* *La nobile virtù* : Scartazzini says that in the sense of the Latin *virtus*, power, faculty of the word when speaking of Reason, Free-Will, Perception, etc.

† *intende* . Another way, adopted by Giordano Bruno in this sentence is, " Beatrice, Theology, calls this *virtù*," and Scartazzini quotes this as an alternative, but none of the commentaries or translations pay the slightest heed of *l'er*. It appears to me that *libero arbitrio* is best translated "understanding." *Intende* can have the force of "calls, proclaims."

‡ *I s' a parlar ten prende* : Beatrice is to speak to Dante in *Par. v*, 19-24 :

" Lo maggior don che Dio per sua bontade

La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda,\*  
 Facea le stelle & noi parer più rade,  
 Fatta com' un secchione † che tutto arda ;

\* *La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda* : " cioè tardata ad alzarsi da quasi alla mezzanotte ; e ciò per esser questa la quinta notte del misterioso viaggio, incominciato a luna piena. La luna che dopo il suo pieno tarda ogni sera quasi un' ora a levarsi, dovea questa quinta volta sorgere circa cinque ore dopo caduto il sole, cioè essendo equinozio, appunto poco innanzi alla mezzanotte " — *Andread.*)

† *Fatta com' un secchione* : Costa interprets this : " Dice come un secchione, perché la luna essendo calante mostrava una tale sua parte rotonda e l' altra scema, come un secchione di rame che ha il fondo a guisa di un emisferio, e ha scema la parte superiore." The explanation of the *Ultimo* is similar " Qui mostra l' ora che era, quando lo sopradetto ragionamento si fece, e dice, ch' era circa a mezza notte in quello emisferio ; perchè aveva passato l' opposizione del Sole, era scema dalla parte occidentale ; e pareva come una secchia di rame accesa di fuoco ; lo quale lume oscurava molte piccolissime stelle, anche pareano pure quelle che sono della maggior magnitudine, e però apparessano rade, cioè una qua, e l' altra là." Mr. Butler observes : " *secchione* is the large hemispherical bucket [we have added of copper] which may still be seen in Italy. looked at somewhat obliquely the outline of one of these forms would compare for the gibbous moon." I find the following in that most useful work *Prontuario di vocaboli attenenti a tutte le arti, ad alcuni mestieri, a cose domestiche, e altre di uso comune*, di Giustino Lorenza, Torino, 1846, pt. 1, p. 281 : " *Secchione*, accrescitivo di *secchia* e di *secchio*. *Secchio*, vaso cupo, fatto di rame, il quale ha un manico di ferro, curvo in semicerchio, e grevevole nelle due opposte orecchie, a uso di attigner acqua. — *Secchia*, per lo più di legno, a doghe, di fondo ordinariamente più stretto che la bocca, nel rimanente come il *secchio*, e usate allo stesso uso. Il Vocabolario [della Crusca] registra separatamente il *secchio*, e dice che questo è propriamente quel vaso entro il quale si raccoglie il latte nel mugugno. (This is confirmed in the dictionaries of Baretta and Barberi. I need hardly point out that in rendering such a word, intended by Dante to convey to his readers a definite shape, whether we interpret *secchione* as well bucket or milk-pail, we must bear in mind the uses of such utensils as were in use in Tuscany. Buti interprets *secchione* " cioè come uno caldione di rame." *Caldione* is the word as in English " the copper." Some read *scheggione*, i. e., a *toppan* in a blaze, but it is a reading that has but little authority.

the stars appear to us more scarce, and v  
in the contrary direction in the heavens a  
paths which the sun sets aflame when o  
sees it at its setting between Sardinia and

On this particular passage, Dr. Moore (*ences*, p. 101) says "The majority of Ce  
have assumed (as it appears to me quite  
that this must refer to the actual hour o  
which would certainly be, according to t  
we have been advocating, about 10 p.m.,  
10 30, since the Moon is already well t  
ducing a sensible effect in quenching the l  
Philaletes says the Moon rose *Etwa*  
also *schon ziemlich gegen Mitternacht* .  
think it at all certain that Dante intends  
the hour of Moon-rise at all . . . The eff  
dicated of the quenching of the lesser s  
light of the gibbous or pitcher-shaped mo  
as it is graphically described, would be  
striking if it were some little time above  
than if it were just rising. I think it p  
whole passage is only a poetical and slight

way of describing a simple fact or phenomenon as many other passages that might be cited. It is surely quite a natural (poetical!) description of such an hour (it being allowed that the Moon was up, as a fact) to translate: 'And now the moon, as it were, towards midnight late, shaped like a pitcher all afire, was making the stars appear to us more rare.'

On line 79, Dr. Moore (*op. cit.* p. 104) adds: "The words which follow in v. 79, describe evidently the backing of the moon through the signs from west to east (as in *Par.* ix, 85, *contra il sole*, and again, in *Par.* vi. 2, the removal by Constantine of the seat of Empire from Rome to Constantinople is described as *contra il corso del ciel*). This causes the daily retardation to which we have so often referred, and more particularly he says she was in that path of the Zodiac which is illuminated by the Sun, when the people of Rome see him setting between Sardinia and Corsica. This is stated by Mr. Butler, no doubt correctly, to be towards the end of November, when the Sun sets west by south. If so, the Sun would then be in Sagittarius, and that is precisely where the Moon's Right Ascension would bring her on this night, as is pointed out by Della Valle. Dante's imitation of the Sun's position here, as seen from Rome, is curious. These islands being invisible from Rome, the Sun can only be said to be seen setting between them, from a knowledge of their position on the map, compared with the observed direction of the Sun. (Compare statement of Moon setting beneath Seville, in *Inf.* xx, 126). In this sense only can it be true that (as some of the old Commentators say)

On November 1st, 1301, and for some time  
i. e., at the very time of year here describe

Benvenuto thinks this happened in the  
October about midnight, and when the  
Scorpio.

Dante is now feeling relieved from the  
doubts which was oppressing him. The  
seems to have somewhat affected him with  
and he is about to give himself a little  
repose, when he is suddenly roused by  
penitents, who to purge themselves from  
running so rapidly, that they have already  
pletely round the Cornice and are coming  
the Poets.

E quell' ombra gentil, per cui si noma  
Pietola \* piu che villa Mantovana,  
Del mio carcar deposto avea la soma

---

\* *Pietola*. This is a small village not very far from  
of which the ancient name was Andes, and where  
it that Virgil was born. "Je suis alle voir le très  
ceau de Virgile. Pietola, parce que Dante l'a nom  
vers; mais c'est une affaire de conscience, voilà tout  
sensible à l'effet des lieux illustres, je veux autre c

Perch' io, che la ragione aperta e piana  
Sopra le mie questioni avea ricolta,  
Stava com' uom che sonnolento vana.

85

Ma questa sonnolenza mi fu tolta  
Subitamente da gente,\* che dopo  
Le nostre spalle a noi era già volta.

90

And that noble shade (Virgil), on whose account Pictola is more renowned than (even) the city of Mantua, had disburdened himself of the load with which I had charged him (*i. e.*, had removed the doubts in my mind which I had confided to him): whereupon I, who had received his elucidation explicit and clear upon my questions, remained as one who being drowsy rambles. But this drowsiness was suddenly taken from me by a multitude who had already come round to us behind our backs.

The drowsiness reminds us of Canto ix, 11; and

\* *ante*. Dr Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 391, 392), after approving the reading adopted above, gives the numerous variant, the principal of which are, *Pictola più he nulla; Pictova più kenella. Cortese più he nulla*; but he says nearly all the old Commentators adopt and explain *Pictola*, without any allusion to any other reading.

\* *ante*. On the penalty of the Slothful, see Perez (*Sette Cento*, pp. 180-181). "Un correre senza posa è tormento e pena e durezza a coloro che in questa vita furono accidiosi. Totenche tanti giorni han perduto, ristando in disamor ne gliu-  
tosi, e peccarono contro quel precetto divino, che dice *vigilate*, ora per redimere il tempo, non ristanno nemmeno nella notte e nella notte il Poeta li vede sollevati sì, che ci ricordano il servo emulo, che precinto i lombi e con in mano l' accesa facella, corre incontro al padrone, o le sagge vergini che colle lampade accese si fanno incontro allo sposo. Non corrono divisi e soli, ma raccolti e stretti in grande schiera: certamente per accendersi vietamieglio con santa emulazione, e per ammon-  
ciarci mezzo validissimo a smignottarsi è il tenersi in compagnia corrono e ferventi. Corrono sempre in giro, sempre attorno al monte; onde il correre non sembra aver mai per loco un principio o un termine, utile documento agli accidiosi, che non sanno mai trovar principio all' opera, e quando pure il trovano, non san mai recarla a suo termine."

mysteries.

The penalty of the Slothful is unceasing and display of energy in running, talking and whatever else is contrary to their mode of life.

Benvenuto says the slothful man sins in three ways. (a) In his heart: by not thinking for his own and his neighbour's salvation, and not confessing for his sins. (b) With his lips: by not praising and praying to Him, not instructing his neighbour by exhortation, reproof, and such like. (c) In his actions: by not giving alms, not going to church, and so on.

Dante illustrates the penalty of the Slothful in a simile taken from the wild rites observed by the votaries of Bacchus.

E quale Ismeno già vide ed Asopo \*  
Lungo di sè di notte suria e calca,  
Pur che i Teban di Bacco avesser tu  
Cotal per quel giron suo passo falca,†  
Per quel ch' io vidi, di color venend' e  
Cui buon volere e giusto amor cavalca.

\* *Ismeno . . . ed Asopo*: Ismenus and Asopus, two rivers of Bœotia, on whose banks the Thebans ran with lighted torches to invoke the aid of Bacchus—  
† *run for their vineyards— which is what they*

And as of old Isthmus and Asopus saw the rush and thronging at night along their banks, in the event of the Thebans being in need of Bacchus, so did these along that cornice curve their steps running round

the authority of Landino, Buti, Cesari, Scartazzini, Camerini, Blanc, Francelli, Giuliani and Poletto. Some, among others Benvenuto and Lombardi, simply interpret it in the sense of "to advance;" others take it to express the sickle-shape into which a horse bends his fore-leg. But the legitimate use of a sickle is horizontal, not perpendicular, and Dante is speaking of the spirits of the Slothful running at speed round the Cornice, and possibly, in their rapid course, bending their bodies inwards towards the mountain. Landino says: "*suo passo falca, suo passo piega.* Imperocchè non uscivan del girone. ma girando in giro, del continuo piegavano e torceano il cammino. *Falcare* significa *piegare*. dictione derivata dalla falce. la quale è piegata e curva."—Buti: "*falca, cioè piega.*"—Cesari: "*Falcare* è piegare a modo di falce; ed è preso da cavalli, che a correre si admaestran in un torno (*are lunged in a circle*); come mostra Dante nella parola sotto, *arr'alca*, che compie essa metafora. Correndo dunque il cavallo isforzatamente a tondo, come passa d. frombola, per ritirare lo slancio della forza centrifuga che gli dà il correre sì forte in circolo, ed egli tiene il corpo piegato verso il centro, sicchè sta fuor di bilico. e questo è forse propriamente *falcare* il passo."—Scartazzini and Camerini quote the above extracts, and approve of them—Blanc (*Voc. Dant*): "*dirigere il suo cammino procedendo in forma di semicerchio, piegando.*"—Francelli is very precise: "*Falcare il passo, significa menare a tondo o in giro il passo, tolta la similitudine dalla falce, e, ch'è fatta a semicerchio, e che, adoperandosi, egualmente a semicerchio si volge.*"—Poletto: "*Falcare, dal sost. falca, fa chiara l'idea d' un movimento circolare, giusta che era quel nome.*"—Poletto adds that this interpretation is greatly supported by the use of *cerchiare* by Dante in *Purg.* xiv, 1:

"Chi è costui che il nostro monte cerchi?"

Among manuscript comments of Giuliani, in books left by him to Mgr. Poletto, the latter notices: "*Falca, cerchiata, come si muove la falce (Purg. xiv, 1).*"—and again: "*Falcare, Purg. xiv, 94. E' mi faceva falciare la via (piegar la via con le gambe avvolte, a guisa d' uom cui sonno o vino piega): 'Guarda come falca!' intesi dire da un montagnolo pistoiese rispetto a un suo compaesano, che *piegava la via* come falce il grano; la cercitava, portato com' era in qua e in là dalla forza del vino. In Certosa usano la stessa voce, salvochè in luogo di *falcare* dicono *selciare*, mutando al solito la *a* in *e*."*



to chant the praises of the heathen Bacchus, the god of wine and triumph, how much more should Christians to arise and hasten to seek the One true God.

Having described the tumultuous spirits, Dante now speaks of the loud uttering. Two of them run on before, claiming examples of zeal and energy from the main body, as they follow, re-echo the same the impetuosity of a battle-cry.

Tosto fur sopra noi, perchè correndo  
Si movea tutta quella turba magna  
E due dinanzi gridavan piangendo  
—“ Maria corse con fretta alla montagna ;  
E —“ Cesare, per soggiogare Herda  
Panse Marsilia, e poi corse in Ispa

\* vv 100-105. The examples are, as usual, of sacred and profane history. As before, the first is an incident in the life of the Blessed Virgin. "And Mary arose in those days, and went into the temple with haste." The facts about Caesar are related in *Pharsalia*, books iii and iv. Caesar who was then at the siege of Herda, now Lerida in Spain, besieged Marsilia, and then sent a part of his army under Brutus to com-

—“ Ratto, ratto, che il tempo non si perda  
 Per poco amor,”—gridavan gli altri appresso ;  
 —“ Chè studio di ben far grazia raverda.”— 105

Soon were they upon us, for the whole of that great multitude were moving up at a run ; and two in front cried out, weeping : “ Mary ran in haste unto the hill-country ” ; and “ Caesar to subdue Iberda, darted his sting into Marseilles, and then hastened into Spain.” “ Haste, haste ! so as not to waste time through lack of Love,” cried out all those (that came) after, “ that zeal of doing right may cause grace to bud again.”

*Division IV.* Virgil begs the new comers to point out the opening of the stairway to the next cornice, and one of the spirits complies.

—“ O gente, in cui fervore acuto adesso  
 Ricompie forse negligenza e indugio,  
 Da voi per tepidezza in ben far messo,  
 Questi che vive (e certo io non vi bugio)\*  
 Vuole andar su, purchè il sole ne riluca ; 110  
 Però ne dite ov' è presso il pertug.o.”—  
 Parole furon queste del mio Duca :  
 Ed un di queglh spiti disse :—“ Vieni  
 Diretto a noi, e troverai la buca.  
 Noi siam di voglia a moverci sì pieni, 115  
 Che ristar non potem ; † però perdona,  
 Se villania nostra giustizia ‡ tieni.

\* *non vi bugio* : Virgil assures the spirits that Dante really *does* *bugiare* is a word used in early Italian, and is equivalent to *mentire*. It survives in *bugia*, “ a lie.”

† *potem* Compare *Inf* ix, 31-33.

‡ Questa parola che il gran puzzo spira,  
 Cinge d' intorno la città dolente,  
 U' non potemo entrare omai senz' ira.”

*potemo* (*Analisi Critica*, p. 637) says that *potemo* was a peculiar termination, but which in modern times would be used but very rarely even by poets.

§ *nostra giustizia* : Scartazzini points out that we may well

words of my Guide, and one of those  
"Come close after us and thou wilt find  
We are so full of desire to keep ourselv  
ment, that we cannot rest; pray excuse  
thou shouldst hold as want of courtesy th  
our obligation.

The answer had come from the Verone  
Zeno, and we may note, Benvenuto tell  
whole demeanour shows how actively he  
himself from Accidie. He is running  
his long robe, he does not delay his re  
answer, he does not involve his speech w  
exordium, but answers briefly, sharply  
point; and then goes on to excuse him  
for not stopping, lest the latter should th  
ill-bred.\*

gather, from l. 128, that this spirit never paused  
to run as he spoke to Dante. Therefore he  
to pardon him if his duty, and that of his c  
obliges them to hasten on, might seem to Dan  
courtesy.

\* Benvenuto wishes us to take note that Dan  
this refusal of the Abbot to stop and talk, with e  
for he considers him as a

After these few words of apology for his haste, the spirit continues.

Io fui Abate in san Zeno\* a Verona,  
Sotto lo imperio del buon † Barbarossa,  
Di cui dolente ‡ ancor Milan ragiona.

120

I was Abbot of San Zeno at Verona, when the good Barbarossa was Emperor, of whom Milan still speaks with sorrow.

This speaker, of a life blameless except for Accidie, which he is purifying in this Cornice, was formerly Abbot of the Monastery of San Zeno at Verona, and had ruled it admirably. His name remains unknown.

Benvenuto remarks: "For the better understanding of the text, one must know that this spirit says that he lived in the time of the Emperor Frederick I, (Barbarossa, of Suabia) who reigned 37 years. Fre-

\* *San Zeno*: Zeno was the eighth bishop of Verona, in 1155, during the papacy of Dionysius. He was a man of the sanctity, learning, and eloquence. "Three churches are there after San Zeno at Verona: one on the hill, another by the bridge, but this is only a small oratory or chapel, and I can say Benvenuto, that it is this San Zeno of which Benvenuto writes in the *Dialogues*, that on one occasion the king had surrounded Verona, but did not enter the windows of the church of San Zeno. The third church is about a furlong from the river, and there is no finer church that I have seen in all Verona. And it is to this church in particular that Benvenuto alludes, because it has monks, besides which this Albert who now speaking, was Abbot there."

† *Baron* Scartazzini strongly condemns the modern commentators, among whom is Goeberti, who contend that Dante called the Emperor good in an ironical sense. He remarks that all the early commentators understood it in its literal sense, and Venturi is the first to suggest the contrary. Benvenuto says: Dante called Frederick good, because he was brave, virtuous, energetic, and a successful general, and of a very handsome person, and also Barbarossa from the colour of his beard.

‡ *Benvenuto* During the sack of Milan 82,000 persons were scattered abroad, and the ruins remained deserted for five years.

tona, *Lodia transmavit*; he built  
Cremona was given up to him; he  
took Milan in 1163, pulled down its walls,  
ploughed it up, and sowed the site with  
slaughtered the Romans horribly. Pope  
fearing his power, took refuge at Venice,  
where he was received with great reverence. By  
the Milanese rebuilt their city in 1168.

"The leader of the Venetian fleet in 1177  
took prisoner Henry, the Emperor's son,  
and brought him to Venice. Frederick Barbarossa,  
the Emperor, whose fortune was deserting him, and that Pope  
was being strengthened by the support of the  
King of France, Henry II of England,  
the excellent King of Sicily, and the allies  
of the Lombards, asked for peace and  
sent ambassadors, and came to Venice and fell  
before the Pope. Pope Alexander placed  
a cross over the Emperor's neck, saying: 'Thou shalt  
be trodden under the serpent and basilisk, and tread  
the dragon under thy feet.' The Emperor

Scala, who being deformed, and of less honourable origin than his half brothers Bartolommeo, Alboino, and the famous Can Grande, ought to have been disqualified for so great a distinction as Abbot of San Zeno. His character moreover ought to have been an insuperable bar to his appointment, but his father Alberto, in his old age, forced him upon the unwilling inmates of the monastery.

E tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa,<sup>6</sup>  
 Che tosto piangerà quel monastero,  
 E tristo fia d' averne avuto possa ;  
 Perchè suo figlio, mal del corpo intero,<sup>†</sup>  
 E della mente peggio, e che mal nacque, 125  
 Ha posto in loco di suo pastor vero.<sup>7</sup>—

And there is one (Alberto della Scala) who already has got one foot in the grave, who soon shall weep for that Monastery, and will lament that he ever held the sway over it, because, in place of its true Pastor, he has installed his son (Giuseppe), deformed in his whole body, and still more so in his mind, and who was base-born."

<sup>6</sup> *Tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa.* Dante supposes the scene to be taking place in 1300, when Alberto della Scala was already an aged man; but when Dante really wrote the *Purgatorio*, he knew that Alberto had died in September, 1301; and this pronouncement of the Abbot is therefore a simulated prophecy.

<sup>†</sup> *Mal del corpo intero*: On this see Lana: "e soggiunge che fu messer Alberto della Scala, il quale era di etade vecchia, avea commesso un grande peccato, cioè ch' egli avea fatto abbate di San Zeno a Verona un suo figliuolo, indegno di tale prelatura prima, ch' egli era zoppo del corpo; secondo, ch' egli era così deforme della anima come del corpo; terzo, ch' egli era figlio naturale, sicché avea questi tre grandi difetti. Per lo qual peccato, detto messer Alberto piangerà tosto, cioè quando sarà morto." We read in *Leviticus*, xxi, 17-21, that no deformed person might enter the priesthood. The same rule has always been observed in the Roman Church.

ceased speaking, so far beyond us had he  
on ; but this much I did hear, and was glad  
it (in my memory).

Benvenuto thinks Dante's meaning is, that  
the one fact, namely, that it would be  
severely censure the violators of sacred things  
evident that in the above episode Dante is  
proving the lay lords who, in his time, had  
taken possession of the goods of Holy Church.

*Division V.* Dante now teaches how Aeneas  
be rooted out, by giving some instances of  
fortunate effects.

The examples are followed by wandering  
Israelites who came out of Egypt (comp. Gen. 46)  
perished through their cowardly sloth, and  
enter on the inheritance of Canaan ( *Deut.* i, 26-36 ; *Heb.* iii, 13-19). Many  
companions of Æneas chose to remain in Italy  
Acestes (*Æneid*, v, 746-761), and so for  
share in the inheritance of Italy. They

rather than glory, and that was the evidence of the sin of Accidie. Benvenuto begs us to admire how gracefully Dante makes Virgil now introduce two spirits who are both showing their detestation of Accidie.

E quei che m' era ad ogni uopo soccorso 130  
Disse :—" Volgiti in qua, vedine due  
Venire, dando all' accidia di morso."—

And he who was my succour in every need, said :  
" Turn thee hither, behold two of them coming,  
uttering reproaches against (*lit.* biting at) Accidie."

Benvenuto thinks Dante shows great skill in representing the two first spirits singing the praises of the energetic, such as the Virgin Mary and Julius Cæsar, while the two now arriving, walk, on the other hand, singing the bad examples offered by the Slothful.

Dante next describes the song of the new arrivals, and tells us how they first sang of an instance of the disastrous effect of Sloth on the children of Israel, and then of another from pagan history.

Diretro a tutti dicean :—" Prima fue  
Morta la gente \* a cui il mar s' aperse,  
Che vedesse Jordan le erede sue :"— 135

\* *Morta la gente* : It will be remembered that of the whole race of the children of Israel who crossed the Red Sea on dry ground, Joshua and Caleb were the only two who lived to enter the Promised Land. See *Numo* xiv, 26, 32 : " And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, which murmur against me? See ye have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which murmur against me. Say unto them, As truly as I live, and as the Lord liveth, whom ye serve, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do unto you : your carcases shall fall in this wilderness, and all that are numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me, Doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning



E,—“ Quella \* che l' affanno non sofferse  
Fino alla fine col figliuol d' Anchise,  
Sè stessa a vita senza gloria offerse.”—

Coming behind all (the others) they said, (the one):  
“That nation for whom the sea was opened were all  
dead before the Jordan saw their heirs.” And (the  
other spirit said): “They who could not endure the  
toil unto the end with the son of Anchises resigned  
themselves to a life without glory.”

The glory would have been to share in founding the  
mighty Roman Empire, instead of remaining in Sicily  
in inglorious ease.

Dante now brings to a conclusion what he has  
say about Accidie, and with it this noble Canto, by  
preparing for what has to be described in the Canto  
that follows, which contains his account of a wonder-  
ful dream.

which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son  
of Jephunnah, and Joshua the son of Nun . . . . But as for you  
and your carcasses, they shall fall in this wilderness.”

\* *Quella (gente)*: This episode relates an effect of disgraceful  
Sloth among the Trojans who followed Aeneas. When in Sicily  
he was celebrating funeral games by the tomb of his father  
Anchises, certain persons, both old men, young men and women,  
wearing out by their long voyage and hard toils, burnt Aeneas  
ships, so that they might not have to leave Sicily and confront  
new dangers. Aeneas constituted them as a colony, and let  
the whole unwearied crowd in contempt. See Virg. *Æn.* v, *l. 605*  
*et seq.* Of these two examples Perez writes: “In esse vie  
ritratto quel subito abbandonarsi degli accidiosi a misere voglie  
e assidersi a piangere e querersi, tutti insieme raccolti, a danti  
comune: quel loro bagiarlo anteporre qualunque fatica e ma-  
del passato al faticoso e tenuto presente, quel aggrandir senza  
terminar i pericoli che li aspettano, porgendo sempre più avido  
ascolto a chi più sformata o più spaventosa ne fa la pittura,  
 sconoscente volardigna onde recarsi a neja gli stessi, benchè  
tengono a vile ogni alta speranza e promessa: e infine le  
splendide imprese per opera loro ritardate, scemate o rattrista-  
da vaste ruine.” (*Sette Cerchi*, pp. 190-191).

Poi quando fur da noi tanto divise  
 Quelli ombre, che veder più non potersi, 140  
 Nuovo pensiero dentro a me si mise,  
 Del qual più altri nacquero e diversi ; \*  
 E tanto d' uno in altro vaneggiar,  
 Che gli occhi per vaghezza + ricopersi,  
 E il pensamento in sogno trasmutar. 145

Then when those spirits had passed so far away from us, that we could no longer see them, a new thought arose within me, from which (in turn) were born

\* *piuero . . . Del qual più altri nacquero*: Compare Virg. *Æn. vi, 285, 286*:

"Atque animam nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc,  
 In partesque rapit varias, perque omnia versat."

The same lines occur in viii, 20, 21. Compare also *Inf. xxiii, 10*.

+ *vaghezza*: Cesarì thinks this expresses a desire on the part of Dante to go to sleep.

At the conclusion of the Canto, Perez (p. 192-3) makes the following reflections: "Perchè in mezzo al correre di questi pensieri, non s'ode preghiera? Anzi, perchè questo è il solo pensiero, a cui non udiamo assegnata preghiera speciale? Forse la dolcezza dell' alzare a Dio anche colle labbra la preghiera è acerba ricordanza e pena per anime, che un giorno pregare furono troppo restie, e che or debbono intendere che mai, come la preghiera è il più sublime tra i privilegi degli uomini, quello che loro permette d' avvicinarsi e parlare a Dio. Forse il continuo raccoglimento nell' orazione mentale, e quanto misto con essa, tien luogo d' orazione vocale per gente che lee rammentarsi e piangere le noie e i divagamenti del passato antico. Fors' anche l' acerbo poeta, che in questo canto non nomina altro personaggio, fuorchè un uomo il quale forse altri avrebbe dovuto intendere ad orazione, vuole avvertire che essendo il lungo salmeggiare è accidia, se il corpo ne è allontanato al suo agio, e l' anima è lontana dai pensieri di Dio, onde poi gli accenti indivoti e l' agiato sedere è forza di stare col silenzio della pia meditazione e col disagio del correre senza riposo. Se si noti che gli accidiosi dell' Inferno, nell' uno della stigia palude, barbugliano, ma non possono dire *fuoco infero* (*Inf. vi, 125, 126*); e che il già accidioso Belacqua nel Antipurgatorio è tosto riconosciuto da Dante *alle corte* (*Antipurg. iv, 121*) si potrebbe sospettare che la fina ironia di que due passi scoppiasse, quasi a insaputa del Poeta, ancor nel mpor silenzio agli accidiosi che ci stanno dinnanzi."

other thoughts, many and varying ; and so much from one to the other did I ramble on, that I closed my eyes in a reverie, and transformed my meditation into a dream.

It is noticeable that on this Cornice alone there is a request for the intercessory prayers of others. Is there an irony in the omission? Were the souls so negligent and apathetic as to leave their fate unaided by the sympathy of others?

It is noticeable that Dante never opens his lips to the prayers of the living. Moreover he never refers to the intercession of the living. Moreover he never refers to the intercession of the living. Moreover he never refers to the intercession of the living.

END OF CANTO XVIII.

## CANTO XIX.

THE FOURTH CORNICE OF ACCIDIE (*concluded*).—  
DANTE'S DREAM OF THE SIREN.—THE ANGEL  
OF THE LOVE OF GOD.

ASCENT TO THE FIFTH CORNICE.—THE PENALTY  
OF THE AVARICIOUS AND PRODIGAL.—POPE  
ADRIAN V.—ALAGIA.

We left Dante, at the close of the last Canto, falling into a deep sleep. In the opening lines of this Canto, we find him asleep and still in the Fourth Cornice.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante relates his dream.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 69, he describes the appearance of an Angel, who points out the way to him, purifies him from the sin of accidie, and ushers the two Poets through the Entrance by which they ascend to the Fifth Cornice.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 70 to v. 126, Dante speaks of the penalty of the Avaricious; and his interview with the spirit of the virtuous Pope Adrian V.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 127 to v. 145, the spirit of the Pope clears up a doubt in Dante's mind, and convinces him that temporal dignity ends with life.

*Division I.* Dante is about to relate his dream, but, before doing so, he is careful to point out that it took place an hour before dawn, thereby implying that it

would come true. (See *Purg.* ix, 13, *et seq.* *Inf.* xxvi, 7).

Nell' ora \* che non può il calor diurno  
Intepidar più il freddo della luna,  
Vinto da terra o talor da Saturno ; †  
Quando i geomanti lor maggior fortuna  
Veggiono in oriente, innanzi all' alba,  
Surger per via che poco le sta bruna ;

At the hour, when the heat of the day, vanquished by the earth, and sometimes by Saturn, can no longer warm the coldness of the moon ;—when the geomancers see, before dawn, their Fortuna Major †

\* *Nell' ora*, etc. : Dr Moore (*Time References*, p. 10) serves : " In this passage we have the hour before dawn, Tuesday, April 12th, described by two indications [or, as venuto says : *dubiusiter*—doubly]. 1. It was the coldest of the twenty-four. 2. The later stars of Aquarius and foremost ones of Pisces were on the horizon. This, perhaps we may be allowed to take for granted is the meaning of *maggior fortuna* of the wizards, v. 4. It was a peculiar arrangement of dots, corresponding to one that can be found out of certain stars on the confines of these two constellations. These were now in the east before the dawn." Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus and Cressida*, iii, 1415.

" And when the cock, commune astrologer,  
Gan on his brest to heate and after crowe,  
And Lucifer, the daies messenger,  
Gan to rise and out his beames throwe,  
And estward rose, to him that could it know  
Fortuna Major."

† *talor da Saturno* : It was a popular belief that, when planet Saturn was on the horizon, greater cold was on earth. This idea originated in the fact that the planet in question was the one farthest off from the Sun. Compare *Georg.* i, 335, 336 :

" Hoc metaens, coeli menses et sidera serva;  
Frigida Saturni sese quo stella receperet."

Scartazzini says that the ancients fell into this error from ignorant of the radiation of heat. Brunetto Latini (*Lib. 1, part III, cap. cxi*), has : " Quar Saturnus, qui est in raris sor touz, est cruex et felons *cruel ind malignans* froide nature, va par touz les xii signes en i an et xii jors

in the east, by a path which will not long remain dark ;—

Benvenuto says, that *geomantia* is called *astrologia* *minor*, and it is said to be a common refuge for astrologers, and ought never to be entirely despised, as it has some of its principles in astrology. But he adds: "They may say what they will, I do not believe at all in geomancy, any more than I believe in astrology." He adds that geomancers use many figures made of dots, but one especially, which they call *Fortuna Major*, which was taken from six stars happening to be seen in an exactly identical position to the six dots, as in the annexed figure :



These stars rise in the East, and are said to be at the end of the Constellation Aquarius and at the beginning of Pisces. He says the Indians and Saracens used to go to the sea-shore at sunrise, and mark their dots, either odd or even, on the sand.

Dante, having stated what time it was, now proceeds to relate a dream within a dream. Benvenuto thinks that by it, he wishes to foreshadow the subject he is going to treat of; for, as he has already discussed the first four deadly sins, which are sins of the mind, viz., Pride, Envy, Anger, and Sloth, so now, being about to discuss the three remaining, viz., Avarice, Gluttony, and Sensuality, which are of the body, and sins that are ever seeking pleasures, he pictures them to be represented by the Siren. The vision seems in part a reproduction of *Prov. vii, 10-12*; the distorted eyes,

the bent form, the crippled hands, the extreme pallor corresponding to the physiognomic signs of those emotions.

Benvenuto supports this view, as it is a mistake to suppose that the Siren represented Avarice alone.

Mi venne in sogno una femmina \* balba,  
 Negli occhi guerra e sopra i piè di storta,  
 Con le man monche, e di colore scialba †  
 Io la mirava ; e, come il sol conforta  
 Le fredde membra che la notte aggrava,  
 Così lo sguardo mio le facea scorta ‡  
 La lingua, e poscia tutta la drizzava  
 In poco d'ora, e lo smarrito volto,  
 Come amor vuol, così lo colorava.§

There came to me in dream a woman, stammering, with

\* *femmina* : Contrast the two words *femmina* "a female" with this line, as applied to the false Siren ; and *donna*, "a lady," in l. 26.

† *scialba* : pallid, from Latin *crabare*. See Ariosto, *Eleg.* p. 234 :

"Qual campestre papavero alla rosa,  
 Qual scialbo sauce al sempre verde alloro."

And a MS. Translation of Palladius, cap. 14 (*ap. Gran Dic.*) "Come la camera dee esser scialbata, e quale e il hu no scialba (i. e. as the room has to be whitened, and what is the best wash.)"

‡ *le facea scorta La lingua* : Buti interprets this. "ciò che non è vile et intelligibile," i. e. gave to her tongue utterance that was intelligible.

§ *lo . . . volto, come amor vuol, così lo colorava* : Some derive from *Vita Nuova*, § xxvii, "d' un color pallido, quasi color d' amore," and from other passages, that Dante intended to speak of pallor as the color of Love. But Lombard, "Come to haede amore per far innamorare i nostri danti" And Andreoli : "generalmente c' innamorano i roseo." And Dante evidently is meaning to describe some kind of change that passed over the face of the Siren. She is first described as being already pallid (*di colore scialba*) and under Dante's glance she changes colour. I take it therefore to signify a warm blush.

quinting eyes, and distorted feet, with hands lopped  
 off, and of a pallid hue. I gazed at her; and, as the  
 sun revives the chilled limbs that the night benumbs,  
 so did my look restore her tongue to liberty, and then  
 in brief space, caused her body to become straight,  
 and her pallid cheeks to assume that warm colour,  
 which Love desires.

Benvenuto says that *the stammering tongue* means  
 Avarice, which never speaks openly and clearly but  
 hesitatingly; it means Gluttony because drunkenness  
 makes a man speak thick, and Sensuality because it  
 makes him a liar and a flatterer. *The squinting eye*  
 denotes Avarice, because the miser is blind from the  
 sting of acquisitiveness and of hoarding; it denotes  
 Gluttony and Sensuality, because over indulgence  
 toys the eyes both bodily and mentally. *She is  
 maimed* because in those three sins man never walks in  
 the right paths. *She is maimed* because the Miser  
 uses his hands to give, and the Gluttonous and  
 Sensual never work, but are idle and slothful.  
 These three, the Miser, the Glutton, and the Voluptuary,  
 have pallid faces.

And now Dante describes the soft seductive strains  
 which issued from the mouth of her, who had assumed  
 a form which was a mockery and deceit.

Poi ch' ell' avea il parlar così \* disciolto,  
 Cominciava a cantar sì che con pena  
 Da lei avrei mio intento † rivolto.

\* This refers to ll. 12, 13:

"Così lo sguardo mio le faceva scorta  
 La lingua," *et seq.*

† *ioe intento* · Compare *Purg.* iii, 12, 13:

"La mente mia, che prima era ristretta,  
 Lo intento rallargò, sì come vaga."



"Io son,"—cantava,—"io son dolce Sirena,\*  
 Che i marinari in mezzo mar dismago ;  
 Tanto son di piacere a sentir piena.

Io volsi Ulisse † del suo cammin vago  
 Al canto mio ; e qual meco si ausa  
 Rado sen parte, sì tutto l' appago."—

And so soon as she had thus got her speech unloosed, she began to sing so (sweetly), that it would have been hard indeed for me to have turned my attention from her. "I am," she sang, "the sweet Siren, who bewitch the mariners in mid-ocean, so full am I of pleasantness to hear. I turned Ulysses from his wandering path to my song, and whoso companies with me rarely departs from me, so wholly do I satisfy him."

Another lady is now seen by Dante in his dream, who puts to shame the Siren, the symbol of pleasure. Commentators differ very considerably as to what this new comer typifies, and Scartazzini does not agree with those, among whom is Ozanam, who think she is a symbol of Wisdom, or that she is Lucia (a symbol of Truth), or of the Church; but he thinks with the older Commentators that she represents

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\* *dolce Sirena*: Scartazzini observes that also in ancient mythology the Sirens were symbols of the attractiveness of worldly pleasures. Pope unconsciously reproduced Dante when he wrote, in his *Essay on Man*, ii, 219:

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,  
 As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;  
 Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,  
 We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

† *Ulysses*: Benvenuto notices Dante's mistake in representing Ulysses as having been fascinated by the Siren, for he remarks (erroneously) that, in the *Ulysses*, Homer tells us that Ulysses avoided the Sirens and tilled his ears with wax so as not to hear their song. He thinks Dante must have meant Circe, who detained Ulysses for one year, or Calypso, who kept him a prisoner for several years.

## Reason, Temperance, Philosophy, or Intellectual Virtue.

She addresses Virgil in a tone of indignant remon-  
strance for allowing Dante, their joint pupil, to gaze  
on the deceitful pleasures of the world.

Ancor non era sua bocca richiusa, 25  
Quando una donna \* apparve santa e presta  
I unghesso me + per far colei confusa.  
—“O Virgilio, o Virgilio, chi è questa?”—  
Fieramente diceva, ed ei veniva ‡  
Con gli occhi fitti pure in quella onesta. 30  
L' altra prendeva, § e dinanzi l' aprìa  
Fendendo i drappi, e mostravami il ventre ;  
Quei mi sveglio col puzzo , che n' uscia.

\* *donna* : Benvenuto points out that whereas Dante had called her *sempre femmina*, a female (l. 7), he styles this one *donna*, a far more honorable term. Benvenuto's words are “*Bene vocat uxorē feminam, ubi illam vocaverat famulam, quia ratio debet honorari, et passio famulari.*”

+ *Lung'hesso me* : “By my side.” Compare *Vita Nuova*, l. 119. “In quel giorno . . . io mi sedea in parte, nella quale standomi di lei, disegnava un angelo sopra certe tavolette : e come io l' d' essa, velsi gli occhi, e vidi lungo me uomini e donne convenia far onore.”

‡ *veniva* : On this see Benvenuto : “*et sic vide quod oculus carnis in carne positus respiciat tantum cum delectatione carnium lubricam, sed oculus Virgii sine carne respiciat istam secundam cum veneratione : illa enim videbatur carnis et amabilis, ista vero digna, sed venerabilis.*”

§ *L' altra prendeva* : Scartazzini agrees with the majority of the commentators, e. g. the *Ottimo*, Benvenuto, Buti, Daniello, Bagnoli, Witte, Ozanam and others, in thinking that the scantly lady we read the stammering one ; but some, among them are Landino, Vellutello, Cesari, Brunone Bianchi, and others, think it was Virgo, who had hold on the Siren.

¶ *verso* : On this Gaberti has : “*Nota lo schifo che ingenera verso Dante non era poeta molle, che volesse ruscire ai attori il disgusto quando è necessario a ritrarre la vista dell' oggetto, e tanto piu quando conferisce allo scopo.* Questa donna, dal cui ventre aperto *usciva così gran fetore e colei, he tutto il mondo appuzza* (*Inf.* xvii), cioè la frode,

Not yet was her mouth closed again, (*i.e.*, while she still was singing) when quick at my side there appeared a saintly lady to put her to confusion. "O Virgil, Virgil, who is this?" she sternly exclaimed, and he advanced with his eyes fixed solely upon that honourable one. She seized the other one, and laid her bare in front, rending her drapery, and showed me her belly; this awoke me with the stench that issued from it.

"L'antagonisme du vice et de la vertu était le sujet d'une fable qui fut chère comme symbole aux mythographes de l'antiquité, et à ses philosophes comme leçon. Le poète italien s'en empare et la rajoute. Deux femmes lui ont apparu. L'une était pâle, difforme et bègue; mais le regard arrêté sur elle semblait lui rendre la beauté, la couleur et la voix: elle chantait, et Sirène harmonieuse elle captivait déjà les oreilles imprudentes. L'autre se montrait à son tour simple et vénérable, elle jetait un superbe regard sur sa rivale, et faisant déchirer ses vêtements, la laissait voir atteinte d'une infecte corruption. De ces femmes l'une était la volupté, l'autre la sagesse." (*Ozanan, Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, p. 138).

Benvenuto praises the words of the Poet with much enthusiasm; and asks if the filth of the miser does not befoul everything beautiful and honourable with his misery, just like the harpies befouled the feast. How great the filth of the glutton. Into what mire does not the drunkard fall from his drunkenness?

*Division II.* We now learn how Dante, having been called upon three times by Virgil to awake

*l'inganno, la bugia.*" (Gobert, is very full of admiration for the life and vivacity of these three lines.

rouses himself, and finds that it is full daylight, probably about 6.30, of the morning of Easter Tuesday, being the third day that the Poets have been in Purgatory. We are shortly to hear of his purgation by the Angel of the sin of Accidie.

Io volsi \* gli occhi al buon Maestro : — " Almen tre  
 Voci t' ho messe," — d. cea — " surgi e vieni, 35  
 Troviam la porta † per la qual tu entre." —  
 Su mi levai, e tutti eran già pieni  
 Dell' alto di i giron del sacro monte,  
 Ed andavam col sol nuovo alle reni. ‡  
 Seguendo lui, portava la mia fronte 40  
 Come colui che l' ha di pensier carca,  
 Che fa di sè un mezzo arco di ponte ;

I turned my eyes, and the good Master said : " At least three calls have I given thee : arise and come on, let us find the opening through which thou mayest

\* *Io volsi*, et seq. . Dr. Moore, speaking of the multiplicity of variants in this passage, writes : " The readings in these two stanzas are recorded on account of the extraordinary variations in the MSs. but I do not see how to determine what may have been the original reading. Nor can the exact reading of the text be determined in any case but those of Benvenuto and Buti, as noted above." (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 393, 394.)

† *la porta* : Some read *l' aperta* ; others *l' aperto*.

‡ *col nuovo alle reni* : " In lines 37-30 it was now full daylight with the Sun on their backs, so that they were still journeying towards the west, when they enter the Fifth Cornice, where Avarice and Prodigality are punished. Observe here the admirable fitness with which Dante times his progress so that the time spent in the Cornice where Accidia, or Spiritual Sloth, is punished is exactly coincident with the hours of the night—the night when no man can work." He enters it as darkness comes on (as we read in xiii. 70-80, and leaves it next morning, as soon as he awakes with the *nuovo sol* (xix. 38), being miraculously aided by Virgil for the length of his slumbers (xix. 34). In a note, perhaps, mention here that it will be found that in each of the other Cornices he spends from three to five hours." Dr. Moore, *Time References*, p. 100.

enter." I arose, and already were all the Cornices of the holy mountain filled with the broad daylight, and we were walking (towards the West) with the newborn sun at our backs. Following him, I carried my head as one who is overwhelmed with thought, and who (by stooping) makes of himself a half arch of a bridge.

In two lives of Dante we find that this was his habit, Boccaccio (*Vita di Dante*, in Boccaccio's commentary, vol. i, p. 37) says: *Andò alquanto curvetto*; and Filippo Villani (*Vita Dantis ap. Scartazzum*): *'Is dum annis maturuisset, curvatis aliquantulum renibus incedebat, incessu tamen gravi, mansuetudoque aspectu.'*

Dante is deep in meditation, thinking about his wonderful dream, when the Angel addresses him, and we are to infer that he shows himself to Dante, though that fact is not actually stated, only his broad white swan-like wings being mentioned. Peire (*op. c.* 195) thinks the Angel did not show himself at all, except by his wings, but l. 54 speaks of him as flying slightly above the heads of the Poets as they scale the ascent to the Cornice above.\* Dante is always very precise, and while it might be contended that, by the wings alone being mentioned, nothing more was seen of the Angel, it might equally be maintained that, where an Angel's radiance is too powerful for the human eye to face, Dante is careful to mention the circumstance, as in *Purg.* xv. 11, where he expressly states that he had to make a sunshade of his hands. The Angel first calls the Poets to the opening of the stairway; he next seem-

\* That idea of the Angel however is not in accordance with the one of the two disputed interpretations of l. 54, which have adopted.

ly guides them with his wings into it; he then  
 Dante, and with a wing-like stroke crases the  
 7th P. from his brow; and finally he dismisses him  
 with the benediction, "Blessed are they that mourn."

Quand io udi :—" Venite, qui si varca,"—  
 Partire in modo soave e benigno,  
 Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca.\* 45  
 Con l'ali aperte che parean di cigno,  
 Volse in su colui che sì parlonne,  
 Tra due pareti † del duro macigno.  
 Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne,  
 Qui lugent affermando esser beati,‡ 50  
 Ch'avran di consolati l'anime donne.§

*marca*, *march*, is used in the same sense as it is in *Marca*  
*terrena*, the region or district of Treviso. The word is  
 used in the Goth. *Marka*, a border country (see Skeat's  
*Original Dictionary of the English Language*, s. v. *mark*,  
 also in the Icelandic *Mirk* border land, which Vigfusson  
*Scandin. Dictionary*) says is a word common to all Teutonic  
 tongues, and the original sense is "outline, border."

*Tra due parti*. But commentators, "come tra du' pareti del  
 ce ch'era di pietra ma' gra, u' era scala da montar in  
 o. Questo di pareti di pietra dura si nitano due costanzie  
 messe, che de avere ch' a mente a purgati del peccato de la  
 rna, cioè prima lo lato rito d'oro a resistere, che l'avver-  
 non l'arropa, e con si purghera del peccato de la avarizia."  
*Qui lugent*. *Qui beati*. *Petrus ep. ad p.* 194 says that  
 tears are not the useless and cowardly tears which, mixed  
 with blood, were shed by the saints throng in the vestibule of  
 heaven, gathered up under their feet by local reptiles. "Questo  
 stato o' veramente operoso, che, mato ai solerti passi u' alle  
 se meditationi, col penitente fervore ademp' el antico d'otto  
 a. E tal' tanto benedice l'Angelo guardiano del' erchio."  
*Donna*. *Il V. della Croce*, s. v. *Donna*, § 3, has "Donna  
*patrona*, var. *Patrona* assoluta. The *Le abelario* quotes  
 the saying from *Lappes Malmantile*, cant. x, st. 65, which  
 explains the use of the word here.

"Il Re d. questo Regno, giunto a morte,  
 La mia regina qui, che fu sua donna  
 (Non avendo lig' mol' o alti, in corte  
 Propinqui p.) lascio donna e madonna."  
 Salute the above. "The King of this realm, being at the

When I heard: "Come, here is the passage," uttered in so sweet and gentle a tone, as one never hears in this region of mortals. With outspread wings that seemed as if of a swan, did he who thus had spoken to us turn us upwards through the two walls of hard rock. Then he moved his pinions, and fanned us, affirming that they are blessed *qui lugent* (that mourn on earth), for (in heaven) they shall have their souls endowed with comfort (*lit.* mistresses of consolation).

We said on the preceding page that the Angel had erased the fourth P. from Dante's brow. He has now therefore but three remaining, namely,  
 the P. of Avarice and Prodigality;  
 the P. of Gluttony, and  
 the P. of Sensuality.

The Poets are now ascending the stairway leading from the Fourth to the Fifth Cornice. Dante is absorbed in deep thought. Virgil asks the reason. Dante replies that a new vision has entered into his mind. Virgil shows Dante that he has read his thoughts, and that his vision was of a certain Son

point of death having no children or other near relations surviving at his *cost* left my cousin, who was his wife, absolute proprietress (*domna e madonna*) of everything." Here we have *domna* in the double sense, of (a) the wife, (b) the proprietress. Andreoli has "*domna, pr. proprietaria (lat. domina)*." Brunone Bianchi is very clear: "attestando essere beati coloro che non essendo a c. d. oss., piangono le colpe loro; imperciocchè avranno l'anime loro *domna di consolazione*, cioè possederanno la consolazione." Blanc (*V. Dante*) says the sentence is exceedingly hard to explain, but as the words evidently refer to the words in *St. Matthew*, v, 4, "Blessed are they that mourn, they shall be comforted," one must take *domna* in the sense "they shall be mistresses of, i. e. it shall be in their power," and *di consolazione* in the passive signification of "to be comforted." Blanc admits however that this is very far fetched, and I think the signification I have given above of *domna* as *patrona*, or *proprietaria*, absolute mistress, or proprietress, is a sufficient rendering of the words to make the sentence perfectly intelligible.

ceress, allegorically representing the fleeting pleasures of the world, which are to be expiated in the Three Cornices above them. He admonishes Dante how man may avoid the spells.

—"Che hai, che pare in ver la terra guati?"\*—

La Guida mia incominciò a dirmi,  
Poco sanbo e due dall' Angel sormontati. †

Ed io:—"Con tanta suspizion ‡ fa irmi 55

Novella vision ch' a sè mi piega, §  
Sì ch' io non posso dal pensar partirmi."—

—"Vedesti," disse,— "quella antica strega, ¶

Che sola sopra noi omai si piagne? ¶¶  
Vedesti come l' uom da lei si siega? 60

Bastiti, e batti a terra le calcagne,

\* *guati*: not for *guardi*. *Guardare* is simply to look, and is akin to the German *warren, warten*. *Guarire* or *guarire* It., *guarar*, Fr. *guetter*, to watch, Subst. Crim. Pr. *groula*, O. Fr. *guille*, Fr. m. *guet*, from O. H. G. *gahon*, subst. *gahiti*, *gahiti*, Goth. *vahiti*, E. watch. Hence It. *agguattare*, Sp. *aguardar*, O. Fr. *aguetier* *guatere*, It. *aguato*, Sp. *agait*, Fr. *agait* (usu. in pl. *ambush*, whence *d'aguet d'aguet*. (*Donna, etymology of Dictionary*, London, 1804). Dante uses the two words indifferently.

† *sormontati*: This passage can be translated in two ways, namely, (1) "When we had ascended a little way above the point where we had left the Angel, and that is the interpretation I adopt, or (2) "Being, where we both were on the stairs, out-scouted by the Angel," or "with the Angel flying a short distance above us."

‡ *in suspition*: Others read *suspension*. It means here, "hesitation, doubt, misgiving."

§ *a te mi piega*: Compare *Purg.* iv, 78:

"quando s'ode cosa o vede,

Che tenga forte a sè l'anima volta."

¶ *antica strega*: The lust of decent pleasures was as long ago as the time of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

¶¶ *Che sola . . . piagne*: I have translated, "who alone has to be wept for." Benvenuto gives the same interpretation, but in the choir of another, namely, "who is weeping alone, (because we have departed from her, and she was not able to turn us out of our way)."



Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro\* che gira  
Lo Rege eterno con le rote magne.† — †

"What aileth thee that thou gazest only on the earth?" my Guide began to say to me, when we had both ascended a little way above the Angel. And I: "With such misgiving makes me to go a new vision, which so bends me to it, that I cannot dis sever me from the thought of it." "Hast thou seen," said he, "that ancient sorceress, who alone has to be wept for (in the three Cornices) above us? Hast thou seen how man is delivered from her? Let that suffice thee, and strike the earth with thy heels (*i.e.*, quicken thy steps) and turn thine eyes upward to the laze which the Eternal King whirleth with vast revolutions."

Virgil notices Dante's eyes bent upon the ground. The Almighty is compared to a falconer; meaning that Man must use this world's goods, such as wealth, food, luxuries, only so far as are necessary to sustain life, and treat them as things to be trodden under foot, as little and vile, but let his mental contemplation be towards heaven, eternal and immortal. The Dante shows, by a noble comparison, how eagerly

\* *Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro*, et seq. On these two lines Goiberti exclaims: "Si poteva dir meglio? Vedi questo bellissimo." *Purg.* xiv, 148-151.

† *Chiamavi il occhio, e intorno vi si gira,  
Mostrandovi le sue bellezze eterne,  
E l'occhio vostro pure a terra mira;  
Onde vi batte ch' tutto ardeete.*

La Natura intera è un richiamo alla cognizione e all' affetto al Creatore — verità espressiva con un' immagine piena di venustà.

† *rote magne*. Compare *Purg.* viii, 16-18.

"E l' altre più disorientate e deviate  
Seguitar lei per tutto l' anno intero  
Avendo gli occhi alle superne rote."

Goiberti thinks that, comparing *rote* in the present passage with *Purg.* xiv, 148 — see above, — one finds the same idea expressed both. We may understand *rote* here as "The Heavens."

proceeded to follow Virgil's advice, and Benvenuto notices how appropriate the comparison is. As the hawk, which is by its nature light, flies up on high in a spirited manner by a number of great wheels, so did our Poet fly, by the wings of his mind wheeling round and round the Cornices of the high mountain. And as the falcon first looks down at its feet, so is Dante doing now; and as the falcon raising its head, stretches itself forward to fly for its food, so now Dante, raising his head, stretches himself forward with the hopes of heaven, at the call of Virgil, who, like a noble falconer, is leading him in search of his quarry. He concludes the description by telling how he ascended.

Quale il falcon che prima ai piè si mira \*  
 Indi si volge al grido, † e si protende ‡ 65  
 Per lo disio del pasto che là il tira ;  
 Tal mi fec' io § e tal, quanto si fende

\* *si pò si mira*: Cesari (*Bellicæ*, vol. 11, p. 340) explains that the falcon, *comes impatiently down, at its feet, which are fastened to the feet of its jesses*.

† *si volge al grido*. This may either be that the hawk turns to the falconer when he cries " *sa da' sa da'* " or, that on hearing the cry of the bird that is its quarry, it turns its face reaching towards that direction. Amosio (*Ort. Tur.* xiii, 63) speaks of a hawk that moves with the rapidity of a falcon answering the call of its master.

‡ *fende*

Con tanta fretta il saltò legno l'onde,  
 Che non maggiore a legno non scende  
 Falcon ch' al grido del padron risponde.

§ *Tal mi fec' io*. The falcon on being roused by the cry, whether of the falconer, or of the quarry, spreads out its wings, and struggles to escape from the jesses that restrain its flight.

¶ *Tal mi fec' io*. Bati sees an allegory in Dante's comparison of himself to the falcon. His contemplation of his feet, is the self-inspection of his affections, which have been moulded into

La roccia per dar via a chi va suso,  
N' andai infino ove il cerchiar si prende.

Even as the falcon, which first surveys his feet, then turns him to the call, and spreads his wings, through the desire of the food that draws him thither; Such was I then, and such, so far as the rock is cleft to afford a passage to him who would ascend, did I move onwards to where the circling begins (*i.e.*, up to the level pathway of the Fifth Cornice).

The stairways, Benvenuto thinks, always mounted straight up, and all the Cornices were circular throughout Purgatory.

Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, Firenze, 1874, p. 257), observes that Dante drew many similes from the falcon; \* and Ariosto and Pulci later on followed in his footsteps; for in the olden days of Chivalry Hawking took no mean place.

*Division III.* The penance and purgation of the Avaricious are now described. Benvenuto says that Dante purges the Avaricious in the most perfect manner. He represents them all lying on the ground with their faces to the earth and their backs turned towards heaven, and with their hands and feet to weeping and lamenting. What Dante represents explained a little further on. One must imagin

the righteous amount of submission conducive to penitence. Dante turns to the call of God, Who is ever summoning us by evangelical and apostolical teaching, and Who is continually being preached to us. Dante spreads out his will through his desire of spiritual food, and ascends through the narrow way to seek it higher up.

\* In the *Divina Commedia* there are altogether three illustrations from the sport of falconry; one in each of the three *Cantiche*, of which this is the second. The other two are *Inf.* xvii, 127-132; and *Par.* xix, 34-37.

that he who wishes to purge himself from the sin of Avarice has to recollect and mourn over the life that he has wasted on earth. For if the Slothful man abstains from doing good through laziness, the Avaricious man does all manner of evil from wickedness; he turns his back on heaven and worships the world; he keeps his hands and feet bound, for he gives to no one, nor goes to any one's assistance, and is the most miserable of men. He is just like some animals who will sacrifice, of their own accord, some part of their body to save their lives—the fox, for instance, has been known to bite off its own foot when caught in a trap. So does the Avaricious man expose his soul to manifest death, for the sake of acquiring or protecting a small modicum of money.

Com' io nel quinto giro fui dischiuso,\*

70

Vidi gente per esso che piangea,†

Giacendo a terra tutta volta in guscio.‡

\* *nel quinto giro fui dischiuso*: lit. became un-shut into the fifth circle. Dante had been, during his ascent of the stairway, shut in between the wall of rock on either side.

† *gente . . . che piangea*. These are the spirits of the Avaricious or Miserly. In *Purg.* xxv, 49 *et seq.* we shall find notices explicitly telling Dante that he is among the Prodigals, and that both are punished on this Cornice, for their respective sins of money.

‡ *tutta volta in guscio*: Dean Plumptre observes: "As in *ibid.*, 25 *et seq.* the Misers and Prodigals are grouped together as exhibiting different aspects of the same evil, on earth their souls like those of Milton's Mammon (*Par. Lost*, l. 581) have been ever "downward bent," and their penance is to lie prostrate on the earth, uttering the words of *Psalm* cxxxix, 25. These words form part of the service of *Frane* in the Roman Breviary, and it was at this hour that Dante hears them in Purgatory . . . We may also call to mind the concluding words of the verse when he begins: "My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken Thou me according to Thy word." Dean Plumptre also notices the courteousness of the address to the spirits in v. 76: "Such

*Adhaesit pavimento anima mea,\**

Senti dir lor con sì alti sospiri

Che la parola appena s' intendea.

75

As soon as I came forth into the fifth circle, I saw people upon it that were weeping as they lay upon the ground altogether turned (face) downwards. *Adhaesit pavimento anima mea*, I heard them say with such deep sighs, that one could hardly distinguish the words.

Virgil now addresses the spirits, asking them to point out the way, and one of them at once replies. This spirit is evidently in doubt as to whether the Poets have already completed their course of purgation, or whether they have come into Purgatory by some special grace of God. Dante, anxious for further information, by one of those rapid interchanges of signs so common in Italy, asks and obtains Virgil's permission to converse with this new spirit.

"O eletti di Dio, † li cui sospiri ‡

should be the tone of every soul seeking its own purification towards others who are under a like consequence for like sins."

\* *Adhaesit pavimento anima mea* "È stata aderente per me al pavimento." Così medonca quel piaga, e dice il nostro a. p. 2, *Respirava sopra di tua parata*, pare del raffronto le parole della terra e quelle del cielo; la vita e la vita d'el anima, la ragione del basso metallo e la legge Verbo divino. *Respirava* il nostro respirare acconciamente sede del peccato, che è nell'affetto, e non già nella ragione che è insieme accesa; la quale materiale tenacità di quell'atto *Pavimentum* parola, in parola ancor più bella che terra, riguarda alla sua origine nel verbo *parare*, o *calpestare* veramente cosa degna d'essere calpestata e' oltre adunque confitti il tesoro ove posero il cuore." (Perez, *op. cit.* p.

† *O eletti di Dio*, et seq: Gioberti notices that every time Dante addresses the spirits in Purgatory, he does so in that free and courteous and kindred way, always with a thought what may best give them consolation in their trial.

‡ *sospiri* and *satiri*, l. 78. There were many similar words

E giustizia e speranza fan men duri,  
Druzzate noi verso gli alti saliri."—

— "Se voi venite dal giacer sicuri,  
E volete trovar la via più tosto, 80  
Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi."—\*

Così pregò il Porta, e sì risposto  
Poco dinanzi a noi ne fu ; perch' io  
Nel parlare avvisai l' altro nascosto ; †

E volsi gli occhi ‡ allora al Signor mio : 85  
Ond' egli m' assenti con lieto cenno  
Ciò che chiedea la vista del disio §

"O ye elect of God, whose sufferings are rendered less hard by justice and hope, direct us towards the ascents on high (*ie*, to the stairway leading up to the next Cornice)" "If you come exempted from having to lie prostrate, and wish to find the path more speedily, let your right hand be always outermost." Thus did the Poet make his request, and thus did the

use in Dante's time, now obsolete, such as *amari*, *abbracciari*, *partire*. We find them frequently in Boccaccio. These are plural substantives formed from the infinitives of the verbs. Compare *Convito* iv, canz. 11 *Le dolce rime d' amor*. Str. iv, l. 14-5.

"Per che a inte'lettu san  
È manifesto i lor diti esser vani."

\* *di furi* is *lor di fuori*, *all' esterno*. We must understand that the Poets on reaching the top of the stairway turned *over their right*, as they walked along the new Cornice, their right hand would naturally be nearest to the outer margin of the Cornice.

† *Nel parlare avvisai l' altro nascosto*: Understand this: "As I spoke, or, as I heard some one speaking, I took note of *somebody*, that was concealed from me, that is, the speaker, *whom* he lay face downwards I could not see, but discovered *ultimately* by following the sound of the voice."

‡ *Volsi gli occhi*: See *Purg.* xv, 127; and xviii, 2, 3. Virgil *voluntas* read the emotions of Dante's mind by the expression of his face.

§ *La vista del disio*: "il desiderio espresso pure dallo sguardo" (*scartamenti*). Gherardi says of these words: "Espressione pura di poesia, e di filosofia."

answer come to us from a little in our front ; wherefore I by the voice discerned that other (whose face was) concealed ; and then I turned my eyes to my Lord : whereupon he with a cheerful sign gave assent to what my wistful countenance had besought.

Armed with Virgil's permission, Dante asks the spirit his name, the reason of the prostrate condition of himself and his companions in suffering, and offers his good offices for him with his friends in the world.

Poi ch' io potei di me fare a mio senno,  
Trassimi sopra quella creatura,\*  
Le cui parole pria notar mi fenno, 90

Dicendo : — " Spirto, in cui pianger matura †  
Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi,  
Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura. ‡

Chi fosti, e perchè volti avete i dossi  
Al su, mi di', e se vuoi ch' io t' impetri 95  
Cosa di là ond' io vivendo mossi. "

As then I was empowered to act according to my inclination, I moved on (and stood) over that being, whose words had first made me notice him, saying : " Spirit, in whom tears are ripening that (fruit of repentance) without which one cannot return to God.

\* *Trassimi sopra quella creatura* : Benvenuto interprets it in its plain unvarnished sense. " I came and stood over the being, that is, Pope Adrian, because he, being on his face, could not come to me." Some Commentators attempt to put far fetched interpretations on the passage.

† *matura* : Gioberti prefers Lombardi's explanation of *matur* " cioè, affretta, accelera. "

‡ *Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura* : " Qui cura non è forse sollecitudine, come si suole interpretare ; ma sollecitudine unita ad ansia, ad ambascia, ad affanno, quale è quello degli spiriti purganti, secondo indica lo stesso v. 91. E mi sembra che la cura del v. 92, sia appunto il piangere del v. 91. Intorno al qual significato della voce *cura* v. sopra Canto ix, v. 67. Benvenuto forse possa anch' essere la chiosa comune, e che io dica Dante *mezz'ora* nel senso in cui la disse sup. ii, 129, il che è anche buon senso." (Gioberti).

lay aside for a while thy greater care for my sake.  
Tell me, who thou wast, and why (all of) you have  
your backs upturned, and whether thou wouldst have  
me obtain aught for thee therewhence I set forth alive."

Benvenuto points out that by these last words Dante indirectly answers the implied question on the part of the spirit (l. 79), when he said: "If you come exempted from having to lie prostrate." The whole scene reminds one of that described in *Inferno* (Canto XIX), where Dante has been carried by Virgil to the place where the wicked Pope Nicholas Orsini is being punished, and stands over him like a friar confessing an assassin going to be buried alive.\* We have here one of those curious and felicitous contrasts of which Dante is so fond. In *Inf.* XIX we read the story of a wicked Pope. In *Purg.* XIX is told the story of a good Pope. The speaker is Ottobuoni Fieschi, who was elected Pope as Adrian V, July 12, 1276. He died at Viterbo on the 3rd of August the same year. Sestri and Chiavari (in the text Chiaveri) are two towns of the Eastern Riviera, which were subject to Genoa. The river is the Lavagna, whence the Fieschi family took their title. Adrian died before his admission to the priesthood, and was therefore neither consecrated nor crowned as Pope. He had been sent by Innocent IV, in 1268, as a legate, to reconcile Henry III, King of England, and his barons, and to reform abuses in the church. Adrian was, Benvenuto tells us, a nephew of

\* Compare *Inf.* XIX, 49, 50:

"Io stava come il frate che confessa

Lo peccato assassin," etc.

So, too, here has Dante to stoop to converse with this Pope.

*Inf.* XIX, Nicholas tells him (v. 69):

"Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto."



Innocent IV, and when his friends and relations to congratulate him on his election, he is reported to have said: "It was better for you to have a living cardinal than a dead Pope." He only sat on the throne of St. Peter one month and eight days. Benvenuto gives the date as 1273. Pope Adrian's speech is one of the finest passages in the *Purgatorio*. He begins by telling Dante that his second question, as to the cause of their punishment, will be answered later, but while he tells him what had been his dignity, and the place of his birth, how long he occupied the Throne, and the hardship he found it.

Ed egli a me, "Perchè i nostri diretti  
Rivolga il cielo a sè, saprai: ma prima,  
Sai tu quod ego fui successor Petri?<sup>†</sup>  
Intra Siesti e Chaveni si adma  
Una fiumana bella, e del suo nome  
Lo titol del mio sangue fa sua cima.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>†</sup> *sucessor Petri*. Of Adrian V the *Falso Boacercio*: "Costui tutto il tempo di sua vita non avea atteso ad altro che a rannate peccata e avere, per giungere a quel punto di papa, posto che poco il giudesse e vedesse che papa maggiore s'è, non a che si possa avere, s'è nobilbe e essere enteso nel maggior laccio [?] *honda*] del mondo de essere avere a governare e avere cura del anime (la cristianità), e riconoscere se medesimo ispregio e tutti gli altri vizi.

<sup>‡</sup> *fa sua cima*: On this Buti says: "ciò fa sua altera però che intine a quel grado d'altera nantotto, che erano chiamati quelli dal Fiesco, poi suno chiamati Lavagna. Cesari (*bellante*, vol. II, p. 349). "Ed egli era Papa V Fieschi, de Conti di Lavagna e questo è cio, è Dante al modo suo proprio; che il titolo della sua cima cima del nome di quel fiume; cioè piglia il titolo da que ne fa suo cognome o arme. Ma però, h'è questo *titolo* mi suona un cosa che d'onore (*something after the fact an honourable distinction*); vorrà forse dite, che da Lavagna la sua famiglia nobilitata della contea."<sup>7</sup>

Un mese e poco più \* prova' io come  
 Pesa il gran manto a chi dal fango il guarda,  
 Che piuma sembran tutte l'altre somme. 105

And he to me: "Why Heaven makes us turn our backs to it, thou shalt learn—but first know that I was the successor of Peter. Between Sestri and Chiavari there rushes down a fair river, and from its name (Lavagna) the title of my race takes its proudest distinction. For one month and a little more I experienced how heavily the great mantle weighs on him who keeps it out of the mire (*i.e.*, wears it with dignity), so much so that all the other bardens seem but feathers.

Pope Adrian now goes on to show when and why he recognised the error of his ways.

La mia conversione, omi' fu tarda; †  
 Ma come fatto fui Roman Pastore,  
 Così scopersi la vita bugiarda.‡

\* *Un mese e poco più et seq.* \* "E appresso lui a di dodici di fu chiamato Papa messere Ottobuono cardinale dal re e la città di Genova, il quale non vivette che trentasei anni e fu papato, e fu chiamato papa Adriano quinto." (*Uov. Com.*, lib. vii, cap. 30). Compare *Purg.* xvi, 127, 129.

† "La Chiesa di Roma,

† *Per confondere in sé due reggimenti,  
 Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma."*

‡ *conversione . . . tarda*: Scartazzini thinks Adrian must have delayed his conversion until after his election as Pope, and only lived a few days afterwards. He should rightly therefore be still in Ante-Purgatory. Was he rescued therefrom by righteous merits, or was his penitence so saintly as to wipe off the years he should have tarried in Ante-Purgatory?

‡ *La vita bugiarda*: Gioberti says "perchè promettitrice di cose che non attende." Compare *Comate*, ii, 12, ll. 39-50. "Promesse false traditrici, se ben si guarda, di torre ogni sete e di nutrir la, e apportar saziamiento e bastanza. E questo non si principia a ciascuno uomo, questa promessa in certa parte di loro accrescimento affermando, e perchè quivi sono offerte, in loco di saziamiento e di refrigerio, dànno e recano nel caso febricante e intollerabile, e in loco di bastanza,

Vidi che li non si quietava il core,\*  
 Nè più salir poteasi † in quella vita ;  
 Per che di questa in me s' accese amore.  
 Fino a quel punto misera e partita  
 Da Dio anima fui, del tutto avara ‡  
 Or, come vedi, qui ne son punita.

110

My conversion, alas ! was tardy ; but, when I had become the Roman Pastor (*i.e.*, Pope), then I discovered how false (human) life is. In it I found that the heart had no repose, nor was it possible to rise higher in that life ; wherefore the desire for this (immortal life) was kindled in me. Up to that time I was a wretched soul, and severed from God, wholly given up to Avarice : now, as thou seest, I am punished for it here.

Benvenuto says that Adrian speaks true, for the followers of Avarice are cut off from communion with God ; nor, indeed, is the Avaricious man satisfied by the gratification of his desires. Benvenuto tells us

recano nuovo termine, cioè maggior quantità a desidero.  
 Compare also *Purg.* xxx, 131, 132.

\* *non si quietava il core* : " perchè interminabili gli umani desiderii, a contentare i quali solo basta una beatitudine immortale e una vita immortale " (*Giordani*).

† *Nè più salir poteasi* : Benvenuto considers this is very good reasoning, for what sovereign has such dignity and power as the Pope ? Others have to rule over mortal affairs ; but he over spiritual matters. Others get their pre-eminence from man ; but he from the earthly wisdom of God. Others have power over earthly matters ; he has the freedom of eternal ones, and indeed, as they say, he is the ruler over both living and the dead. Therefore there neither is, nor can be anything greater in the whole Christian world, although now-a-days it does not seem to be greatly esteemed.

‡ *del tutto avara* : " wholly avaricious." *del tutto* is a regular adverb, meaning " wholly, altogether." Many of the English translations render it " covetous of all," as if it were " di tutti." Mr. Shadwell, whose renderings of Italian are faithful and elegant, translates it correctly.

illustration a story of a kinsman of this same Adrian. This was the head of the Fieschi, who was the richest of all churchmen; he was appointed by the Emperor Ralph Vicar of the Empire, and the expense utterly ruined him.

In the early days of the Christian Church the dignity of the Papacy was not one at all to be coveted, as nearly all the early Pontiffs were dragged off to execution and martyrdom; but now the dignity is sought after with such ambition, that fraud, bribes, and promises have a large share in influencing the election. That is the probable explanation of Adrian saying that now-a-days the office is not greatly esteemed, it is coveted and intrigued for by churchmen; and lay men, in consequence, hold the office in less respect from the election not being merely the result, as it used formerly to be, of the free choice of holy minded men who had prayed to God to direct their selection without any thought of personal ambition for themselves. Adrian answers Dante's other question as to why the good and other spirits are lying in that posture.

Quel ch' avarizia fa,\* qui si dichiara

115

\* *Quel ch' avarizia fa*, et seq. Perez (*op. cit.* p. 197) prefaces the passage very happily: "Un lagrimevole e duro cammino è quello di Dante nel quinto cerchio. Pochè tutto lo spazio è tenuto di gente, che, stesa boccone *lying on their faces*, non toccano i piedi, del Poeta se non picciola via accosto alla roccia. Il Poeta annunzia con vive parole la pena, che essi pagano per le loro avarizie. . . . Avarizia, che, secondo l' Aquinate, è un peccato desidero di que beni il cui prezzo può misurarsi in denaro, ne suoi libri è detta idolatria, e costoro espiavano questa idolatria prostrati alla terra, donde si trae l' oro e l' argento. Dormigliano nel tormento ai simoniaci della prima cantata. Quasi, sepolti col capo in terra e quasi propagginati, chiamavano a mente il detto di Cristo: *Mortuus est dominus, et*

In purgazion dell' anime converse,\*  
 E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.†  
 Sì come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse‡

*sepultus est in inferno* (Luc. xvi, 22). Questi costretti ad esser sempre il luogo ove mal tesoreggiarono, chiamano a me l'altro di Cristo:  *Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra ubi aerugo et linea demolitur; et ubi fures effodiunt, et furantur. Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo.* (St. Matt. vi, 19). Rammentano anche gli avari e i prodighi del 4° cerchio infernale. Là le ricchezze mutavansi in pesi fatuosissimi, che peccatori dovevano co' loro petti voltare e sospingere in ciel. Qui elle sono pesi invisibili, che aggravati sopra il dorso e penitenti, non li lasciano muovere finchè non abbiano soddisfatto a ogni debito di giustizia.

\* *converse*: There seems to be much doubt among the commentators as to whether this refers to the position of the penitents lying turned over on their faces, or to their state of conversion from impenitence to true contrition. Cesari thinks the former, but is not certain which of the two interpretations is the right one. "E da ordinare così il costrutto. . . Nella purgazione qui dell' anime così riversate, si dichiara quello che l'avarizia: se già *converse* non valesse, *convertite a Deo*" (*Bellezza*, vol. II, p. 350).

† *nulla pena il monte ha più amara*: The best interpretation of this will be found in Peiret *op. cit.* p. 201. "Ogni vero penitente, io penso, è inclinato a credere il proprio fatto più grande di ogni fatto altrui, e però se gli fosse imposta tal pena che porgesse viva e continua ricordanza di quello, egli dovrebbe giudicar siffatta pena più amara di ogni altra. La pena poi quanto cerchio sembra più delle altre accomodata a dar di continuo all'anima le atroci punture della memoria: può ben immaginarsi negli altri cerchi il doloroso andare o sedere rappresentate più meno gli atti della virtù contraria al vizio antico, qui invece doloroso aderire alla terra col dorso rivolto al cielo, e l'immagine dello stesso antico vizio nella sua parte più riconoscenza. Ma lasciata pur questa ragione, all'altro libero petto di Dante poteva parer pena più amara di quella che più sembra all'uomo togliete di sua dignità, e lo collo quasi vile mancando, diniegarli la agnoscenza di proprio. Forse per tal ragione a chi peccò di superbia e di avarizia vizi capitalissimi e radice degli altri, egli assegna a esporsi un atteggiamento tutto servile: la gente del primo cerchio oppressa da gran pesi; la gente del quarto gravata di dare casti-

‡ *aderse*: *Aderere* is from *ad-erigere*.

In alto, fesso alle cose terrene,	
Così giustizia qui a terra il merse.	120
Com'è avarizia spense a ciascun bene	
Lo nostro amore, onde operar perde' sì,*	
Così giustizia qui stretto † ne tiene	
Ne' piedi e nelle man legati ‡ e presi;	
E quanto ha piacer del gusto Sire,§	125
Tanto starenno immobili ¶ e distesi.º	

What is the effect of Avarice, is here made manifest in the purgation of the converted souls, and the mountain has no more bitter penalty. As our eyes, fixed on earthly things, were not lifted up on high,

*onde operar se perde' sì.* Scartazzini says this must not be taken as "Al, our work was lost, was in vain," but "All our work, our faculty for good works was lost."

*stretto.* Scartazzini advocates the joining of *stretti* with *legati*, a mode I have adopted. He thinks *stretti* is used locally for *strettamente*.

*Ne' piedi e nelle man legati:* Compare *St. Matt. xxii, 13:* "The king said to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there he will weep and gnash his teeth." And Perez "I lacci poi, legano avanti i mani e piedi, al duro terreno; i lacci, a cui Bibbia son paragonate le insidie delle ricchezze, bene esprimono come l'avarizia stringe e altri nel' acquisto le, e che lo stringono nel custodirle, la passione da cui non si sciolgono quando egli deve e pur non vorrebbe lasciarle. In queste stanno allaccate le mani, che nel sacro eloquio figurano le opere, e che così a lungo furono chiuse, così raro si sciolgono. Mentalmente allaccati i piedi, che figurano gli occhi quasi i passi, con cui l'anima cammina i piedi, che non non muove mai a' bisogni de' fratelli, non diparte mai guardando de' male amati tesori. Simili vincoli sono conosciuti nel mondo con cui gli ingusti possessori a se legano i beni esterni" (*op. cit.* p. 199, 200)

*quanto ha piacer del gusto Sire.* It would seem from this that these spirits are in ignorance of how long they will remain on the ground.

*immobili.* "L'immobilità poi e l'irrigidimento di tutta la persona fa riconoscere la condanna de' uomini avari, a se e de' suoi beni, e dispettata, quel suo indurare, e quasi non più di umano." (*Perez, p. 201.*)

even so has justice sunk them to the ground in this place. Even as Avarice extinguished our love for all things good, whereby our faculty for good works was lost, so justice here doth hold us in restraint, fast bound and fettered by the hands and feet; and for so long as it be the will of the Righteous Lord, so long shall we remain motionless and stretched out."

*Division IV.* Dante now solves a point which always been a doubtful one to him, namely, when temporal dignity ceases with temporal death. He pictures himself as having knelt down with the intention of doing homage to the Pope's high office and was probably about to say, thinks Benvenuto "Holy Father, I entreat Your Holiness, to excuse my natural ignorance, for I was not aware of your being Pope."

Benvenuto wishes us to take note that to no living person among Christians is any greater reverence paid, than to the Pope, even though he may be the vilest and most vicious of men, and many think this is almost a miracle. Dante himself touched elegantly on this once at Verona, when, supping with some distinguished persons, some one asked out of curiosity: "Why is it, most learned Dante, that the sailor who has suffered shipwreck ever goes to sea again: that a woman who has once borne a child wishes to conceive again: and that such thousands of poor do not swallow up the few rich?" To which very prudent Dante, fearing to furnish error to the least intelligent guests, evading the question, replied "Add a fourth question, Why do all the kings and princes of the earth reverently kiss the foot of the

“a barber and washerwoman when he is made Pope?” Although Dante had not yet spoken, he may have uttered some sound of his voice or his throat preparatory to doing so, and Pope Adrian perceives that Dante has stooped nearer to him. He asks the reason, and, on hearing from Dante that it is out of reverence for his dignity on earth, hastily bids him to rise up on his feet, and to treat him as an equal.

Observe, Dante now addresses the Pope with the reverential “*voi*,” whereas before, he had spoken to him with the more colloquial “*tu*.” See l. 91, *et seq.*

Io m'era inginocchiato, e volca dire ;  
Ma com'io cominciai, ed ei s'accorse,  
Solo ascoltando, del mio riverire \*

“Qual eag.on.”—disse, —“in giù così ti torse?” — 130

Ed io a lui :—“Per vostra dignitate  
Mia coscienza dritto mi rimorse.” †

—“Drizza le gambe, levati su, feate,” —

Rispose :—“non errar, conservo I sono  
Teco e con gli altri ad un' potestate.” — 135

\* At the end of his conversation with Pope Nicholas, Dante means forth into a reproach against the avarice of the Pastors of the Church. At the end of his interview with this Pope, also deep penance for avarice, he humbly bends the knee to do homage to his high dignity. And even in *Inf* xix, v. 100, while using words that were somewhat forcible, he says :—

“E se non fosse, che ancor lo mi vieta  
La riverenza delle somme chiavi,  
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,  
I' userei parole ancor più gravi, &c.

† *Mia coscienza dritto mi rimorse*: I follow Lombardi and write a reading *dritto* and in interpreting it “rightly,” “justly” since among whom is Biagioli, read *mia coscienza dritta*. This would in Dante's mouth ill befit the state of humility to which he has been schooling himself since entering into Purgatory.

‡ *conservo sono teo*: Benvenuto says: “These words are taken out of the seventh chapter of the *Apocalypse* (sixth in



I had fallen on my knees, and was about to speak, but as I began, only by listening he became aware of my act of reverence. "What cause," said he, "has thus bent thee downward?" And I to him: "Because of your rank my conscience rightly gave me compunction (for standing)." "Straighten thy legs, my brother, rise up," he answered, "Err not, I am thy fellow servant with thee and others to One Power."

Adrian had learnt the lesson of *Acts* x, 26, *Rev.* xiv, 10, xxii, 9.

Another token of humility is that, instead of using the usual formula of a Pope, who addresses others as "my son," he speaks to Dante as a brother. Adrian confirms his words by adding testimony from Holy Scripture.

Se mai quel santo evangelico suono  
Che dice *Neque nubent* \* intendesti,  
Ben puoi veder perch' io così ragiono.

A. V.) where, when St. John had cast himself at the feet of the Angel, it was said to him: "See thou do it not: I am thy fellow servant and of thy brethren who have the testimony of Jesus worship God." And notice how Adrian brings forward an excellent example from a most excellent book of Holy Scripture. For, if it be lawful to make a comparison of such a nature, Dante a man of a highly speculative nature, can be compared to St. John, who was of a most contemplative nature, for both Dante and St. John, although in different manners, when in a rapt ecstasy of the mind, saw wonderful and various images. As then St. John had knelt at the feet of the Angel, so Dante knelt at the feet of the great High Priest, and as the Angel did not accept this honour, calling himself the fellow servant of St. John, and of all them who had the testimony of Jesus, so did Pope Adrian now, calling himself the fellow servant of Dante, and all other Christian men."

\* *Neque nubent*. "For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." *St. Matt* xxiii, 30. Dante uses these words in an allegorical sense, to show that earthly distinctions do not exist in the spiritual world.

If ever thou hast rightly understood those words from the Holy Gospel, which say *Neque nubent* (they neither marry) well wilt thou be able to perceive why I speak thus.

Adrian now dismisses Dante with a hint that their further conversation would interrupt the godly sorrow with which he is expiating the sin of Avarice. But he has not up to now answered Dante's third question, as to whether he wishes Dante to get intercessions offered up for him on earth. He tells him that, of all his kinsfolk on earth, the only one left is his niece Madonna Alagia, the wife of Moroello Malaspina, Marchese di Giovagallo. He says that she is as yet a virtuous woman, but that he is not without fears lest the notorious immorality of the Fieschi family may eventually corrupt her.

Vattene omai;\* non vo' che più t'arresti.  
 Chè la tua stanza mio pianger disagia, 140  
 Col qual maturo † ciò che tu dicesti.  
 Nepote ho io di là ch' ha nome Alagia.‡

\* *Vattene omai* : Compare Marco Lombardo's farewell words, *Purg.* x. 124-126 :

† *Ma va via Tosco, omai, ch' or mi diletta*  
 Troppo di pianger piu che di parlare.  
 Si m'ha nostra ragion la mente stretta."

‡ *maturo* : See l. 91, in which Dante had said to Pope Adrian

Spirto, in cui pianger matura  
 Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi."

Alagia. As we read in the supplemental note at the end of *Purg.* x. there is not always absolute certainty as to the identity of the various Marcheses of Malaspina, but Alagia seems to have been the wife of Moroello, Marchese di Giovagallo, and to have borne him three children, Manfredi, Giacomo, and Fiesca. She was the daughter of Niccolò di Ugone de' Fieschi, and Benvenuto says of her : "Matrim. complacuit Danti." The *Anon. Fiorent.* writes of her :

Buona da sè, pur che la nostra casa  
Non faccia lei per esemplo malvagia ;\*

E questa sola di là m' è rimasa."—

Now go thy way ; for I will not have thee tarry  
longer, because thy stay here impedes my weeping,  
with which I bring to perfection that which thou hast  
sate (i.e. . . . . Yonder on earth I have  
a piece . . . . . Alagia, good in herself, if  
indeed . . . . . by its evil example make  
her wicked . . . . . she is left to me yonder (in  
the wor . . . . .

"Ebb' uomo . . . . . gran valore et di gran bontà  
l'Avvocato, che . . . . . o in Lunigiana con questo M  
ello di Male . . . . . questa donna, et vidde che c  
una . . . . . te facea  
dava . . . . . ente per questo suo zio."

\* *per esemplo malvagia*: "Malvagi chiama poi i Fieschi  
perchè sono tutti uno di loro, e tra tutti non fa eccezione che  
una donna di questa casa, la quale fu moglie d'un Malaspini  
ma non è gratitudine dell'ospite, più forse che giudizio severo  
e storico, e si sa che il giudizio non era certo, merco  
studiosamente si dà per i suoi personali e al Poeta  
B. vol. Storia della Letteratura Italiana, vol. V, part.  
p. 134).

END OF CANTO XIX.

## CANTO XX.

THE FIFTH CORNICE (*concluded*).—AVARICE AND PRODIGALITY.—EXAMPLES OF POVERTY AND LIBERALITY.—HUGH CAPET.—THE CAPETIAN KINGS, EXAMPLES OF SORDID AVARICE.—THE MOUNTAIN QUAKES ON A SOUL COMPLETING ITS PURGATION.

In the last Canto Dante dealt generally with the penance and purgation of the Avaricious. He now teaches his readers that this sin of Avarice, so common an evil of the human race, may be avoided in two ways.

*First*, by considering the good effects of Liberality and Voluntary Poverty, and

*Secondly*, by considering the evil effects of Avarice and Cupidity.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division I*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante expresses his hatred of Avarice, "*hostiliter insurgit contra avaritiam infestis armis*" (Benvenuto) Dante then commends liberality.

In *Division II*, from v. 34 to v. 96, the spirit of Hugh Capet is introduced, himself avaricious, and the head of a long line of avaricious persons.

In *Division III*, from v. 97 to v. 123, Hugh Capet, with marked brevity, runs over a number of instances of the sins of many Avaricious men.

In *Division IV*, from v. 124 to v. 151, Dante de-

*Division I.* The Canto opens  
continuation of the closing scene of  
Dante begins by saying that, altho  
to yield to the command of Adria  
he did so unsatisfied, as there we  
would have liked to ask him, be  
therefore, in Virgil's company, con  
round the Cornice, but the Poets  
stepping between the rocky cliff-wa  
bent spirits who are lying so close  
precipice, that they cannot get near

Contra miglior voler voler mal pe

Onde contra il piacer mio, pe

Trassi dell'acqua non saaa

\* *Contra miglior voler voler mal pe*, na  
which prompted him to stay and seek tart  
unable to resist the more powerful will  
wished to return to his penance, and ther  
order to leave him, which was too de it  
Not only was Adrian's the stronger will, b  
than Dante's inasmuch as Adrian's desir  
wishing to fulfil God's ordinances as coe  
power.

† *il piacer mio, per paura:* In *Reaa*  
vol. I. p. 420. in the footnote. I have omitted

Mossumi ; e il Duca mio si mosse per li  
 Lochi spediti \* pur lungo la roccia, 5  
 Come si va per muro † stretto ‡ ai merli ;  
 Chè la gente, che fonde a goccia a goccia  
 Per gli occhi il mal che tutto il mondo occupa, §  
 Dall' altra parte in fuor troppo s' approccia. |

Against a will that is better the will strives in vain ; therefore to please him (Pope Adrian), against my own pleasure I withdrew from the water my sponge (*i.e.*, my desire for information) not filled. I moved on ; and my Leader moved on over the spaces left vacant along the cliff side, as on a wall one walks close up to the battlements : because those people (the spirits), who drop by drop pour forth through their eyes the ill which pervades all the world (*i.e.*, Avarice or Cupidity), approach too near to the outer edge on the other side (of the Cornice).

Benvenuto observes that Avarice carries its own pun-

the shuttle of a loom that has not been drawn right up to the head. See *Par.* iii, 94-96 :

"Così fec' io con atto e con parola,  
 Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela  
 Onde non trasse infuor a co la spola."

\* *Lochi spediti*. *Spediti* here is equivalent to *non impediti*, and Tommaseo explains the words, "dove non erano di purganti discese a terra."

† *per muro*. By this is to be understood the wall of a medietas, on the top of which a footway ran, so that one could close up to the battlements.

‡ *stretto*. Not an adjective with the signification of "narrow," but an adverb, meaning "close up to."

§ *il mal che tutto il mondo occupa* : In *Inf.* vi, 74-75, Dante speaks of Avarice, the sin alluded to here, in company with Pride and Envy, enkindling all hearts in Florence :

"Superbia, invidia ed avarizia sono  
 Le tre faville che hanno i cori accesi."

¶ *s' approccia* for *s' appressima*. Tommaseo sees an allegory in the avaricious spirits lying so near the edge of the precipice, and says that their profitless life brings them very close to leading destruction.

against so ferocious a wild beast,  
*Inf.* i, 99-101, invokes the advent of  
personage who is to put her to flight

Maledetta sie tu, antica \* lupa,  
Che pia che tutte l'altre bestie  
Per la tua fame senza hne cupi  
O ciel, nel cui girar § par che si eri

\* *antica*. The lusting after illusive benefi-  
parents in the Garden of Eden. Avarice,  
fore are as old as the world itself, or at all et

† *più che tutte . . . lui preda*. St. Paul  
that the Love of money is the root of all  
Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars 11, 2<sup>ta</sup>, qu  
cupitè autem inter alias virtutes morales  
apparet in justitiâ, que est in appetitu ratio  
rationis ineluctus etiam maxime apparet in  
titio, opponitur autem ips maxime avaritiâ  
vitia maxime ex avaritiâ oriuntur \*

‡ *cupa*. Cupo is more generally known as  
but the word is quite as much used as mean-  
less, boundless, and therefore "dark becau  
*Pur.* iii, 122-123, where Piccarda de' Don  
fading from Dante's view, as something hot  
water .

"e cantando vano

Come per acqua cupa cosa grave."

Compare also Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* x, st. 2:

Le condizion di quaggiù trasmutarsi,  
Quando verrà per cui questa disceda ?

15

Accursed be thou, O ancient She-Wolf, that more than all the other beasts hast prey, by reason of thy greed unfathomable in its depth. O Heaven, in whose revolving courses some appear to think conditions here below are changed, when will he come by whom she (the wolf, Avarice) will be put to flight ?

Cartazzini says that this passage is most important, even decisive for the true understanding of the fundamental idea of the Divina Commedia. For if the *preda* of which Dante speaks here is the same that he spoke of in *Inf. i*, and if the Wolf that he curses here is Avarice, it follows of necessity that the Wolf in *Inf. i*, can only be a symbol of Avarice. And if here the Wolf is the symbol of a vice, it also follows of necessity that the other two wild beasts, the *lonza* and the *leone*, must each also symbolize a vice and of some political power. There can be no doubt that the Wolf here cursed by Dante is the identical one that opposed him at the commencement of his journey. In this passage the Wolf is styled *antica*; in *Inf. i*, 111, it is the *prima invidia*, which at the beginning of the world Satan called forth from Hell, and therefore it is as ancient as the world. In *Inf. i*, 51, the Wolf *sc' già viver grame molte genti*; the Poet curses the one here because *ha preda più che tutte l'altre bestie*, and because it makes the penitents in this Cornice *viver grame*, who are *molte genti*. In both passages is its ravenous hunger mentioned. Finally, Dante concludes his malediction of the Wolf by exclaiming: *Quando verrà per cui questa disceda ?* And what other motive can he have had for thus express-



for being the cause of the torment  
and therefore the Wolf is Avarice  
the Wolf, in *Inf.* i, is also certainly

As Dante picks his way among  
spirits, who are lamenting and weeping  
godly penitence, he hears one of  
examples of voluntary poverty and  
are the virtues most opposed to Avarice

Noi andavam con passi lenti e  
Ed io attento all' ombre che  
Pietosamente piangere e lagrimare  
E per ventura udi' : + — " Dolce

\* The spirit that speaks is not that of  
that of his father, Hugh Capet, Duke of  
Paris, better known as Hugh the Great.  
different points further on, Dante evidently  
from one to the other in a way that is very  
his *Recherches de la France*, p. 442, describes  
and prudent, and says that, although he was  
he a maker and unmaker of kings. He  
is said to have been more accurately  
because when at school he was always  
boys' caps. Durange, *ibid.*, under C  
from an old chronicle, but ascribes the  
babbling, to the hood or cowl which Hug

Dinanzi a noi chiamar così nel pianto, 20

Come fa donna che in partoris sia; \*

E seguitar. — " Povera fosti tanto,

Quanto veder si può per quell' ospizio, †

Ove sponesti il tuo portato santo. — "

With slow and measured steps we went along, and I attentive to the shades that I could hear weeping piteously and lamenting; and by chance I heard: O blessed Mary. † cried out in front of us amidst her wailing, even as a woman does who is in labour; and, in continuance: "How poor thou wast can well be seen by that (lowly) hostelry, where thou didst lay down thy sacred barden."

For fear, says Benvenuto, that anyone might say: Ah! but it is not everyone who could endure the inconveniences of poverty like the Virgin Mary,

il pio sentimento della virtù, e col sorgere dell' ombre cresce il desiderio al vizio: nella luce del giorno contemplasti il bene, e in quella delle tenebre speranze, tra il furo della notte l'anima ballata dall' aspetto del male, e si chiude più addentro nel seno. (Perez, *Selle Cerchi*, p. 202).

come fa donna che in partoris sia: Venturi (*Similitudini* di Dante, Simil. 304, p. 176) exclaims upon the beauty and holiness of this simile, for in the spirits of the Avaricious the anxiety of their grief is compensated by the secret joy of a hope that is yet afar off, even as it is with a woman in her labour, from the chaste thought of becoming a mother. (see *St. John*, xvi, 21.

l'ospizio. The stable at Bethlehem where the Blessed Virgin laid our Lord in a manger.

Perez (p. 203) observes that the first words of benediction are addressed to Mary, blessed, though of low estate, in a humble place of refuge in which she gives birth to our Saviour. And this spirit who piteously sighs, as he falls face downwards on the ground, and who calls upon the King and Queens to fall down in reverence before the Virgin, at the spot where the Queen of Angels offers to Man the newborn King of the Universe, this spirit was one of the great and mighty upon earth, Hugh Capet, of France, the founder of one of the most illustrious royal houses in the

neus Kunnus for his luxury and  
refused the gifts offered him by the  
bribes of Pyrrhus, and died so  
be buried at the public expense  
were obliged to give a dowry to his  
*Aeneid* vi, 844, calls him "po  
Dante extols him in the *Convito*

Sequentemente intesi . - "O be  
Con povertà volesti anzi vi  
Che gran ricchezza possedi

Thereafter heard I : "O good Fa  
choose virtue with poverty, rather  
great wealth with infamy."

Dante probably had reason to  
with this spirit enter into a pro  
which would not be so abruptly b

♦ *Fabrizio*: Compare *Convito* iv, 1  
dirà che fosse senza divina spirazione  
moltitudine d'oro rifiutare, per non v  
patria'. And *De Mon* v, 5, l 90. "n  
nobis dedit exemplum avaritiae resiste  
tens, pro fide qua Republicae tenebat  
oblatum derisit, ac derisum, verba sibi  
despexit et refutavit? Huius etiam  
Dante *convito* in *convito* 12"

he had been with Adrian. Hugh Capet at once proceeds to tell Dante a story of the noble liberality of St. Nicholas Bishop of Myra in Lycia, whose body is entombed at Bari. Of him Benvenuto observes: "Here the Poet brings forward an example of noble generosity in a few short clear words; how the holy Nicholas, having lost his parents, wished to spend his money on the poor. There was a nobleman with three grown up daughters, who was reduced to such extreme poverty that he had determined to send them out to beg for the support of the family. One night St. Nicholas, passing the house, took a bag of gold from under his cloak and threw it in at the window, the eldest girl was thus dowered, and as all three were beautiful girls, was at once married. St. Nicholas repeated this a second and a third time, with short intervals between, and thus secured for all three daughters honourable marriages. Not long after the marriage of the youngest girl, the father ascertained who was their benefactor."

Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute \*

Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver conterza †

*Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute.* Poletto in his *Commentaries* that these words spoken by the spirit in praise of St. Nicholas would be quite in accordance with the feelings of Dante, the unhappy exile, who in his letter to Can. Grande della Scala (l. 32 ll. 600-602) wrote: "Urget enim me rei familiaris sollicitudo, ut hæc et alia utilia reipublicæ derelinquere oportet," who wrote to the Counts of Romagna in the *Epistola*, (suspected authenticity, ll. 47-49): "nec negligentia neve caritate me tenuit, sed inopina paupertas quam fecit mihi." Dante very frequently sang the praises of honest men, as well as the evils, both private and public, of papacy.

*per aver conterza Di quello spirito:* In the *Dizionario della*

a little farther on, to get knowledge from whom they seemed to come, speak of the liberality that Nicholas three damsels, so as to guide the honour.

*Division II.* Dante, finding the spirits on this Cornice are silent, Hugh Capet alone has spoken, as who brings back to Dante's recollection instances from sacred and profane history of voluntary poverty and open-handed offers, as a return for such inoffensive good word for his reputation, and the successions of his surviving descendants.

“O anima che tanto ben favelle,

*Lingua Italiana nuovamente compilata da Bernardo Bellini, Torino, s. d.* and which in these pages as the *Gran Dizionario*, is under *contesse* “*aveva contessa, conosci* Compare *Pur.* xiv, 36:

“Che più pareva di me voler (some

\* *Ni colui*. In the *Breviarium Romanum* find: “Adolescens parentibus orbatus, fabricas distribuit. *Cum aliud insuper meo* &c.

Dimmi chi fosti,"—dissi,—"e perchè sola 35

In queste degne lode rinnovelle?

Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,

S' io ritorno \* a compier lo cammin corto

Di quella vita che al termine vola."

"O soul," said I, "who relatest so much that is excellent (*i.e.*, such holy examples) tell me who thou wast, and why thou art the only one to renew these well deserved praises (*i.e.*, of Mary, of Fabricius, and of St. Nicholas)? Without requital thy speech (if thou repliest) shall not remain, if I return to finish the short journey of that life, which is speeding on to the end."

Hugh Capet replies, and tells Dante that, if he enlightens him about what Dante wants to know, he does so for the sake of a human being so marvellously favoured by God while yet alive. He declines Dante's proffered good offices. It would hardly seem indeed that he could stand in need of them, for he had died in 956, nearly 350 years before, and his purification must have been, at the time of Dante's meeting him, nearly at its completion. Before telling Dante his name, Hugh Capet confesses that he is the founder of a race of kings so degenerate, that they are a disgrace to Christendom.

Ben, and Scartazotti 1875, is of opinion that *ben* must be taken here as a substantive, not as an adverb, and begs one to compare ll. 121-124 of this Canto.

"Però al ben che il di ci si ragiona,

Danz non er' io sol; ma qui da presso

Non alzava la voce altra persona.

In the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *ben*, subst. § 17: "Della Parlate e Litere il bene. Predicarlo, Annunziarlo, e tanto *ben* frivole, cioè, tanti *ben* della povertà per una rammenti. Più bello farlo sostantivo che Avverbio."

\* *S' io ritorno*: Others, among whom is Witte, read *S' io*

Ed egli:—"Io 'l ti dirò, non per conforto \*  
 Ch' io attenda di là, ma perchè tanta  
 Grazia in te luce prima che sù morto.  
 Io fui radice della mala pianta,†  
 Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia ‡  
 Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.

And he. "I will tell thee, not for any relief that I can expect from yonder world (through my descendants), but because so large a measure of (divine) grace shines forth in thee before that thou art dead. I was the root of that malignant tree (the Capetian dynasty), which casts its (evil) shadow over the whole Christian world, so that good fruit is seldom gathered from it.

"And yet," says Benvenuto, "there were some illustrious kings of that line, such as St. Louis,

\* *conforto*: Before meaning "consolation," *conforto* has sense "Alleggiamento del dolore cagionato da infermità, e disgrazie." (*Gram. Lit.*) Ormann translates it here "solament," and I therefore take it in the sense of actual relief from torment, rather than mental consolation.

† *mala pianta*. Tommasèo says that in Dante's time Capetians held sway both in France, Spain and Naples; Guelfs in Modena and in Brunswick, and elsewhere.

‡ *Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia*: On this, and the ceding one, Goeberti writes: "Non si potrebbe dipinger acerbamente la dinastia de' Borboni. Quanto Dante abborrì l'Imperatore, tanto conven die che odasse il Re di Francia. Nota come già a quei tempi la Francia esercitasse un dominio, e una certa prepotenza su tutta Europa, il che Dante indica dicendo che la Francia è una mala pianta che aduggia tutta la cristiana terra, e impedendole il beneficio del Sole, fa rado se ne schianta (non frutto). Il Petrarca pensava su tutto l'opposto di Dante, e benchè invisse contro tutte le straniere, non disse però la francese, ma la tedesca razza; però che se Dante è acerbo alla dinastia del Re di Francia, lo è però al popolo francese. Quel poeta della virtù che tutto il mondo esortava poteva condannare per le male geste una peccolosa famiglia anche di monarchi, ma un'intera nazione.

Charles of Anjou, his brother, and this family down to the present time (Benvenuto wrote about 1375) is most powerful *in our west*, where there are such men as the King of France, [Charles V, the Wise, 1364-80]; the King of Navarre [probably Charles the Bad]; the King of Hungary, [Louis the Great, 1370]; the Queen of Apulia [probably daughter of the Emperor Charles IV]"

Hugh goes on to prove what he has said about the degeneracy of his descendants, by alluding to the reigning King, Philip the Fair. Dante makes Hugh speak of Philip's expulsion from Flanders as an unlikely impossibility, whereas it was already historically an accomplished fact, or at all events the series of events had commenced in 1297, which culminated in the battle of Courtrai on 25 March, 1302.

Minnan (*Latin Christianity*, xi, ch. 8, p. 176), says: "In Philip the Fair the gallantry of the French temperament broke out on rare occasions; his first Flemish campaigns were conducted with bravery and skill, but Philip ever preferred the subtle negotiation, the slow and wily encroachment; till his enemies were, if not in his power, at least at great disadvantage, he did not venture on the usurpation or invasion. In the slow systematic pursuit of his object, he was utterly without scruple, without remorse. He was not so much cruel as altogether obtuse to human sufferings, if necessary to the prosecution of his schemes, not so much rapacious, as finding money indispensable to his aggrandisement, seeking money by means of which he hardly seemed to discern the injustice or the folly. Never was man or monarch



... Domnace after death as through life  
ishness in other forms." He was de  
battle of Courtrai, 1302, known in the  
battle of the Spurs of Gold, from the  
found on the field after the battle. The  
vengeance imprecated on him by Dante in  
already taken place when Dante wrote

Ozanam, commenting on the whole part  
to Hugh Capet and his descendants, of  
Divine Comedie rappelle ces grandes re  
du jugement dernier que les artistes de  
sculptèrent sur le portail de nos cathédra  
le tribunal du poete paraissent les rois et  
et dans les jugements qu'il en porte, il y  
philosophie de l'histoire. Au XXe cha  
*toire*, c'est le tour de la France, et il im  
naître ce que le poete pensa des destin  
pays: ce qu'était la France hors de ce  
l'opinion de ses voisins, de ses ennem  
qu'elle avait vaincus."

Ma, se Doagio,\* Lilla, Quanto, e Brug

\* *Ma, se Doagio, Lilla, Quanto, e Brugna, e  
terzina*, Ozanam writes "Guerres de Flandre,  
contre Guy de Dampierre. Le roi gagne une  
mimes. Bataille de Furnes. Bataille de Courtrai."

Potesser, tosto ne saria vendetta;  
Ed io la chaggio a lui, che tutto giuggia.\*

But, if Douai, Lille, Ghent, and Bruges had the power, there would soon be vengeance for it, and I implore it from Him who judges all things.

Hugh now names himself, and at the same time alludes to the number of his descendants whose names were either Philip or Louis.

Chiamato fui d. là Ugo Capetta :  
Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi, 50  
Per cui novellamente Francia è retta.  
Figlio fu' io d' un beccaio di Parigi.

I was called Hugh Capet yonder (on earth). of me are born the Philips and the Louises by whom in recent times France has been ruled. I was the son of a butcher of Paris.

For two centuries and a half, that is from 1060 to 1316, there was either a Louis or a Philip on the

et une bataille de Courtray, 11 juillet, 1302. Les Français y perdent six mille cavaliers, le connétable et la fleur de la noblesse de France. En 1304 revinche de Mous-en-Paëlle ; avec les Flamands. Ils abandonnent à Philippe Lille et Louvain. Il semble que Dante ait écrit ce chant entre 1302 et 1304. Mais la liaison aux Templiers nous renvoi à 1307. See also de *Italo* on this passage.

\* *giuggia*. Gioberti observes that this "un francesismo ben detto" is borrowed from a French source. Nannucci *Analisi Critica*, p. 123, notes from the Provençal poem on Boethius:

"El Capetoli lendema d' ind' man, al dia clar,  
L'avo amon las autras leis jutjar."

and Nannucci adds that from *jutjar* is derived the *giuggiare* of many Italian writers. He quotes two passages from Fra Guccio where the word occurs:

"Non pena meo fallor giuggiarsi bene."

"Ahi lasso or foss' io in corte,  
Ove nuno <sup>g. u. d. o. g. a. s. s. e</sup> g. u. d. o. g. a. s. s. e  
Chi ver d' amor fallasse in pena forte."

these legends into three classes.

(A) *Religious legend.* This is taken from St. Arnoul, and relates how St. Arnoul appeared to him, and enjoined him to rest at the monastery of St. Valery, which had been founded by him, and promised him, in requital, the prayers and alms he would get there. He died in France, and that his heirs should reign for seven generations.

(B) *Royal legend.* According to this legend, the King was lineally descended from Charlemagne, and the legend prevailed down to the time of Louis IX. In 1478, when the action at law of the Archduchess of Austria was decided against her by the Pope, the ambassadors of Louis IX. were told that it was their King's great bo-

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\* The succession was as follows.  
Hugh Capet, Duke of France,  
Hugh Capet, King of France,  
Robert II,  
Henry I,  
Philip I,  
Louis VI (the Fat).

was the true, legitimate and undoubted successor of Charlemagne, and it was replied to them that the could not be denied.

(C) *Popular legend.*\* This was the popular fallacy

Ornam quotes from "*le Chanson de geste Hugues de Capet du quinzieme siecle. (Arsenal. Le fond tres ancien, detremcement au treizieme siecle).*" This poem was first recd by the Marquis de la Grange, Paris, 1804.

"Ce fu Huez Capet, et on appelle bouchier,  
Ce fut vous mais moult pou en savoit da metier  
. . . . . ly peres Huon que je vous dis  
Sire fu d'une ville qui ot non Beugensis ;  
Sages fu et sours, et si etoit toudis  
A Paris a le court du fort rois Louis . . .  
Or ama par amour ly chevalier neuris  
Une gente pucelle qui ot non Bétris,  
Tante etoit belle et doue ; car s'en fu surpris  
Li nobles chevalier qu son cuer y ot mis  
Qu le fist demander a donc par ses amis  
Au pere la pucelle qui d'avoir fu garnis ;  
Bouchier fu li plus riche de trestout le pais."

Ornam represents Hugh at sixteen years old having lost his fortune, and coming to Paris to ask assistance from his uncle le Boucher.

"Biaus nez, dist y bourgeois, nous vous responderon  
Je n'a fil ne fille de men generation . . .  
Ou denaurez ceens sy vous aprenderon  
A tuer un porcheiel ou huc ou un mouton . . .  
Se tres bien vous portez, qu nique vallant avon  
Avez apres me mort. Je n'ai hant, se vous non . . ."

Hugh refuses to accept his uncle's money.

"Biaux oncle, dist Huon qui le cors avat bel  
De votre mar hand se re sa re point le piel  
Aus huez le quarant, ne n'ot n ne signel . . .  
Car j'ai appris mestet plus fortes et plus bel,  
Je sais de toutes armes armer un d'armiel  
Et courir a le toute pava sur un moiel."

French commentaters all vigorously deny the truth of this old. Pasquet (*Recher. sev de la France*, liv. vi, ch. 1), thinking King Hugh Capet that speaks, protests. "Et au son des bien Dame Poete Italien fut guant, quand au livre par le tout le Purgatoire, il dit que nostre Hugues Capet avoit un oncle le Bouchier . . . . Et depuis Agrippa Alleman en l'ave de la Vanite des sciences, chap. de la Noblesse, sur

translated into Icelandic. At the  
teenth century, about 1294, the  
Chronicle of St. Bertin, felt himself  
the opinion "des ignorants et rot  
venir Hugues Capet de souche ple  
gives a very hesitating version of  
saying that while some have affirm  
of an ancient and noble race, and  
of a lower degree than dukes, by far  
insist that his father was a great a  
Paris, of a race of butchers or deal

In the lines that now follow it a  
Dante is confusing as one singl  
Hugh the Great and his son (K  
and that his words will not be four  
ance with history. He makes th  
allude to a mysterious scion of the  
as to the identity of whom there  
**certainty and doubt.**

Quando li regi antichi venne

ceste première ignorance declame unq  
conclure de notre Capet. 513

Tutti, fuor ch' un, <sup>9</sup> renduto in panni bigi,  
 Trovaimi stretto nelle mani il freno 55  
 Del governo del regno, e tanta possa  
 Di nuovo acquisto, e sì d' amici pieno,

age of fourteen years. He was but in name a king, for Hugh the Great, in the first instance, and later on his son Hugh Capet were so in reality. Lothair died in 986. He was succeeded by Louis V. *Le Fainéant*, who died without issue in 987, but fifteen months after the death of Lothair. After the death of Louis V there was but one branch left of the Carolingian dynasty, namely, Charles, brother of Lothair, and uncle of Louis V. He had a son named Otto. But Charles had constituted himself a vassal of the Emperors of Germany, and had thereby incurred the odium of the French nation. Hugh Capet took advantage of this circumstance to lay hands upon the throne, and the same year he had himself crowned at Reims. Charles, wishing to win the throne of his ancestors, was besieged by Hugh Capet at Laon, betrayed by Adalberon, Bishop of Laon, and delivered into the hands of Hugh Capet on Palm Sunday, 989. Hugh Capet imprisoned him together with his wife, in a tower, and kept him there until his death in 1001. Otto, Charles's son, died without issue in 1005. Charles's other sons, born during his imprisonment, took refuge in Germany, and died in obscurity. The line of the Carolingians thus came to an end."

*For ch' un* Scartazzini says there can be no doubt that the *un* who is conversing with Dante is Hugh Capet the son, and not Hugh the Great, the father, because in Hugh the Great's time there were still *two at least* living of the descendants of the "*regni antichi*." If therefore it is Hugh Capet the *un* who is speaking with Dante, then the only *one* left of the *regni antichi* in captivity would be Charles, brother of Lothair, and *for* Dante is in accordance with history. But now Dante says in to say that this personage had become a grey friar *vestito in panni bigi*, and here we get into difficulties. Vellutelli tried to interpret it that Charles of Lorraine walked about in the grey dress of a subject, having been stripped of his royal raiment. But as I have pointed out in my *Readings on the Purgatorio* (vol. II, p. 418, footnote) *vestito*, in the weighty opinion of Nannucci, means by itself *turn frate*, and Dante here distinctly makes Hugh refer to *one* survivor of the dynasty who had become a monk. Now, Charles of Lorraine, whom we have just mentioned, never did become a monk. According to Ozanam, in the assembly at Senlis he was very severely reprimanded by Adalberon, Archbishop of Rheims, for generally lacking kingly

## Ch alla corona vedova promossa

qualities, for his servility to a foreign sovereign, and lastly for having married a woman who was not of royal blood. The Archbishop said "Nous n'ignorons pas que Charles a ses fauteurs qui soutiennent qu'il doit arriver au trône du chef de ses parents. Mais il faut examiner ce point le trône ne saquiert point par droit héréditaire, et l'on ne doit élever à la royauté que celui que se distingue non seulement par sa noblesse du sang, mais par la sagesse de l'esprit, celui que son mérit appuie, que la magnanimité rend inébranlable. . . Quelle dignité pouvons-nous conférer à Charles que l'honneur ne gouverne pas, que l'engourdissement énerve, qui s'est dégoûté au point de n'avoir point horreur de servir un roi étranger, et de se mescher à une femme de l'ordre des vassaux. Comment le puissant duc Hugh Capet souffrirait-il qu'une femme issue du sang de ses vassaux devint reine et dominât sur lui? Comment courberait-il la tête devant celle dont les pères et mères les supérieurs fléchissent le genou devant lui, et posent les mains sous ses pieds. . . Si vous voulez le malheur de la république, créez Charles souverain, si vous la voulez prospère, créez Hugues, l'astre duc. . . Donnez vous donc ce chef par ses actions, par sa noblesse, par les forces dont il dispose. Vous trouverez en lui un défenseur, non-seulement de la cause publique, mais des intérêts privés. Par sa bienveillance vous aurez en lui un père. Qui, en effet recourut à lui et n'y trouva point protection? Qui, abandonné du secours des siens ne fut à point été rendu par lui?" Philoetides has little doubt that Dante has confused the last of the Carlovingians with the last of the Merovingians. Childeric III was the last of these and he really did become a monk after his deposition. So that although the *uno* of whom Dante speaks here is doubtless Charles of Lorraine, it is not easy to determine whether Dante intended to speak of him or of some other prince. The *Ottimo* thinks this unnamed king was Rampo who became a monk, and afterwards Archbishop of Rheims. Benvenuto gives no name, but says "only a monk in poor coarse garments." Buti states the same. Daniello thinks it was "some Franciscan, perhaps St. Louis" forgetting that St. Louis did not see the light for some two centuries afterwards—nor did the Order of St. Francis exist then. Baglioli decides that it must be either Charles the Simple, who died a prisoner in the Castle of Péronne in 922; or Louis d'Outre-Mer, who was carried to England by Hugh the Great in 936. The Man in cloth of grey says Longfellow, remains as great a mystery as the Man in the Iron Mask.

La testa di mio figho \* fu, dal quale  
Cominciar di costor le sacrate ossa. †

60

When the ancient kings (the Carolingian dynasty) had all passed away, save one, who had taken orders in grey vestments, I found fast in my hands the reins of the government of the kingdom, and so great a power from my new possessions, and such an array of friends, that the head of my son was promoted to the widowed (*i. e.*, vacant) crown, and from him the consecrated bones (*i. e.*, the anointed line of the Capets), took their descent.

Hugh now goes on to tell Dante of the evil deeds wrought by his descendants through Avarice. He begins by speaking of their first avaricious annexation. As the ancient commentators (according to Ozanam, p. 327) consider that this refers to the marriage of two daughters of Raymond Bérenger, Count of Provence, with Louis IX (*Saint Louis*) and Charles of Anjou his brother, who was afterwards King of Aragon and Sicily. Louis IX married Margaret the eldest daughter, and Charles of Anjou married Bea-

\* *La testa di mio figlio* : Phœdethes feels sure that Dante has erred about his relations from Hugh Capet the father to Hugh the son, without any very accurate discrimination. It is evident that Hugh the son who is speaking, as the preceding lines show, but Scartazzini points out that Dante cannot have been so well versed in the genealogies of those times. It is known that Hugh Capet the son had his son, Robert I, crowned in the year after his own election. Ozanam asserts this: "Selon l'échiquier de Saint Martial de Limoges, Hugues refusa de couronner le diadème. Mais, voulant assurer la succession au trône, il veut faire couronner son fils Robert."

† *Le sacrate ossa* : Supposing *mio figlio* then, to be Robert I, son of King Hugh Capet, these lines would mean that with him commenced the line of Capetian kings, whose bones, Scartazzini says, mean their persons, which were consecrated with holy unction by the Archbishop in the Cathedral of Rheims at their coronation, and hence the term *le sacrate ossa*.



trice, a younger daughter.\* In the increased wealth and power which they brought to the royal house of France, Dante saw the source of all the miseries of Italy, and the failure of the Empire, which was to him the ideal polity. King Louis and his brother Charles, under the pretence of claiming the dowry of their wives, usurped the province of Narbonne † (according to Benvenuto, out of which, Provence fell to the share of Charles of Anjou.

We may notice in the lines that now follow the thrice-repeated ironical *per ammenda* (for compensation); which is meant to imply that Hugh's descendants, to atone for preceding faults, committed a succession of other faults always worse and worse

Mentre che la gran dote Provenzale

Al sangue mio non tolse la vergogna, ‡

Poco valea, ma pur non faceva male.

\* Raymond Bérenger had two other daughters, one married to our Henry III of England (*Storia dell' Imperio vol. I. p. vii, 130*), and the other to his brother Prince Richard

† "Les conquêtes que Dante reproche à la maison de France peuvent s'expliquer par le traité de 1259, où Saint Louis céda à Henri III le Périgord, le Limousin, l'Agénois, une partie de Quercy et de la Saintonge; Henri III renonça à ses droits sur la Normandie, l'Anjou, la Touraine le Maine et le Poitou et fit homage pour l'Aquitaine." (*Osann, p. 327*)

‡ *vergogna*. There is great difference of opinion among Commentators as to which of two perfectly legitimate significations of *vergogna* is to be understood here. (1) The sense of shame for their wrong doing by Capet's descendants. (2) The reproach, the dishonour, of Hugh Capet's supposed origin. This latter signification will be found in the *Dictionario*, s. v. *vergogna*, par. 4: "*Verbum grecum Vituperis*," in which sense it is used occasionally by Boetius and Petrarch. But as Tommaséo, the author also of the *Dictionario*, points out, Hugh himself had married a sister of Emperor Otho I, and before the time of St. Louis, who was first to seize Provence, there had been eight kings all allied

Li \* cominciò con forza e con menzogna  
 La sua rapina; e posea, per ammenda,      65  
 Ponti e Normandia prese e Guascogna. †  
 Carlo † venne in Italia, e, per ammenda,  
 Vittima se di Corradino; e poi  
 Ripinse al ciel Tommaso, § per ammenda.

houses of Europe. All things considered, the interpre-  
 tation which I follow, is much to be preferred.

It is here not an adverb of place, but of time. See the  
*Grammatica* s. v. *Di*, adverb, § 3: "*Di* trovasi anche  
 verbo, riferente tempo, ragione, o ultra cosa detta in-  
 tendendosi invece di pronome, come di altre simili particelle  
 che si costumano. Compare *l'it.* xiv, 128-129.

Che intano a ß non fu alcuna cosa  
 Che mi legasse con sì dolci vinca."

*Normandia prese e Guascogna*: Normandy had been  
 taken from King John in 1202. Gascony, Guienne and Ponthieu  
 were formally ceded by Edward I to Philip the Fair in  
 1259, with a secret understanding, afterwards repudiated, that the  
 cession was only a formal one. Guienne was recovered in 1298.

*Vittima se di Corradino*: Conradin, son of the  
 great Conrad IV, when only 16 years old, was captured  
 by the Sicilians at the battle of Tagliacozzo, and imprisoned in  
 the tower of the Uovo at Naples. By order of Charles of Anjou  
 he afterwards beheaded in the public square of Naples in  
 1268.

He was the last of the Hohenstauffens, and in him that  
 illustrious line became extinct. A graphic account of his  
 death may be read in Milman, *Lat. Christ.* vi, 3. Benvenuto says  
 that Charles' best friends and counsellors repudiated the act.  
 In this Charles received unpunished Guy de Montfort, who  
 was slain a kinsman of the King of England, even "in the  
 name of God:—i.e., in sanctuary. See *Inf.* xii. Did he not  
 consent to perpetual imprisonment Henry, brother of the King  
 of France, his own kinsman, for some sum of money that he  
 would not pay to him? Benvenuto adds that a just Judge  
 would have been a severity on Charles before his death, for, just  
 when he seemed at the zenith of his success in arms, he saw  
 rebellion in Sicily and the captivity of his son, whom his  
 only adversary Pedro of Aragon might well have slain, to  
 give Conradin, had he chosen to so abuse his victory, 1264.  
 Charles died of grief, while his son was still in prison.

*Ripinse al ciel Tommaso*: Dean Plumptre remarks that  
 the story of St. Thomas Aquinas having been poisoned by

So long as the great dowry of Provence had deprived my race of the sense of shame, it was not good for much, but at least it did no harm. Then began its rapine both by violence and fraud and afterwards, for amends, took Ponthieu, and Normandy and Gascony. Charles came into Italy, and, for amends made a victim of Conradin; and then again, for amends, drove Thomas (Aquinas) back to Heaven.

Three Charleses are mentioned in this Canto: 1. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, who had Conradin beheaded, and possibly poisoned Thomas Aquinas. 2. Charles of Valois, surnamed *Sans Terre*, brother of Philippe le Bel, who used the *lancia con la qual gressò Giuda*; 3. Charles II of Naples and Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou. The latter was taken prisoner in a naval action off Naples, in 1284, by Ruggieri di Lauri, Admiral of Pedro of Aragon. He was imprisoned four years, and was not restored to his throne until 1288, three years after his father Charles of Anjou had died. It was he who accepted a large bribe to give his daughter in marriage to Azzo d' Este.

Having spoken of Charles of Anjou, Hugh Capet goes on to speak of the second Charles. This is Charles of Valois (*Sans Terre*), who was summoned

order of Charles of Anjou, 1274, has fallen into such discredit that it is not even mentioned in the current biographies of the great Dominican Doctor. In Dante's time, however, it was currently believed throughout Italy, and is mentioned by Villani, and by all the early commentators. Thomas had lived some years at Naples, and had been much respected by the King, at all events outwardly. On his departure to join Gregory X at a Council at Lyons, the King asked him what should report of him. "I shall tell the truth," was the answer. This alarmed Charles, and he commissioned a physician to follow and poison him at the Cistercian Monastery of Fontevivo, near Terracina, when he was 47 years old.

into Italy by Boniface VIII, in 1301, on pretence of being a pacificator, to settle the disorders of Florence. Dante's opposition to his intervention led to his own banishment, as well as that of the other *Bianchi*.

Tempo vegg' io,\* non molto dopo ancoi,† 70  
 Che tragge un altro Carlo † fuor di Francia,  
 Per far conoscer ‡ meglio e sè e i suoi.  
 Senz' arme | n' esce solo, e con la lancia  
 Con la qual giostrò Giuda; e quella ponta  
 Sì, ch' a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia. 75

I see a time, not long after this present time, which brings another Charles forth from France, to make him and his race get better known. From it (*i. e.*, from France) he goes out alone, unarmed save with the

\* *Tempo vegg' io*: Scartazzini remarks that Dante, according to the usual custom, is here as it were prophetically describing events that had occurred subsequent to A.D. 1300 as though they were yet to take place.

† *anchoi* or *anchoi*, akin to *Hoc* or *Hic die*. The *Gran Dizionario* says that this form is still found in the Trentino, and in Venetia in the cognate form *ancho*. But the *Dizionario* stresses on *ancho* meaning rather "in the present time, to-day," than "on this very day." It is used once again in the *Div. Com.* Compare *Purg.* xiii, 52, 53.

‡ "Non credo che per terra vada ancoi  
 Uomo sì duro."

§ *Tragge un altro Carlo*: "tragge è qu. azione del tempo, non le è l' accusativo, non il nominativo" (Goberti). *Tragge* is one of the several forms of *trarre*. See Nannucci, *Annua Critica*, pp. 719-724.

¶ *Per far conoscer*: Buti on this: "imperò che per le sue imprese fece cognoscere sè vizioso, e quelli de la casa sua che non avea fatto l' altro Carlo suo no, conte di Provenza e re di Puglia e di Sicilia."

‡ *Senz' arme* is *senza esercito*. "Nel detto anno 1301 del mese di Settembre, giunse nella città d' Alagna in Campagna, il re di Francia con pia conti e baroni, e da cinquecento cavalieri franceschi in sua compagnia." (*Giov. Villani*,

lance wherewith Judas jousted; and with that he thrusts in such fashion as to cause the paunch of Florence to burst.

Let us paraphrase this: He comes without any army, or exhibition of open strength, but only with the weapon of Judas, that is, treachery bought by corruption; for, as Judas betrayed our Lord to the Chief Priests for money, so is Charles de Valois bribed by Boniface VIII to carry out his policy at Florence; and with such malignant dexterity does he use these weapons of deceit, that he tears out from overgrown Florence its very vitals, in the persons of its chief citizens, among them Dante himself.

By way of exacerbation of his preceding taunt, Dante next throws in Charles's teeth the good cause there is for his nickname of *Sans Terre*, as well as the total failure of all his efforts at conquest, and the acquisition of honour and renown.

Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta  
 Guadagnerà, per sè tanto più grave,  
 Quanto più beve simil danno conta.\*

Therefrom (from this expedition) will he win no territory, but sin and shame (as a perjured traitor so much the more grievous to himself, as the more light such disgrace counts in his eyes.

Reference is now made to the third Charles. He was King Charles II of Naples and Apulia, and the son of Charles (I) of Anjou, whom he succeeded. The

\* *conta*: Scartazzini says that this fully confirms the explanation of l. 62. This descendant of Hugh's is so fearless that he no longer feels any shame for his wicked deeds, he counts them as nothing. "Messere Carlo venne in Italia per peccato, e lasciollo in guerra; e anco in Sicilia per guerra fare e reconne vergognosa pace." (*Villani*, viii, cap. 10 or in some editions 50).

viously mentioned Charles de Valois was his brother-in-law, having married his sister, Charles of Valois's daughter.

L'altro,\* che già uscì preso di nave,  
 Veggio vender sua figlia, e patteggiarne,      80  
 Come fanno i corsar dell'altre schiave.

*L'altro*: Ozanam (*Le Purgatoire de Dante*, pp. 328-330) has this passage as "*Vengeance du poète*." He adds: "Les colères de Dante contre la France n'attestent que sa grandeur. La France succédant à l'Empire dans la garde gardienne de la chrétienté . . . Nous savons maintenant pourquoi Dante poursuivait d'un ressentiment si implacable le de Hugues Capet et ce royaume de France dont l'ombre sainte menaçait, disait-il, de couvrir tout l'univers. Nous voyons comment la France succéda à l'Empire dans la tutelle chrétienne. Cette grande pensée de Charlemagne ou de Léon III, cette inspiration hardie de relever l'empire de le rejeter par l'esprit catholique et d'en confier la à l'usage des Germains, ce dessein, poursuivi pendant 450 émissant par la suite des empereurs d'Allemagne, par la de ces investitures, par le schisme de Frédéric Barbe-Noire, par l'apostasie de Frédéric II, devenu l'ennemi public instaurateur. La décadence de l'Empire était complète. Philippe de Habsbourg redoutait à reconquérir son point d'appui d'Autriche en guerre avec les papes de la Suisse ; empereur Charles IV arrêté par les bouillottes de Worms, mais déposé pour avoir manqué de protéger la paix de l'empire, donne des blancs-seings et fait de ses vassaux dans sa chambre. Pendant ce temps là, qui croissante de la France. Le nom de Saint Louis couvrait la gloire de ses descendants. Dans sa maison était se tenant les couronnes de Navarre, de Sicile, de Portugal, et le souvenir de l'Empire latin de Constantinople n'était pas effacé. La France, qui avait pris la défense du siège et la conduite des croisades, semblait donc être à cette monarchie universelle, idéal de tous les publicans empereurs. Les craintes du poète n'avaient donc de chrétienne. Et comment n'eût-il pas poussé le cri du dessein irrité quand il voyait commencer l'exécution de ces dessein? Comment n'eût-il pas été blessé dans toutes ses nobles politiques, lui l'auteur du traité de *Mémorandum*, où il avait d'établir la perpétuité de la monarchie universelle

The other, who but lately went forth from his ship a prisoner, I see selling his own daughter, and haggling for the price to be paid for her, just as corsairs do with other female slaves.

We must remember that at that time the whole coast of Italy was subject to the depredations of Saracen corsairs, who used to seize maidens and sell them for slaves in the East. Benvenuto tells us, that in 1284 while Charles of Anjou had gone into Provence, to collect troops to revenge the massacre of the French at the Sicilian Vespers, he had particularly charged his son Charles, who is mentioned in the above lines (79-81), not on any account to be drawn into any action by sea or by land during his absence. Ruggieri d' Oria, a most distinguished naval commander of Pedro, King of Aragon, knowing this, came with a great fleet to Naples, and even entered the port shooting missiles into the city, and luring Charles the younger to come out. Ruggieri well knew that

chez les empereurs d'Allemagne, en voyant Charles de Valois sénateur de Rome, marié à l'héritière de l'empire de Constantinople, porter la main sur la Toscane, sur cette cité vierge de Florence qui, avait fermé ses portes aux empereurs. Est-ce comment ne pas excuser la colère de l'exilé? Mais la colère est mauvaise conseillère; elle aveugla Dante à ce point, qu'il juge des vivants et des morts, cet historien de tous les siècles ne semble pas s'être aperçu de saint Louis. Il connaît les affaires du monde, il n'oublie ni les khans des Tartares, ni les papes d'Angleterre, ni les querelles des plus petits seigneurs de Lombardie et de Romagne. Il ne peut ignorer le nom de saint Louis, qui vient d'être mis sur les autels; mais il ne comprend pas, il ne veut pas comprendre la destinée héroïque d'un prince qui porta si haut la monarchie française; mémorable exemple de l'injustice des passions politiques. Deux grandes âmes traversent le même siècle sans se connaître, pour nous apprendre, croire à la vertu, au génie dans d'autres rangs que les nôtres et, sans désertier notre cause, à respecter nos ennemis.

Charles of Anjou was already off Pisa with a great fleet on his way back from Provence.

Charles the younger fell into the trap, and embarked with all his chief officers and engaged d' Oria. Like the King of Syria, in battle with Ahab, who said to his chief captains, "Fight neither with great nor small, but only with the King of Israel," so did d' Oria order his captains that their chief duty was to capture young Charles, and only to attack that galley which bore the royal standard. The result satisfied his expectations. The youth was captured with nine long ships, and with all his great officers of state, who were utterly useless in a naval action. He was taken to Messina. Two hundred of his nobles were slain with the sword to requite the death of Conradin, but young Charles was reserved with a few of his companions, and Benvenuto says he would certainly have been slain, had not Queen Constance (wife of King Pedro, and daughter of Manfred, who alludes to her, Canto iii, 115) ordered his life to be spared. The following day his father, Charles of Anjou, touched at Gaeta, and hearing the disastrous news, broke out into a great explosion of wrath against his son and said: "I wish he had died, rather than disobey my distinct orders." After four years' imprisonment, during which Charles the Elder had died, the younger Charles made peace with Pedro, and was restored to his kingdom in 1288. It was then that he gave his beautiful daughter Beatrice in marriage to Azzo, Marquis of Este, either for 30,000 or 100,000 florins, according to two different authorities, Azzo being much older than Beatrice, and of evil reputation.



Hugh cannot here repress an exclamation of indignant reprobation of the conduct of so unworthy descendant.

O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne,  
 Poscia ch' hai lo mio sangue a te sì tratto,  
 Che non si cura della propria carne? \*

O Avarice, what more canst thou do with us, since thou hast so drawn my race unto thyself, that it cares not for its own flesh?

But now Hugh comes to speak of what he evidently considers a crime which leaves all the above-mentioned ones in the shade.

Perchè men paia il mal futuro e il fatto †  
 Veggio in Alagna entrar io fiordaliso,‡  
 E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.  
 Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;

\* *propria carne*: Gioberti says that the expression is "vera natura de, necessaria. Ella è antica quanto la Genesi e non è altro che quanto i volgari di oggi dicono." Compare *Gen* xxxvii, 27, and *Isaiah*, lviii, 7: "Carnem tuam ne despexeris."

† *il mal futuro e il fatto*. This line is very obscure, but the explanation of Lana seems much the most clear. He says that Dante wishes to teach that Hugh was prophesying evil which was going to happen, though as a matter of fact it had already taken place, and he says to Dante: "In order that the horror of what is going to happen may seem to you somewhat less when it does take place, I will foretell it to you."

‡ *Veggio in Alagna entrar io fiordaliso*: Dante means that he sees with the eyes of a Catholic the indignities to which Pope Boniface VIII, the Vicar of Christ, was subjected. Alagna, now Anagni, by Guillaume de Nogaret and Sciarra della Colonna by order of Philip the Fair in 1303, and from the mortification of which he died shortly afterwards at Rome. The event is related by Milman *Lit. Christ.* Book xi. ch. 1. Although Dante entertained feelings of bitter hostility toward Boniface, he viewed with the utmost abhorrence his treating by the emissaries of Philip. No personal enmity could make him forget that, as Pope, he was the vicar of Christ.

Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e il fele; \*

E tra vivi ladroni esser anciso. †

90

*l' aceto e il fele:* It is thought by many Bible commentators that the "vinegar mingled with gall," given to our Lord at the Crucifixion by the Roman soldiers, was in reality the thin wine—such as they themselves drank, mercifully offered for the purpose of quenching His burning thirst, and with some opiate drug in it that would tend to alleviate His sufferings.

*tra vivi ladroni esser anciso.* Dr. Moore (*Textual Essay*, pp. 395-397) in disposing summarily of the variant *tra ladroni* says of it: "For in the case of the *ladroni* intended, viz. Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, the deed with 'the thieves' so far fails, that though branded alike as *ladroni*, and though assisting at this 'crucifixion' of Christ in the person of His Vicar, yet they were not themselves sufferers, they were not put to death or injured in any way like the thieves to whom they are compared. This epithet is pointedly brought out by *tra vivi*, and so this epithet is a fresh character to the scene. . . . *tra vivi* would represent Boniface as if were crucified between Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, who were standing on either side of him mocking and slinging him, yet still *vivi*." Dr. Moore adds that, though it does not bear on his reading, he cannot help mentioning the striking points of resemblance between this whole passage and the prayer to the Virgin composed by Boniface VIII. This is given by Nannucci in his *Memorie della Letteratura*, vol. 1, p. 11. The resemblance can scarcely be accidental, and it is curious that Dante should have thus imitated a composition of his bitter enemy. It should be noted however that this is in the one passage in which he speaks of him with partly. Nannucci states that these verses were discovered by Latino Amati in an ancient MS. in the Vatican Library, and he has said that, in the fifteenth century, they could be seen in the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura, with the following inscription: *Santo Bonifazio papa ottavo fece la presente oratione, e concesse a chi la diceva liberatione di ogni peccato.* A few of the verses are subjoined here:

Stava la Vergin sotto della cruce:  
 Vedeo patir Jesu, la vera luce,  
 Madre del re di tutto l'universo.  
 Vedevo il capo che stava inchinato,  
 E tutto il corpo ch'era tormentato  
 Per riscattar questo mondo perverso  
 Vedeo lo figlio, che guarda e dice:

Veggio il nuovo Pilato \* sì crudele,  
 Che ciò nol sanzà, ma, senza decreto,  
 Porta nel tempio le cupide vele. †

In order that the evil deeds (of my descendants)

Oh! donna afflitta, amara ed infelice  
 Ecco il tuo figlio . e Joan le mostrava.  
 Vede l' aceto, ch' era col fiel misto,  
 Dato a bere al dolce Jesu Cristo,  
 E un gran coltello il cor le trapassava.  
 Vede lo figlio tutto passionato  
 Dicer colla Scrittura . è consumato  
 Fiume di pianto dagli oech dissera :  
 E Cristo pate e muor tra le flagella "

Dr Moore invites especial comparison between *Veggio*, four times repeated in Dante, and *Vedeva* and *Vede*, similarly recurring at the beginning of four lines in Boniface's poem. Notice also the *aceto* and the *fiel* or *fiele* in both. He also thinks that the comparison of the sufferings of the Pope with those of our Lord may have been suggested by the Pope himself, who was extolled by Midman (*op. cit.*), awaited the arrival of his persecutors sitting with calm dignity on his throne, and refusing to say: "If I am betrayed like Christ, I am ready to die for Christ."

\* *nuovo Pilato*: Dante applies this epithet to Philip the Fair who delivered up Boniface VIII into the hands of his mortal enemies the Colonna, even as Pontius Pilate delivered our Lord to the Jews. In *Inf.* xix, 85-87, Dante styles Bertrand Got, who purchased the Papacy by Simony, *Nuovo Jason*.

"Nuovo Jason sarà, di cui si legge

Ne Maccabei: e come a quel fu malle

Suo re, così ha a lui chi Francia regge."

This Bertrand de Got, as Pope Clement V, was the subservient tool of Philip the Fair in his wicked deeds, among which was the unjustifiable destruction of the Knights Templars.

† *senza decreto, Porta nel tempio le cupide vele*. In 1312 Philip suppressed the Order of the Templars on a number of trumped up charges. He seized on their Preceptories, the property and their persons, and, after putting them to the most inhuman tortures, obtained from Pope Clement V a reluctant assent to these illegal proceedings. Dante especially censures in these lines the absence of a fair trial, and the real motive of Philip's zeal against the Templars, which was his covetousness of their possessions.

whether future or past may appear less atrocious, (I will tell thee that) I see the Fleur-de-lys enter into Alagna, and Christ Himself taken captive in the person of His vicar (Boniface VIII). I see Him mocked a second time; I see renewed the vinegar and the gall, and Himself slain (once more) between living thieves. I see the modest Pilate (Philip IV) so relentless, that even this does not sate him, but without any legal authority he pushes on his covetous sails into the Temple.

In the following interesting passage, Ozanam (*Purgatoire*, pp. 330-332) discusses the relative demerits of Pope Boniface and the King of France:

Sur Boniface, qui avait fait trembler les rois, les évêques, les religieux et le peuple, fondirent tout à coup la crainte et le tremblement, pour apprendre aux prélats à ne point dominer avec orgueil, mais à se rendre le modèle de leur troupeau et à se faire moins craindre qu'aimer.

Mais que penser de Philippe le Bel, ce prince si vaillant monnayeur, entouré de légistes, ne travaillant qu'à accrédi-ter la maxime de Pierre du Bois: 'Que la souveraine liberté du roi consiste à ne reconnaître aucun supérieur, mais à se faire obéir sans crainte d'aucune censure humaine,' qui fabrique une fausse bulle; et longtemps d'avance négocie clandestinement avec les Colonna!

Dante fut trop sévère pour la mémoire de Boniface, et au XIX<sup>e</sup> chant de *l'Enfer*, il lui marque sa place parmi les Simoniaques, mais non parmi les hérétiques ni les impies. Dante est l'ennemi politique de Boniface; il croit lui devoir son exil, l'assérment de sa patrie; il l'accuse de fraude, de simonie, d'usurpation; il semblera même, au XXVII<sup>e</sup>

chant du *Paradis*, révoquer en doute la légitimité de ce pape. Mais en présence du crime d'Ananias, l'âme catholique s'émeut ; il ne voit plus que le captif en la personne de son vicaire. Il fait une fois de plus de cette orthodoxie qu'on a si souvent contestée. Ce grand homme crut ce que nous croyons ; il ne pensa pas qu'il y eût deux révolutions, une extérieure et chargée de fables pour les femmes, les enfants, les petits, l'autre véritablement nationale pour le petit nombre des savants et des philosophes. Il ne pensa point se venger de la papauté du tort que le gouvernement temporel de ce pays lui avait fait, ni s'en prendre au Christ des fautes des chrétiens. S'il eut contre les papes de son temps des paroles amères, s'il n'eût pas les mœurs du clergé, c'est qu'il aimait la justice comme il aimait Florence, d'un amour jaloux et exigeant ; il la voudrait sans tache, il la craint de l'injure ; mais comme saint Bernard, comme saint Thomas, comme ces grands hommes qui voient le mal, mais qui ne désespèrent pas de Dieu."

Hugh Capet concludes by invoking the vengeance of God upon so much infamy.

O Signor mio, quando sarò io lieto \*

A veder la vendetta, che nascosa

È a dolce ira tua nel tuo segreto?

Oh ! my Lord, when shall I be made joyful by

\* *lieto* A veder la vendetta - Compare Psalm, lxxviii, "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance : he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked." God, knowing the sinner cannot escape from His vengeance, is free from human passions which prompt a man to give way to anger. God abides His own time, knowing that what is ordained surely come to pass.

the vengeance, which, hidden in Thy secret counsels,  
allays Thy (just) wrath?

Benvenuto points out that this means that, when a man who has suffered an injury knows that speedy vengeance will fall on the offender, he secretly rejoices in his heart, and he says the same thing will happen here with the anger of God, which in brief space will fall on Philip and his descendants.

*Division III.* Several flagrant instances are now given of Avarice as exhibited in persons both of sacred and profane history, and Hugh Capet answers the second of the questions which Dante had put to him (il. 35, 36) as to why he alone, of all the spirits in the Cornice, seems to care to renew these well deserved praises. That, we may remember, was the meaning to notice certain instances of voluntary poverty and great liberality.

Cio ch' io dicea di quell' unica sposa  
Dello Spirito Santo, e che ti fece  
Verso me volger per alcuna chiosa,  
Tanto è risposta \* a tutte nostre prece,                   100  
Quanto il di dura; ma, quand' e' s' annotta,  
Contrario suon † prendemo in quella vere.

As to what I said of that one only Bride of the Holy Ghost (the Blessed Virgin), and which occasioned thee to turn to me for some explanation, that is the response to all our prayers for so long as the day lasts, but, when night comes on, we take up the contrary sound instead of that.

\* *risposta*. Others read *disposto*.

† *contrario suon*. Compare *Purg.* xiii, 40-42.

"Lo sien vuol esser del contrario suono;  
Credo che l'udirai, per mio avviso,  
Prima che giunghi al passo del perdono."

The meaning of this is: These examples of virtuous persons, conspicuous for their voluntary poverty and liberality, as long as the day lasts, follow all prayers, as though they were the natural answer to them; but, when the night comes on, then we claim instead the evil examples of those who are the friends of Avarice and Cupidity, and their punishments. Liberality makes men to shine, Avarice makes them obscure.

Hugh next runs rapidly over several examples of the hateful sins of avaricious and covetous persons. First he mentions Pygmalion, the brother of Dancalia, who, through blind greed of gold, murdered her husband, Sichaeus, King of Tyre, and drove his sister into exile to Carthage.

Noi ripetiam Pygmalion \* allotta,†  
 Cui traditore e ladro e patri ida ‡  
 Fece la voglia sua dell' oro ghiotta;

Then we recall to mind Pygmalion, whom his insatiable lust for gold made a traitor and a thief and a parricide.

He was a *traitor* because, when bound to Sichaeus

\* *Pygmalion*: This story is told in Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 340-55.

† *allotta*: Another form of *allora*. The meaning of it is in connection with *quanti s' annotta* in l. 101, where Hugh told Dante that after nightfall the spirits take up a different strain (*contrario suono*) to what they have been singing before. Then, says he (*allotta*) we begin to sing about Pygmalion, Midas, Achan, Anamas and Sapphira, Heliodorus, Polymachus and Crassus.

‡ *patricida*: "Et quia cognatum occidit, vocatur parricida nam ita punitur lege Pompeja de parricida, sicut occidit patrem suum." (*Pietro di Dante*). The *Anon. Fior.* tells us that Pygmalion was a parricide because Sichaeus was the Priest of the Temple of Jupiter, and thereby a father to Pygmalion in a spiritual sense.

an oath of faith, he killed him unawares while sacrificing at the altar of Hercules, in whose temple he was priest. A *thief*, because he took his brother-in-law's gold; and a *parricide*, because Sichaeus was not only his brother-in-law, but also his kinsman. Parricide, Benvenuto tells us, is commonly used as a term for the murderer of any kinsman.

The next example of Avarice is that of Midas, King of Lydia, whose father Gordius tied the famous Gordian knot. Midas was supposed to have obtained from Bacchus the faculty that everything he touched should become gold, but, the result of this being that he found himself on the point of dying of hunger and thirst, he besought deliverance from so perilous a privilege. Benvenuto says that, by this allegorical tale the poets wished it to be understood that the Miser, while rolling in riches and gold, lives in the greatest penury, and even deprived of the common necessities of life.

E la miseria dell' avaro Mida,\*  
 Che segui alla sua domanda ingorda,  
 Per la qual sempre convien che si rida.

And the misery of the greedy Midas, that followed after his covetous request, at which one always needs must laugh.

Dante next turns to sacred history, of which he makes Hugh give three instances; following closely on which come two more from profane history.

Del folle Acan † ciascun poi si ricorda,

\* *Mida*. The Story of Midas will be found in Ovid, *Metam.*

† *A. 20*: See *Joshua*, vii, 1-26.



Come furò le spoglie, sì che l'ira  
 Di Josuè qui par ch' ancor lo morda.  
 Indi accusiam col manno Sahra: \*  
 Lodiamo i calci ch' ebbe Eliodoro: †  
 Ed in infamia tutto il monte gira  
 Polinestor ch' antise Polidoro. ‡  
 Ultimamente ci si grida. § Crasso, §  
 Dicci, che il sai, di che sapore è l' oro? †

Then everyone bethinks himself of the foolish Achan, how he stole the plunder, so that the wrath of Joshua still seems to fall upon him here. Then we accuse

\* *Sahra*. See Acts 5, 1-11. Scartazzini says that Ananias and Sapphira do not so much symbolize an avarice that directly rapacious, as a fraudulent, lying, and hypocritical avarice, that seeks to disguise itself in the garb of liberality.

† *Eliodoro*. This refers to the miraculous horse that appeared in the temple of Jerusalem, when Heliodorus, the treasurer of King Seleucus, went there to remove the treasure. We read it in II *Maccabees*, iii, 25. "For there appeared unto them a horse with a terrible rider upon him and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. This subject is one of the chief ornaments of Raphael's Stanze in the Vatican.

‡ *Polinestor ch' antise Polidoro*. Polydorus, the youngest son of Priam, King of Troy, being too young to take part in the defence of Troy, was placed under the care of his father's friend Polynestor, King of Thrace. The latter murdered him for the sake of the treasure which he had brought with him. See Vergil's *Aen.* iii, 19-68; and Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 429-438. And Euripides *Hecuba*, 1.

§ *Crasso*. Marcus Licinius Crassus was, with Julius Caesar and Pompey, one of the Triumvirs of Rome. When governor of Syria, he undertook a war against the Parthian King Orosdes. He was defeated, captured and slain, by Orosdes the Parthian general, B.C. 53. See Plutarch's *Crassus*. Florus the historian (ii, 11) relates that, when the head of Crassus was brought to Orosdes, that king in derision of the avarice of Crassus caused molten gold to be poured down his throat. Scartazzini says that Crassus is here mentioned as a symbol of that arrogant avarice which violates the common rights of all nations.

Sapphira with her husband; we laud the kicks that Heliodorus received; and in infamy (the name of) Polymnester, who murdered Polydorus circles round the whole mountain. Last of all the cry rings through the Cornice (*dit.* in this place it is cried out) 'Tell us Crassus, for thou knowest, what is the taste of god?'

Up to this point Dante's second question has remained unanswered, as to why Hugh Capet, of all the spirits in the Cornice, was the only one that he heard singing.

In reply to this, Hugh concludes his long discourse by explaining that he and his companions in penitence vary the modulation of their strains, and that at the time when Dante first noticed him, he was not the only one of them who was then singing, but the only one whose song was loud enough to be heard in that part of the Cornice.

Talor parla l' un alto, e l' altro basso,  
 Secondo l' affezion ch' a dir ci sprona,\*  
 Ora a maggiore, ed ora a minor passo :      120  
 Però al ben che il di ci si ragiona,  
 Dianzi non er' io sol ; ma qui da presso  
 Non alzava la voce altra persona."—

Sometimes one speaks loud, and another low, according as our affection impels us to speak, now in a louder, and now in a softer strain; therefore (in

\* *ch' a dir ; sprona* I follow Dr. Moore's reading *ch' a dir*. The other reading is *ch' ad ir*, which I adopted in my first edition. Scartazzini so reads it in his Leipzig commentary (1853). But in his Milan commentary (1893) he has *ch' a dir*, and observes that we are clearly told in *Purg.* xiv. 124, that the spirits on this cornice are quite unable to move, being

"Ne può e nelle man legati e presi."

*ch' a dir, ch' ad ir, ch' ad ir*, in the MSs. must be understood to refer, not to moving, but to speaking.

singing) the examples of good which we discuss during the day, I was not alone just now, but (it chanced) that no other person was uplifting his voice near by here."

Benvenuto remarks that, if Hugh Capet was a Miser or Covetous as regards money during his life-time, he certainly cannot be accused of want of liberality in his words, judging from the extent of his speech.

*Division IV.* Dante now describes a wonderful phenomenon. Just when he and Virgil have recommenced their journey, which, owing to the path being encumbered with the prostrate forms of the spirits, is necessarily slow, and somewhat toilsome, the whole mountain suddenly quakes, and the entire region from all quarters, re-echoes with a simultaneous outburst of *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*. This, we shall learn in the next Canto (xxi, 70), was occasioned by Statius having completed his term in Purgatory.

Noi eravam \* partiti già da esso,  
E brigavam † di soverchiar la strada ‡  
Tanto, quanto al poter, n' era permesso :

\* *Noi eravam*. Compare *Inf.* xxxii, 124 :  
"Noi eravam partiti già da ello"

† *brigavam*. In the *Grin Diz* and in the *Voc. della Crusca* *brigare* is said to be equivalent to *Cercare*, also *pietoso*, *sollecito*, *far diligenza*, *far opera*, *procurare*, *insegnare*. In the *Vocabolario del Primo Secolo*, 2 vols. 8vo, Florence, 1816, vol. ii, p. 378.

Guido Cavalcanti has the following  
"Tu m' hai sì piena di dolor la mente,  
Che l'anima si briga di partire."

‡ *soverchiar la strada*: Costa interprets this "*di avanzare nel cammino*." Brunone Bianchi: "*vuol dire, pervenire alla giungione a capo* (get to the end of it)." The great dictionaries say that *soverchiare* is, properly speaking, more used to express going up hill, but Andreoli very happily observes:

Quand' io senti', come cosa che cada,  
 Tremar lo monte, \* onde mi prese un gielo,  
 Qual prender suol colui che a morte vada.  
 Certo non si scotea sì forte Delo,  
 Pria che Latona in lei facesse il nido,  
 A partorir li due occhi del cielo.†

We had already departed from him (Hugh Capet), and were striving to get over the ground as much as was permitted to our power, when I felt the mountain tremble, like a thing that is tottering (to its fall): whereupon a chill seized upon me as that which seizes upon him who is going to his death. Assuredly, Delos did not quake so violently, before that Latona made her nest therein to give birth to the twin eyes of Heaven (Apollo and Diana, the Sun and Moon).

The Island of Delos, in the Archipelago or Ægean Sea, was thrown up by an earthquake, by order of Jupiter, in order to receive Latona, one of his wives, when she gave birth to Apollo and Diana. Other accounts say it was left floating about after the

\* Ma quando vi sieno altre difficoltà che quella del salire, può essere egualmente; e qui i due Poeti dovevan procedere rasente al monte, ed attenti a non pestare (*tread upon*) le ombre distese sopra terra.

† *Tremar lo monte*: Compare the earthquake mentioned in *Inf.*, 130, 131

" Finto questo, la buia campagna  
 Tremo sì forte. "

And the earthquake experienced by Æneas on entering the Infernal Regions (Virg. *Æn.* vi, 255-257):

" Ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,  
 Sub pedibus inagire solam, et juga cepta moveri  
 Silvarum, visaque canes ululare per umbram "

† *due occhi del cielo*: This beautiful expression is probably borrowed by Dante from Ovid, who (*Metam.* iv, 228) calls the two *Mani vulnus*. Gioberti speaks of the line in enthusiastic praise and admiration, but prefers to think that Dante invented it over again.



all were saying, so far as I could make out from those near at hand, whose cry it was possible to distinguish. We remained motionless and in uncertainty—as the shepherds who first heard that song—until the trembling ceased, and it (the hymn) had come to a conclusion.

Bervenuto thinks that Dante deserves much commendation for this beautiful idea. For, as the Angel Host sang with joy the hymn *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* on the evening of the Nativity of the Redeemer of the World, so now the spirits in Purgatory do the same, when a soul is set free to go to Heaven.

Dante concludes the Canto by relating how he and Virgil, having stopped short in great fear and perplexity, on feeling the earth quake, and on hearing the outburst of song, again move on. The phenomenon, however, has aroused intense curiosity in Dante.

Poi ripigliammo nostro cammin santo : \*

Guardando l'ombre che giacean per terra,

\* *cammin santo* : Gioberti, after remarking that the path of *virtù* is not generally a holy one, adds that by this *cammin santo* we are to understand that one which Dante's fancy has traced in his great poem. He terms it a holy path because it was through the regions of Purgatory that were tenanted by suffering spirits, and because its direction was towards a goal that was altogether religious and moral. Gioberti says he will be on the side of those who think, and the belief is a popular one, that Dante wrote this poem to revenge himself on his enemies. He may, indeed, in some few places yield to this strictly human passion of vindictiveness, and, considering his stern and fiery temperament, it would not be altogether inexcusable; but the complexion and general conception of the poem is in no sort of way inspired by such unworthy sentiments. Would otherwise Dante would make himself out a wretched hypocrite, and would feign to be writing in the cause of virtue when in reality writing in the cause of a passion diametrically the contrary, and would not be the Poet of Rectitude [*Cantore della Rettitudine*]. Therefore he rightly terms his poetic journey "a holy path."

Tornate già\* in sull' usato pianto.†  
 Nulla ignoranza mai con tanta guerra †  
 Mi fe' desideroso di sapere,  
 Se la memoria mia in ciò non erra,  
 Quanta pare' mi allor pensando avere :  
 Nè per la fretta domandarm er oso,‡  
 Nè per me li potea cosa vedere .  
 Così m' andava timido e pensoso.

We then resumed again our holy path : we  
 the shades that lay upon the ground, (who  
 already returned to their customary wailing,  
 if my memory is not at fault about this, did not  
 rance (on any matter) with so great a strife and  
 desirous of knowing it, as I seemed then to  
 (about this matter) when I thought it over. N

\* *Tornate già*—Some read this *Tornate già*, in all the  
 posture of the spirits lying on their faces. We are  
 that they had all raised themselves for the purpose  
 the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but had prostrated themselves  
 when their song was at an end.

† *usato pianto*. Compare *Inf.* xvi, 19, 20, where Guido  
 and his two companions, having paused for an instant  
 lamentations to address Dante, take up the refrain of  
 "Ricominciat, come noi tistemma, ei  
 L'antico verso.

‡ *con tanta guerra* : "Qui Dante manifesta come  
 fosse guerra al suo spirito desideroso di saper tutto  
 the true sign, di un ingegno sommanente nato alla  
 (Gioderti). Compare *Purg.* xxi, 1

"La sete natural di sapere, che mai non sazi  
 And xvi, 73-75 :

"però ch' ei si gode  
 Tanto del her quant è grande la sete,  
 Non saprei dir quant ei mi fece prode."

Compare also *Uisid. m.* xiv, 22 : "They erred in the  
 of God ; but whereas they lived in the great war of  
 those so great plagues called they peace."

§ *er' oso*. This is probably a Latinism from *ausus*  
 find it used in a similar way by Petrarch, *Trionfo d*  
 cap. iii, *terz.* 27 :

"Vid' Ippia, il vecchierel che già fu oso  
 Dir : ' I' so tutto. '"

I dare to ask, on account of our haste, nor of myself could I perceive anything there, so I pursued my way timorous and thoughtful.

Perez (*I Sette Cerchi*, pp. 211, 212) remarks that the attentive reader of Dante must certainly have noticed that the examples of vice, against which the penitents inveigh so fiercely, abound most in the first Cornice and in this one. In the other Cornices not more than two or three are given, whereas in the First Cornice we have twelve, and in this one seven instances of the sin to be avoided. In these seven examples of bestial Concupiscence, it would be easy to distinguish the seven daughters of Avarice which St. Thomas Aquinas assigns to her.\* To this Scartazzini adds: "Treachery in Pygmalion; who treacherously murders his uncle and his brother-in-law; Restlessness (*Inquietudo*) in Midas, who gets literal experience that the Covetous man does not ever get satiated with gold

\* *Plus avaritie dicuntur vitia que ex ipsa oriuntur, et proprie secundum appetitum finis. Quia vero avaritia est certissimus amor habendi divitias, in duobus excedit: primo superabundant in retinendo, et ex hac parte oritur ex avaritia *condematio contra misericordiam*, quia scilicet cor ejus misericordia non emollitur, et de divitiis subveniat miseris. Secundo ad avaritiam pertinet superabundare in accipiendo; et secundum hoc avaritia potest considerari dupliciter: uno modo secundum quod est in affectu; et sic ex avaritia oritur *inquietudo*, in quantum ingerit homini sollicitudinem et curas superfluas; *avarus enim non impletur pecunia*, ut dicit *Eccl. x, 9*. Alio modo potest considerari in effectu: et sic in *inveniendo aliena* utitur quandoque quidem vi, quod pertinet ad *inveniendo*, quandoque autem dolo, qui quidem si fiat in verbo, *furtiva* erit quantum ad simplex verbum, *perjurium*, si ad *inveniendo* confirmatio juramenti: si autem dolus committatur in opere sic quantum ad res erit *fraus*, quantum autem ad perjurium erit *proditio*, ut patet de Juda, qui ex avaritia prodidit Christum." (St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* II, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. cxviii, art. 3.)*



and silver ; *Fraud*, in Achan, who fraudulently appropriates to his own use a part of the booty of Jericho ; Perjury, in Ananias and Sapphira, who 'lied unto the Holy Ghost ;' *Trickery (Fallacia)*, in Heliodorus who went to rob the treasures in the Temple at Jerusalem ; *Obduracy*, in the case of the king of Celosyria ; *Unhumanity (Obduratio cordis)*, in the case of the king of Sennacherib, who from rapacity becomes the victim of his own cruelty ; *Unnaturalness*, in the case of the king of Tyre, who becomes the surviving sorrow of his innocent youth, the only child of a deserted mother ; and finally *Violence*, in the case of the king of Babylon, who avarice forced him into a battle in spite of the unfavorable auguries and menacing portents from the stars. If this is a fresh proof of the profundity of Dante's knowledge and learning."

END OF CANTO XX

## CANTO XXI.

THE FIFTH CORNICE. (*continued*).—AVARICE AND  
PRODIGALITY.—APPEARANCE OF STATIUS.—  
EXPLANATION OF THE CAUSE OF THE EARTH-  
QUAKE.—MEETING BETWEEN VIRGIL AND  
STATIUS.

BENVENUTO remarks that, whereas in the preceding canto Dante taught his readers many ways of avoiding the sin of Avarice, so in this one he treats of prodigality, which is chastised with the same punishment and in the same cornice as Avarice.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the *First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, a spirit is introduced, who has just completed his purgation of the vice of Prodigality, to whom Virgil explains the respective conditions of himself and Dante.

In the *Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 75, the spirit in compliance with Virgil's request, tells the poets the reason of the quaking of the mountain, and of the universal chant mentioned in the preceding Canto.

In the *Third Division*, from v. 76 to v. 102, the spirit declares himself to be the poet Statius.

In the *Fourth Division*, from v. 103 to v. 136, Dante reveals to Statius who Virgil was.

*Division I.* Dante confirms and reiterates the last verses of the preceding Canto, in which he ill con-

cealed his disappointment at not being allowed to gain all the information he sought, as to the cause of the earthquake, and the outburst of song from the whole of the spirits in Purgatory. He begins by showing that his thirst for knowledge was only capable of being quenched by that water of Life, of which our Lord told the Samaritan woman beside Jacob's Well.\*

La sete natural † che mai non sazia,  
 Se non con l'acqua onde la femminetta ‡  
 Samaritana domando la grazia,  
 Mi travagliava, § e pungeami la fretta  
 Per la impacciata via retro al mio Duca §  
 E condoleami alla giusta vendetta.

\* St. John iv, 14, 15: "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst. . . The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water that I thirst not, neither come I hither to draw." Compare *Par* xxx, 73, 74.

† Ma di quest'acqua conven che tu bevi,  
 Prima che tanta sete in te si sazi.

‡ *La sete natural*. Compare *Convito* i, 1. "Siccome dice il Filosofo nel principio della Prima Filosofia: 'tutti gli animali naturalmente desiderano di sapere.' La ragione di che può essere, che ciascuna cosa, da provvidenza di propria natura impinta, è inclinabile alla sua perfezione, onde, acciò la scienza è l'ultima perfezione della nostra anima, nella quale la nostra ultima felicità, tutti naturalmente al suo desiderio siamo soggetti.

§ *femminetta* means more than *femmina*. See Tommaso (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, Milan, 7th edition, p. 342. See also "Il Manzoni, di femmina povera, ma venerabile e per la pietà e per la pietà, ben dice *femminetta*. *Femminetta* ha sempre senso di spregio, etc."

§ *Mi travagliava*. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Schol. Theol.*, pars 1, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. iii, art. 8. "Homo non est perfecte beatus quando restat ei aliquid desiderandum et querendum. . . tantum procedit perfectio intellectus, in quantum cognoscit essentiam alicujus rei. Si ergo intellectus alicujus cognoscit essentiam alicujus effectus, per quam non possit cognoscere causam, ut scilicet sciatur de causa quid est, non dicitur

The natural thirst (for knowledge) that never can be quenched, save with that water of which the lowly Samaritan woman besought the free gift, was tormenting me, and our haste urged me along behind my Leader over the pathway encumbered (with the prostrate forms of the Avaricious), and I was grieving for their just punishment.

Benvenuto observes that in truth the penalty of these shades was a very bitter one, deprived as they were of the greatest benefits; of light, for they could only see the earth, and of freedom in all their limbs. And Dante had three causes of trouble, first, his eager desire for knowledge; secondly, the pace at which they were walking, and, thirdly, compassion for the sufferers.

Dante now describes the sudden appearance of Statius. Benvenuto says: "Many wonder that the most Christian Dante should have placed Statius, who was not a Christian, in Purgatory, and do not see the reason for it, but I declare, to begin with, that Dante might imagine, from many signs, that

Intellectus attingere ad causam simpliciter quamvis per effectum cognoscere possit de causa an sit. Et ideo remanet naturale hominis desiderium, cum cognoscit effectum, et scit eum habere causam, ut etiam sciat de causa quid est et illud desiderium est admirationis, et causat inquisitionem, puta si aliquis cognoscens eclipticam solis considerat quid ex aliqua causa procedat, de qua, quia nescit quid sit, admiratur, et admirando inquit, ne ista inquisitio quiescit, quousque perveniat ad cognoscendum essentiam causarum. Si igitur intellectus humanus cognoscens essentiam alicujus effectus creati non cognoscat de Deo nisi an est, nondum perfectio ejus attingit simpliciter ad causam primam, sed remanet ei adhuc naturale desiderium cognoscendi causam; unde nondum est perfectè beatus. Ad perfectum igitur beatitudinem requiritur quòd intellectus pertingat ad primam essentiam primæ causæ. Et sic perfectionem suam habebit per unionem ad Deum sicut ad objectum, in quo solo similitudo hominis consistit."

Statius was a Christian. For if Virgil, who lived before Christ, had some foreknowledge of Him, from the songs of the Sybil, as Augustine testifies, how much more might not Statius have had, who saw the Christians ever increasing, although he had seen them nearly exterminated by cruel and unheard of persecutions, even before the time that Titus dealt as he did with the Jews; and, besides this, he had seen many miracles performed by the martyrs who, under Domitian, the brother of Titus, so cruelly persecuted when the Christian name was continually waxing. . . . Statius was most high-minded and moral in his writings; but as to whether or no he was a Christian I do not attach much importance, for Dante has probably with much ingenuity pretended that he was, because many subjects have to be treated by him, as we see in the xxvth Canto and in other passages, which could only be treated by a Christian. But our Poet rather introduces him here, because it is known that he lived in the greatest poverty and want; which one would not think would happen to a man of such distinction in the city of Naples, in which he taught rhetoric, unless he had fallen into the fault of great extravagance.

Ed ecco, sì come ne scrive Luca.

Che Cristo apparve ai due ch' erano in via,

Già surto fuor della sepulcral buca,

Ci apparve un' ombra, e retro a noi veniva

10

\* *sì come ne scrive Luca:* See *St. Luke*, xxiv, 13-15 "And behold two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about three score furlongs. And they talked together of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass that while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them."

Da piè \* guardando la turba che giace ;  
 Nè ci addemmo † di lei, sì parlo pria,  
 Daendo . — " Frati miei, Dio vi dea pace . " —  
 Noi ci volgemmo subito, e Virgil o  
 Rende' gli il cenno ch' a ciò si conface.

15

And lo' even as Luke writes to us that Christ, lately risen from the sepulchral cave, appeared unto the tw that were in the way, so did a shade appear unto us, and it was coming up behind us, looking down on the throng that lay at its feet, nor were we aware of it, so it spoke first, saying: "My brothers, may God give you peace." We turned round suddenly, and Virgil rendered back to it the countersign that corresponds to that (*i.e.*, to the spirit's salutation).

Benvenuto interprets this last line as only meaning that Virgil courteously returned the greeting of Statius, and Longfellow states that among the monks of the Middle Ages there were certain salutations, which had their customary replies or countersigns. Thus one would say: "Peace be with thee," and the answer would be: "And with thy spirit!" Or, "Praised be the Lord!" and the answer "World without end!" Virgil then goes on to reply to the words, "May God give you peace!" for he perceived that Statius was under an erroneous impression that both he and

\* *Da piè* and *dispiè*. These forms are used adverbially in the *Lex della Crusca*, and mean "at the bottom, down, low." "I Ghibellini facendo tagliare dappi la detta torre, la fecero puntellare (*The Ghibellines having had the said tower cut away at the bottom, so got it supported with props.*)"

† *Y ce addemmo*. Blanc *Vocabolario Dantesco*, refers to this word, which Dante only uses in this one place. It comes from *addemere*, "di origine incerta, accorgersi, avvedersi." Tommaso *Lex del Sin.* p. 91, *Sin.* 4721 says: "*Addemere* (che in *composita* all' *apprensione*) denota un accorgersi quasi per indovino, non per indizi certi."

Dante were bound for Paradise after completing their purgation, and so in his answer he shows Statius that he (Virgil) is not destined to enjoy that peace which Statius had augured them.

Poi cominciò:—"Nel beato concilio\*  
Ti ponga in pace la verace corte,\*  
Che mi rilega nell' eterno esilio." †

He then began: "May the tribunal of truth, which relegates me into eternal banishment (from Heaven) establish thee in peace within the Assembly of the Blessed."

"See," says Benvenuto, "how Virgil enlists the good will of Statius, by wishing for him what he (Virgil) can never hope to obtain for himself." Virgil was probably about to ask Statius the reason of the earthquake followed by the song of praise, but Statius is so greatly astonished at Virgil's intelligence, which he professes himself wholly unable to understand,

\* *beato concilio*: Compare *Psalm* i. 5: "Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous."

† *la verace corte*: Gioberti explains *verace* here, as a certifying the fact that the Courts of the world are as it were *theatres*. Perhaps Dante's meaning is to indicate by the epithet that Truth's only dwelling place is in the Courts of Heaven where falsehood, fraud, dissimulation, deception, and every species of falsity are unknown, whereas they congregate in the Courts on earth.

‡ *eterno esilio*: Virgil was in the eternal banishment of Hell among those "only so far afflicted, that without hope they are in desire" (*Inf* iv. 42). Compare *Inf* xxiii, 125, 126, where is said of Caiaphas:

"Colui ch' era disteso in croce  
Tanto vivente nell' eterno esilio."  
And Horace, *Il Carm.* i., 27-28:

"Sors exilium, et nos in æternum  
Exilium impositura cymbæ."

that he interrupts Virgil with an exclamation of wonder

—“Come,”—*diss' egh, e parte andavam forte,\**

—“Se voi siete ombre che Dio su non degna,† 20

Chi v' ha per la sua scala tanto scorte?”—‡

“How!” said he—and meanwhile we were stepping  
stately onwards—“If ye are shades whom God ac-  
cepts not on high, who has escorted you so far up  
His stair case?”

Virgil resumes his explanation, calling the attention of Statius to the three P's still remaining unobliterated on Dante's brow (out of the seven traced upon it by the sword of the Angel Warder), as a sure sign that Dante is of the elect destined in God's own time for Paradise. He then goes on to answer a doubt unspoken, but none the less felt, in the mind of Statius, who might, after Virgil's explanation, understand the presence of Dante in Purgatory while still alive, but

\* *parte andavam forte*, is the reading of all the best Commentaries. Some read “e perchè andate forte?” But Benvenuto expressly points out that *parte*, as used here, is not a noun, but an adverb, and has the sense *meanwhile interim*. “Interim enim velociter nec tardabamus illis loquentibus, ita quod hic non denotat portionem, nec est nomen, imo adverbium, quod valet quantum in isto medio, et est vulgare florentinum *partè* in the popular speech at Florence!”

† *Dio su non degna*. The primary meaning of *degnare* is a neuter verb “to condescend.” But in the *Vocab. della Crusca* (3) we find it also used in the active sense: “*Degnare uno persona* . . . *vale Accettarlo per tale; e dicesi di persona persona ad inferiore*.” The *Vocabolario* quotes the following quotation from Annibal Caro (*Lettere*, 3 vols. 8vo, Padua, 1704, vol. I, letter or page 99) “Prometteli che, degnandom per amico, le risponderò con ogni sorte d' officio.”

‡ *scorte* is the past participle of the verb *scortare*, to be an escort to anyone, and it is in the feminine plural to agree with *scorte* understood.



is wholly unable to account for Virgil being there who is not alive.

E il Dottor mio:—"Se tu riguardi i segni\*  
 Che questa porta e che l'angel pronla,†  
 Ben vedrai che coi buon conven ch'ei regni‡  
 Ma perchè lei che di e notte nla  
 Non gli avea tratta ancora la conocchia,§  
 Che Cloto impone a ciascuno e compia,  
 L'anima sua, ch'è tua e mia sirocchia,¶

\* *regni* Compare *Purg.* ix, 112-114

† Sette *P* nella fronte mi descrisse

Col puniton della spada, e "Fa che lava,  
 Quando sei dentro, queste piaghe," disse

‡ *profila*. The *Voc. della Crusca* says that, though the usual meaning of *profilare* is "to draw in profile," it is used by Dante in this one passage simply to signify "to delineate, trace."

§ *regni* Compare *St. Matt.* xxv, 34 "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." And II *Tim.* ii, 12 "If we suffer, we shall also reign with him." G. Oberi remarks that in this line Dante is paying honour to himself.

¶ *sirocchia* Tommaséo *Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 47, No. 24" defines the difference between *Reccia* "arnese nudo" (the distaff) and *Conocchia* "la materia della stoppa, canapa, i.e. flax, tow, or hemp avvolta sopra per cantare."

*compia*: Two operations (according to Lombard) take place in putting the wool on the distaff: the first is to lay on a great mass of it, twisting the distaff round until it becomes attached, this operation Dante terms *imporre*, the second is to run the palm of the hand over the wool to unite and compress it, this he calls *compilare*, aptly rendered by more than one translator "packs together."

¶ *sirocchia* for *sorella*. Scartazzini says Dante's souls seem to be sister to those of Statius and Virgil, because all three souls had issued from the hand of the same Creator. Compare *Purg.* xvi, 85, 86:

"Esce di mano a Iui, che la vagheggia  
 Prima che sia, a gassa d' fanciulla."

*Sirocchia* is also used in *Purg.* ix, 110, 111

"Colui che mostra se più negligente  
 Che se pigriata fosse sua sirocchia."

Venendo su, non potea venir sola:\*

Peroch' al nostro modo non adocchia.†

30

Ond' io fui tratto fuor dell' ampia gola‡

D' inferno, per mostrargli, e mostreroll

Oltre, quanto il potrà menar mia scuola.§

And my Teacher. "If thou observe the tokens that this one bears, and which the Angel traces, thou wilt readily perceive that he must in due course reign among the just. But because she (Lachesis) who spins day and night, had not yet for him (Dante) wound off the full yarn which Clotho puts on (the distaff) for each, and packs together, his soul, which is sister to thine and mine, in its upward ascent could not come alone, (*i. e.*, without a guide) for the reason that it does not see after our fashion. On this account was I drawn forth from the wide throat of Hell, to show him (the way), and I shall guide him as far onward as my teaching (*lit.* school) has power to conduct him.

Virgil's meaning is that, as Dante has not yet ex-

\* *sola* "la umana civiltà, che a uno fine è ordinata, cioè a un bene; alla quale nullo per se è sufficiente a venire senza aiuto d'alcuno." (*Comita*, iv, 4, ll. 4-6.)

† *al nostro modo non adocchia*. Dante's soul, as Virgil tells us, does not see, as do souls that have been set free from earthly things. These discern the truth instantaneously, but Dante's soul, not being yet liberated from corporeal bonds, is unable to do so.

‡ *ampia gola D' inferno*. By the throat of Hell is meant its upper circle, *Limbo*, which was supposed to be situated at the top of the mountain. It was wide because Hell, according to Dante, was funnel shaped, and the circles diminished in size as one went lower down, and *Limbo*, being the uppermost, was the widest.

§ *quanto il potrà menar mia scuola*: "Cioè la Scuola umana, cioè di filosofia, a cui succederà la Scuola della Scienza divina in Beatrice." (*Crivellini*). Virgil has already told Dante this in *Purg.* xviii, 46-48.

"Ed egli a me: "Quanto ragion qui vede,  
Dirti poss'io, da indi in là t'aspetta  
Pure a Beatrice; ch'opera è di fede."

logical science, to lead him on.

*Division II.* In the extremely that now follows Dante relates how initiative, asked Statius for an excuse of the earthquake and the and how the mere fact of Virgil's quieted Dante's mind, as he could of knowing what he wanted.

Ma dinne, se tu sai, perchè tai cro  
Die' dianzi il monte, e perchè  
Parver \* gridare infino ai suoi  
Sì mi die' domandando per la crua  
Del mio disio, che pur con la  
Si fece la mia sete men digiur

But tell us, if thou knowest, why the

---

\* *parver gridare*: Dante and Virgil seem to have had the intuitive idea that the jubilant shout of *Glo* was a unanimous outburst on the part of every one in the whole mountain. They could not be sure of this, but Virgil says it *seemed* as if all had done so.

† *piè molli* are says Benvenuto the rocks where the rushes grow in the soft mud. ‡

such shocks just now, and why down to its moist base, all (the spirits upon it) seemed with one voice to send forth a shout.' In asking this question he so threaded the needle's eye of my desire, that merely with the hope my thirst became less burning.

Stattius replies that the earthquake cannot be ascribed to any natural causes, but only to the Will of God.

Quei cominciò:—"Cosa non è che sanza 40

Ordine senta la religione \*

Della montagna, o che sia fuor d' usanza

Libero e qui da ogni alterazione

Di quel che il ciel da sè in sè riceve

Esserci puote, e non d' altro, cagione 45

He began: "There is nothing without due order what the sacred rule of the mountain can feel, nor which is contrary to custom. This place is free from every permutation; what from itself Heaven receives no itself can be the cause (of these phenomena) and ought beside.

Dr Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 401) writes: "On the difficulties of interpretation of lines 43-45, Scarozzi's exhaustive note should be consulted." I give nearly full translation of it:

"Let us interpret it by the context. Virgil has asked Stattius the reason of the earthquake and of the universal song that had occurred shortly before.

Stattius commences his answer by telling the two

\* *religione*. Benvenuto explains that *religio* is the same thing towards God, as *reverentia* towards parents or elder persons. He interprets the passage: "Nothing here in Purgatory happens by chance, or fortuitously (*senza ordine*), but yet what does happen, does not occur from natural causes, as is the course in the world." Compare *Purg.* xi, 91-93, where *religione* is used to signify the monastic order of St. Francis:—

"Ma regalmente sua dura intenzione  
Ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe  
Primo signio a sua religione."

the earth inhabited by Man is subject to the cause of the marvels that (the mountain), cannot be from other than what it receives into itself from itself (ll. 43-44). It already contains *in nuce* the answer to the question. But Statius develops two causes which are expressed in it more fully. First he explains why the mountain is free from earthquakes (46-57); next, the cause of the wonderful things that take place upon it (58-60). After that he shows when such a cause generally occurs and when it had just occurred then (67-69). In conclusion that for that very reason that he has just heard the earthquake and the chant of the priests, therefore, so to speak, *the theme* of the poem goes on to explain in the lines that follow. ll. 46-57 unfold the idea of verse 44; ll. 58-60 unfold the idea of ll. 43-44. Now Statius explains that earthquakes when a soul rises to ascend to Heaven. The cause of this quaking is that Heaven receives the soul into itself (*al cielo riceve essa a*

g strange to itself, but one that takes its origin in  
 ven; *riceve dunque in sè quel che è da sè.* Statius  
 as then that nothing of what happens up there  
 be caused by anything which Heaven may re-  
 from elsewhere (as is the case lower down,  
 the sky receives the vapours that rise from  
 and cause its permutations), but only from what  
 peives into itself from itself, as in fact is the case  
 that soul which returns to the Heaven from  
 it originally issued."

Statius then, as explained above, now goes on to  
 why the mountain is free from every permu-

Perchè non pioggia, non grando, non neve,  
 Non rugiada, non brina più su cade,\*  
 Che la scaletta dei tre gradi breve.  
 Nuvole spesse non paion, nè rade,  
 Ne coruscate, nè tigha di Faumante,†  
 Che di là cangia sovente contrade.

50

*su sù, Che la scaletta dei tre gradi.* "The atmosphere is  
 not barely to reach the three steps at the Gate of Purga-  
 and above the uppermost one there are no rains, winds,  
 quakes, etc. Therefore in that elevated region, as Statius  
 here an only be those influences that Heaven under-  
*del Cielum sè riceve*), caused and produced by the heavens  
*in sè, sù dai cieli"* (Luton). We afterwards see  
 in the Terrestrial Paradise *Purg.* xxviii, 85-120, won-  
 after this explanation from Statius, that there should be  
 wind in the thick forest. Dante remarks to Matelda  
 the phenomenon appears to be at variance with the prin-  
 that Statius had laid down. Matelda confirms the doc-  
 of Statius, and makes it clear to Dante that the uniform  
 ty, which he then feels, come (according to the Ptolemaic  
 ) from the revolution of the air, caused by that of the  
*Medite*, which communicates its motion to all the  
 spheres.

*Figlia di Faumante:* Iris was the daughter of the Centaur  
 Faunus, and of Electra. Her sisters were the Harpies. She

And this is why neither rain, nor hoar dew, nor hoar frost fall higher up the case of the three steps (*i.e.*, at the Purgatory). Neither dense nor rare nor flashes of lightning, nor the daughter (*i.e.*, Iris the rainbow), who yonder changes her place. No dry vapour (*i.e.*, any higher than the summit of the tower), on which the (Angel) Vicar treads his feet. It may perchance tremble lower down (*i.e.*, below the top step of Purgatory), but by reason of the wind in the earth, how, I know not, it is here.

Statius is here touching upon the winds and earthquakes, "for wind is a dry and impalpable vapour rare." An earthquake takes place, when the bowels of the earth, and being opened, come forth: it therefore causes a vibration in the earth and makes it tremble. Statius Benvenuto, asserts that from the earth derived rain, snow, hail, dew, and hoar-frost, if it be light is sent to the

Tremaci quando alcuna anima monda  
 Sentesi, sì che surga \* o che si mova  
 Per salir su, e tal grido seconda.

60

It trembles here (above the three steps) when any soul feels itself so purified that it rises, or moves to ascend up above, and this cry accompanies it.

As soon as any one of the spirits within the gate of Purgatory proper has completed its purgation, and, if its penance was on the ground, rises up; or, if not lying down, sets itself in motion to ascend up to heaven, immediately the mountain quakes down to its lowest base, and all the spirits throughout Purgatory break out simultaneously into a song of *Gloria in Excelsis*.

But in case Virgil should ask: "In what manner, and by what token canst thou become aware of the fact that a spirit has completed its term of purgation?" Statius anticipates the question by saying:

Della mondizia sol voler fa + prova,

\* *surga* . . . *per salir su*. Scartazzini notices that some of the commentators have understood *surga* to refer to the passing of a soul up to the Cornice immediately above the one it has left. With this he strongly disagrees, for in that case, he says, there must have been an earthquake every time Dante completed a fresh ascent.

*sol voler fa*: "This passage exhibits the curious phenomenon of the loss of the true reading '*sol voler fa prova*' but a small minority of MSS, though it is preserved and fully explained by all the old Commentators, who notice the passage, without exception viz Lana, Ottimo, Anon. Fior., Benvenuto, Bati, Landino Vellutello and Damedo), nor do they so much as mention any variation in the text. Notwithstanding this, the feeble and almost unmeaning reading '*Della mondizia sol voler fa prova*' is found in the large majority of MSS. This is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the true reading is the right understanding of the true reading '*sol voler fa prova*' was one easily lost, and depending on a knowledge



rejoices at having such a will.

The volition, which is suddenly gotten to rise up and ascend to Heaven, is its complete purification. The soul having such a will, which, as Scartazzini says, is not sterile but effective.

Benvenuto remarks that Statius anticipates possible questions or objections who now seems to say: "But the soul does not always desire to ascend?" Statius answers that, however the soul is to ascend forthwith to Heaven, it has into it the will to continue in penance for the sake of Divine justice.

Prima vuol ben; ma non lascia il  
Che divina giustizia contra w  
Come fu al peccar, pone al to

of Aristotelian, and still more of the school of Aristotle, the copyists could not generally command

*tua Criticism*, pp. 401, 402.  
\* *tulla libera a mutar con: ento*: Other meaning of *volere*. But Scartazzini asks: "Does the will or the soul change its abode, the will or the soul?" On this line, *Govern* enthusiasm.

From the first indeed it has the desire (to ascend to Heaven), but the impulse which Divine Justice opposed to that desire, insults into it for its (allotted) torment, as formerly there was in it (the impulse) for sin, suffers it not (to arise and ascend to Heaven).

The late Padre Giuliani (*Postilla Inedita*) made the

"D' intorno mi guardo, come talento  
Avesse di veder s'altri era meco"

Scartazzini says that the following passage from St. Thomas Aquinas *Summ. Theol.* p. iii, *Suppl. Append.* qu. ii, art. 2) is far better than any commentary what is Dante's idea of being an absolute and conditional will. "Aliquid dicitur voluntariam dupliciter. Uno modo voluntate absolutâ; et sic illa poena est voluntaria, quia ex hoc est ratio poenae quod voluntati contrariatur. Alio modo dicitur aliquid voluntarium voluntate conditionatâ; sicut visio est voluntaria propter sanitatem consequentiam. Et sic aliqua poena potest esse voluntaria dupliciter. Uno modo quia per poenam aliquid bonum accipimus; et sic ipsa voluntas assumit poenam aliquam, ut non satisfactione vel etiam quia ille libenter eam accipit, non vellet eam non esse, sicut accidit in martyrio. Alio modo quia quicquid per poenam malum bonum nobis accrescat, tamen de poena ad bonum pervenire non possumus, sicut patet de poena naturali, et tunc voluntas non assumit poenam, et vellet se liberari, sed eam supportat, et quantum ad hoc voluntaria dicitur." Dr Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 403) remarks on the above passage quoted in Scartazzini's note on l. 64 "is most instructive commentary on the idea of Dante here. To another Aristotelian distinction, we may say that this particular punishment presents itself as actually desirable, *voluntas*," or "*de bonis malis*." The enlightened understanding sees that it is now the essential condition of, and the only way to, Happiness, and consequently the well-regulated will desires it.

'son contenti

Nel fuoco, perche speran di venire,

Quando che sia, alle beate genti" (*Inf.* i, 118-120)

perche ella [*l'anima*], posta nelle regioni della verità, vede la beatitudine non può acquistarsi se non col patire, ella dee per il *talento* del patire, come Dante lo chiama, dee volere il bene con quel ardore con cui vuol la beatitudine. solo quando è perfettamente rimonda non può più volerlo, non può più patire perchè è già beata in Colui al quale s'è perfettamente giunta." (Perez, *Sette Cerchi*, p. 30).

following comments on this passage. "Contra migh voler mal pugna, *prima vuol surgere e salir su, ma talento* (la voglia) *che la divina Giustizia pone quell' anima al tormento* (come in essa anima fu al peccare), *non lascia* (non consente, che essa anima surga e si muova per salir su."

Lana says: "The will ever desires the ultimate and perfect end, but the justice of God wille (to be fully and entirely satisfied), that as the sinner has the will (*volonta*) to sin and sinned, so he may have the impulse (*talento* to stay, and may stay for subjugation and purgation; so that *lo talento* is will (*volonta*) *secundum quid*."

Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 402, 403), remarks: "It is easy to imagine philosophical, moral, or theological objections arising to the statement of Dante here (viz. that the mere wish to pass upwards is a proof that the soul's purgation is completed, if unqualified by consideration of the technical teaching out of which it is sprung. There is an opposition between *voglia* and *talento*—the key to the whole passage—which is excellently explained by Jacopo della Lana . . . So again Buti: 'come la volonta rispettiva *i. e. talento* fu contra la volonta assoluta a fare lo peccato (che la volonta assoluta non puo volere lo peccato e lo male, se non guadagnata sotto specie di bene), cosi e contra a volere bene, se prima non e sodisfatto a la giustizia.' In other words:—In *this* life *volonta*, were it not for *talento*, would choose *τὸ ὑγιανθὲν*, but it allows itself to be misled by *talento* into choosing *τὸ φανόμενον ὑγιανθὲν*, 'ἵνα ὁ ἄλλοτος ἔτιχη, κακόν' (*Eth.* III, iv, 2,

"Accordingly hereafter, in retribution for this,

*volontà* has again to submit itself to the *talento*, which now chooses pain and punishment (ll 65, 66), and until the 'uttermost farthing' is paid, the *volontà* is compelled to follow the *talento* in choosing this purgation, instead of *il sommo Bene* (*rayabiv*)\* When all is paid, then the *volontà* is at once set free to aspire again to its natural object, the *talento* now no longer opposing it, and the feeling that this is so, is proof that the purgation is complete: '*Della mondanza sol voler fa proa.*'†

And now Statius, citing his own case as an example in confirmation of what he has said, tells Virgil that the earthquake and the chant were on account of him.

Ed io che son giacuto a questa doglia ‡

Unquecento anni e più, § pur mo ho sentii

\* Thus we read of the spirits in the Seventh Cornice :

" Poi verso me, quanto potevan farsi,  
Certi sì leton, se n' pie con m'uardo  
Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi."

(*Purg.* xvi, 13-15.)

† Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 403) says that we might then in fact apply the language of Virgil in *Purg.* xxvii, 140-141 :

" L' uero, dritto e sano è tuo arditio,  
E fallo fora non fare a suo senno."

‡ *doglia* for *pena*, meaning the penalty of the Avaricious in the sixth Cornice.

§ *Unquecento anni e più*. Statius had been undergoing *pena* in the Cornice of the Avaricious, but for Prodigality, the Avarice, as we shall read in the next Canto, where we find (xxv, 92) that before passing his 500 years in the Cornice of Avarice, he had had to pass 400 in the Cornice of Prodigality, 100 years in all. Statius died 96 A.D. Dante supposes that Statius was to take place in 1300. Counting 500 years in the Cornice of Avarice, 400 years in the Cornice of Sloth, 96 the year in which Statius died, gives 996, which, deducted from 1300, leaves 304 years unaccounted for, and these he may be supposed to have passed in *Ante-Purgatory*.

¶ *pur mo*. Compare *Inf.* x, 21 :

will for a better sphere. On that account  
feel the earthquake, and (hear) the de-  
over the mount render praise to that I  
may He speed them up (to Heaven)!

Dante's unceasing desire to know the  
wonders, is completely satisfied by  
Statius.

Così ne disse; e però ch' ei si gode  
Tanto del ber quant' è grande  
Non saprei dir quant' ei mi teco

"E tu m'hai non pur mo a ciò dispo-  
And *Inf.* xxxii, 20

"E che parlavi mo Lombardo."

\* *soglia* is the name given to the different  
of Heaven, as *Cornice* is for those of Purgat  
*Cerchio* for those in Hell. Compare *Par.* iii

"Si che, come noi sem di soglia in 8"

Per questo regno, a tutto il reg

† *che tosto su gli men*. Some take *che* for  
sense "the spirits rendered praise . . . in  
speedily send them up to Heaven." But I  
tation of Buti, Cesari, Br Bianchi, Franca  
viz., that *he gli men* is a prayer of Statius &  
soon give the same benefit to all the spirits  
have united in offering praises to Him fo  
Statius himself

\* *et al. nota: Cichetti*

Thus he spake to us ; and since one enjoys drinking in proportion as one's thirst is great, so could I hardly describe how much he did me good.

Benvenuto says : " Note that a drink is agreeable, not so much from the quality of the wine, as from the disposition of the drinker ; as for example, when Xerxes, the mighty Persian king, had been ignominiously defeated, and was timidly flying, he saw, by the side of the way, some muddy dirty water, and immediately stooped down and began to drink greedily ; on his soldiers expostulating with him for doing so, he said he had never in his life drunk better, for he had never, till then, known what thirst was."

*Division III.* Virgil now asks Statius who he was in life ; but, before doing so, he tells him that his explanation has cleared away all difficulty of understanding the matters in doubt.

E il savio Duca " Omai veggio la rete \*  
Che qui vi piglia, e come si scalappia,<sup>†</sup>  
Per che ci trena, e di che congaudete.

" Per non soffrire alla virtu che vuole  
I reno a suo prode, quell uom che non nacque,  
Dannando sì, danno tatta sua prole "

Compare also *Convito*, i, 6, ll. 24, 25 " dao in genere, che sono quasi bestie, alle quali la ragione fa poco prode "

\* *veggio la rete Che qui vi piglia.* Brunone Bianchi paraphrases this " veggio la cagione che vi trattiene legati e presi in questo cerchio."

† *scalappia.* Brunone Bianchi goes on : " e come cotal rete si apre, come si esce dal *scalappio* the trap, the snare " e ciò viene per la voglia di soddisfare alla giustizia divina. *Scalappio* is derived from a privative, and *calappio*, which Blanc *Dant.* derives from the German *klappe*, a flap, a valve *Metes ad uno nel calappio*, is, to put any one into a strait Compare Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xxii, 29

here, and at what you all rejoice together  
it please thee that I should know who  
let it also be contained in thy words to  
hast lain here for so many ages."

Statius begins by answering Virgil's question  
to who he was, and he does so in precisely the  
fashion as Virgil in the first Canto of the *Aeneid*  
replied to a similar question from Anchises  
answered Dante "*Nacqui sub Julio*,"  
lines lower down is the name of Virgil.  
Here the same order is followed. S

"Ah credi tu, Orlando, ch' io non sapo  
Per che ragione io v'abbracciava  
E quel che disse Rinaldo m'incappò  
E se di qui voi non fosti passati,  
Egli eron ben più la testa calappò  
Voi siete nella trappola ingabbiati."

\* *incappia*. Scartazzini observes that nearly all  
tators are agreed that this word is derived from  
"to contain," and distinctly not with the usual  
"to understand." In the *Vocabolario della Crusca*  
*incapere* also signifies "to enter into, to have  
inhabit, to receive into oneself, etc." Compare  
"Che vedrai non capere in questi giorni."  
And *Par.* xvii, 14, 15:

that he lived in the reign of Titus, and discloses his name just ten lines after.

— "Nel tempo che il buon Tito \* con l' aiuto  
 Del sommo Rege vendicò le fora,  
 Ond' uscì il sangue per Giuda venduto,  
 Col nome che più dura e più onora 85  
 Era io di là," rispose quello spirto,  
 — "Famoso assai, ma non con fede ancora.  
 Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto, †

\* *il buon Tito* - The siege and destruction of Jerusalem under the Emperor Titus, took place in A.D. 70. Statius was born at Naples, according to one account, in 65, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and had already become famous as a poet before the accession of Titus. His works are the *Sylva*, or miscellaneous poems; the *Thebaid*, an epic in twelve books, and the *Agave*, of which he speaks in l. 92 as being unpublished at the time of his death. He also wrote a tragedy, *Agave*, which is lost.

† *Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto*. Compare Juvenal, *Sat.* vii, l. 87.

"Curritur ad vocem jucundam, et carmen amica  
 Thebaidos, letam fecit cum Statius urbem,  
 Promisitque diem. tanta dulcedine captos  
 Afficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi  
 Audatur sed, cum fregit subsellia versu,  
 Esunt, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven."

It seems to have ranked Statius as a poet next to Virgil. The epics of Statius were extremely popular in the middle ages. A recent article in the *Edinburgh Review* (April 1895), entitled *The Classical Studies of Dante*, pp. 303-307, evidently written by a Danteist of the first rank, and which merits the most careful study, the reviewer writes: "Dante's treatment of Statius constitutes one of the most singular problems or anomalies of the *Divine Comedy*. We are surprised at his enthusiastic, and, what appears to us, somewhat extravagant admiration of a poet whose prolix and often inflated style is the very antipodes of his own. We have already seen that, on one occasion, he has substituted the name of Statius for that of Horace, when selecting the Latin poets as models of style, though in other respects repeating the well-known list in *Inf.* iv. This and other anomalies convince us that the name of Statius would have naturally been the next to be admitted to the charmed circle of *poeta scolaria*, were its limits to be enlarged."



spirit, " with the aid of the Most  
vengeance for the wounds from w  
the blood sold by Judas (*i.e.*, when  
of Titus, avenged upon Jerusalem th  
Christ), was I (in the world) vonda  
for the name which lasts longest at  
(namely, a poet's), but not as ve  
Christianity). So sweet was my let  
Rome drew me, (though) a native of  
her walls, and there I was thought  
brows to be decked with myrtle.  
world) people still call me Statius :  
and then of the great Achilles, but  
the road beneath the second burden

This means that he died before he f  
*Achilleid*, the second of his works.

that Statius, seeing the great disag  
isted between the two brothers Tit  
took as his subject for their instruct  
the two brothers Eteocles and Pe  
kings of Thebes.

Benvenuto sees two interpretatio

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• *Telamon*. Dante has evidently confu  
who was hurt at Naples, with Statius the

that follow, according to the first of which Statius, unaware of who is standing by him, would show that Virgil was the model from whom he became a poet: or secondly, that he became a Christian from reading Virgil's poems. We will adopt the former, which is preferred by Benvenuto, as we have no evidence whatever that either Virgil or Statius had any pretence to be Christians.

Statius concludes by showing the immensity of his love for Virgil.

Al mio ardor far seme \* le faville,  
 Che mi scaldar, della divina fiamma, 95  
 Onde sono allumati più di mille; †  
 Dell' Eneida dico, la qual mamma ‡  
 Fummi, e fummi nutrice poetando :

\* *sense*: At the conclusion of the *Thebaid* (811-817) Statius shows in what honour he held the *Aeneid*. Addressing his own poem, he says

"O mihi bisseuos multum vigilata per annos  
 Thebaï . . . . .  
 Vi, e, precor: nec tu divinam Aeneida tenta,  
 Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora."

† *allumati più di mille*: "The countless multitude," for which, so often in the *Divina Commedia*, *più di mille* stands as being equivalent, means the great host of poets of whom Dante himself was one. In *Inf* 1, 82-83, he alludes to the celestial fire of poetry being kindled both in himself and others by the example of Virgil.

"O degli altri poeti onore e lume,  
 Vaghiami il lungo studio e il grande amore,  
 Che m' ha fatto crear lo tuo volume.  
 Tu se lo maestro e il mio autore."

‡ *mamma*: This term of endearment to a mother is in Tuscan far more used by grown-up people than is the case in England, and is by no means confined to infants and children. *Manzoni's* *Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 766, *Sim.* 259†) observes. "*Mamma*, è voce infantile, ma non indegnata da Dante; e l'usano ancora gli adulti, segnatamente quando si volgono a lei stessa, o parlando a famiglia."

have been enkindled ; I mean the *A*  
my mother and my nurse in poesy (i.  
model), I never wrote anything of the  
And to have lived (in the world) you  
lived, I would consent to one Sun (i.  
penance) more than I need perform be  
from banishment."

Benvenuto says that Statius tried to  
the *Thebaid*, not only in the number  
as in the *Æneid*, but also in everything  
so that he was not undeservedly called  
(*simia Virgili*).

*Division IV.* We must now picture  
the scene that ensues, in which the

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\* *un sole* : This expression is meant to  
*sole*, i. e. a whole year. It is used in the same  
in *Inf.* vi, 67 68.

" Poi appresso conven che questa e  
Intra tre soli (i. e., within three  
Gioberti remarks upon the marvellous expression  
Dante has contrived here for the purpose  
commum upon his beloved Virgil. But of course  
see that this conception is only so far true,  
way of hyperbole. Scartazzini says that the

of signs between Dante and Virgil, and the way in which these are observed by Statius, is related by Dante in a most spirited manner. The whole incident is so thoroughly Italian, that one might, on reading it, fancy oneself in the Via Calzaioli at Florence, or the Mercatello at Naples. The last words of Statius have convinced Virgil that Statius has not the slightest idea that the subject of his encomium is standing by his side. Virgil turns quickly round, and by a rapid contraction of his eyes (*con viso*) imposes silence on Dante, who cannot all the same restrain a smile on his features. This Statius is quick to detect, and after a look of silent wonder, he asks for an explanation.

Dante remarks that it is only the most sincere and ingenuous people who are unable to disguise their emotions. If they feel a desire to laugh, the laugh shows itself on their countenance, and the same with weeping. It is only the deceitful man who feigns a smile while rage is in his heart. It is only the hypocrite who can simulate grief for some misfortune at which he is secretly rejoicing.

Dante then shows exactly how this difficulty of concealing his thoughts happened to him, for, though he uttered not a word, he spoke by his expression, and Statius detected his thought.

Volser Virgilio a me queste parole

Con viso che talendo disse :—"Taci" —\*

\* *Taci*: Gioberti, commenting on this at length, says that he thinks that by this word, Virgil not only wished to impede Dante from uttering a word, but even from making a sign, for he drew by his own sagacity how quickly the smallest sign might awake the suspicions of Statius, who he was anxious

Ma non può tutto la virtù che vuole ; \* 105  
 Chè riso e pianto son tanto seguaci †  
 Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca, ‡  
 Che men seguon voler nei più veraci.

should remain in ignorance of his being that identical Virgil upon whom Statius had been passing such high encomiums. In describing this modesty on the part of Virgil, Dante himself is in reality pronouncing even higher praises upon him, showing him to have had the ornament of that humility, of which history records him to have been possessed ; and moreover in making Statius of his own *proprio motu* pass these encomiums upon Virgil, while quite unaware that he was standing at his side.

\* *non può tutto la virtù che vuole*. Benvenuto considers this a very difficult passage. "Et ad declarandam istam litteram fortem est primo notandum, quod appetitus, alius est intellectivus, alius sensitivus. et sensitivus, alius est irascibilis, alius concupiscibilis : et sic gaudium, quod ostenditur per risum procedit ab appetitu concupiscibili ; et planctus qui movetur per iram procedit ab irascibili. et ambo isti appetitus sunt de potentia sensitiva, et alter sequitur alterum. Et appetitus intellectivus qui est voluntas, et per quem regulatur appetitus sensitivus, non semper est potens supra sensitivum, quia non semper irascibile, et concupiscibile obedit rationi, sive rationali voluntati, quae est suum fundamentum in intellectu."

† *riso e pianto . . . seguon*. *Alla passion, etc.* : Andreoli explains this as meaning that laughter and weeping do not act in obedience to the will, but follow directly after that particular modification of the mind from which each of them respectively proceeds, namely laughter follows upon joy, and weeping upon sorrow. Philaethes observes that St. Thomas Aquinas (*Schol. Theol. pars. 1, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. xvii, art. 9*) also assumes that the movements of the body are not all governed by the will, nor do they next place all those which belong to the vegetable sphere. Each movement moreover does not proceed from the senses or carnal influences, nor does its origin always begin through the will ; but more frequently the limbs follow in the instance that natural inclination which is dictated to them by the sensitive faculty.

‡ *spicca*. Laughter takes its origin in joy or merriment ; weeping takes its origin in grief or sorrow. In the *2<sup>o</sup> Dizionario*, "*spicarsi da un luogo o di una persona*" — *Lasciarlo, Partirsene, Staccarsene*." Compare *Inf. xax, 35, 36*

"non ti sia fatica

A dir chi è, pria che di qui si spicchi."

Buti explains the use of *spicarsi* in the present passage. "A

Io pur sorrisi, come l' uom ch' ammicca : \*

Perchè l' ombra si tacque, riguardommi

110

Negli occhi, ove il semblante più si ficca. †

These words made Virgil turn round to me with a look which tacitly said : "Keep silent !" but our will cannot perform all that it would, for laughter and weeping follow so promptly after the passion from which each takes its rise, that in the most truthful

la passione da che; cioè da la quale, ciascun si spieca, cioè di questi atti di sopra nominata, si spieca; cioè, procede si, come da una ragione.

\* *ammicca.* Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) derives the word from the Latin *Micare*, to make a sign with the eyes. Others derive it from the Latin *intire*, *admirare*. Tommaséo *Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 49, *Sim* 3137, says " *Ammicare*, vedere riguardi segnatamente l'occhio, comprendere un po' l'atto nominata la faccia . . . Si *ammicca* e con gli occhi e col capo e con le mani. Si può accennare senza ammiccare, ma non vice versa.

† *Negli occhi, ove il semblante più si ficca.* In *Comito*, iii, 8, 14 100, Dante lays down that the eyes are the window of the soul, in which all the passions can be observed, and says that it even happened to some to put out their own eyes in order that their sin from within should not be seen without : "E perchè nella faccia, massimamente in due luoghi adopera l'anima, perochè in quelli due luoghi quasi tutte e tre le nature de l'anima hanno giurisdizione, cioè negli occhi e nella bocca), dove massimamente adorna, e quasi pone l'intento tutto a far vedere, se puote. E in questi due luoghi dico io che appariscono le sue pareri, dicendo : *Negli occhi e nel suo dolce riso.* Li due luoghi per bella similitudine si possono appellare la bocca della Donna che nell'edificio del corpo abita, cioè la bocca, perochè quasi avvegnachè quasi velata, spesse volte si dimostra. Dimostrasi negli occhi tanto manifesta, che contrasta si può la sua presente passione, chi ben la mira. . . Onde Dante si trasse gli occhi, perchè la vergogna dentro non potesse di fuori . . . Dimostrasi nella bocca, quasi siccome si vede dopo vetro. E che è *ridere*, se non una cortuscazione e ostentazione dell'anima, cioè un lume apparente di fuori, che sta dentro?" In further illustration, Tommaséo quotes the following words of the Jesuit Father Segneri, the author of the celebrated *Quarenmale*, or Lenten sermons, preached at Florence in 1679 : "L'occhio, visibile ritratto dell'animo non visibile."

men they least obey the will. Notwithstanding (Virgil's wink) I smiled, as one who makes a sign of intelligence, whereat the spirit stopped speaking, looked me in the eyes, wherein the expression is best marked.

Stattus makes his petition.

E, — "se tanto lavoro in bene assommi,—" \*

Disse, — "perchè la tua faccia testeso †

Un lampeggiar di riso ‡ dimostrommi?" —

\* *assommi*. In the *Gran Dizionario* it will be seen that the primary signification of *assommare*, is to add up a sum, to compute; thence it takes the meaning, "to reduce the ideas to their summing up, i.e. to conclude," and hence Tommaseo (one of the authors) says that the way is prepared for the explanation in the present passage, namely, "*Condurre al sommo, per finire più o meno compiutamente*," i.e. to bring to a conclusion or end. Compare *Par.* xxxi, 94-96.

"E il santo Seno: 'Acciocchè tu assommi

Perfettamente,' disse, 'il tuo cammino,

A che prego ed amor santo inandommi,'" etc.

† *testeso*: Another form of *testè*, an adverb of time past, signifying "a little while ago, just now." Compare *Boecacio Decam.* Giorn. vii, Nov. ix. "tu non sentivi quel ch'io, quando tu mi tiravi testeso i capelli." It has sometimes a present meaning; e.g. in *I Sam.* ix, 16: "To morrow, about this time as one Italian version, this is, *a quest'ora ch'è testeso*, in the *Vulg. Lat.* *At h'ora que nunc est*. I will send thee a man out of the lambs of Benjamin. Compare also *Par.* xix, 7-10.

"E quel che mi conven tirar testeso, [at the present time]

Non portò voce mai, nè scrisse inchiostro,

Ne fu per fantasia grammai compreso."

In the *Decameron*, Giorn. ix, Nov. iv, there is a sentence in which we have *testeso* with the future sense in a short time, and *testè* with the present sense. "Eg' i dee venire qui testeso una che ha pegno il mio farsetto per trentotto soldi: son certo che egli cel renderà per trenta-cinque, pagandol testè."

‡ *Un lampeggiar di riso*. *Lampeggiare* is, properly speaking, an iterative of *lampare*. It is used here in the form of a substantive, and Scartazzini says that Petrarch and Passonetti used it in that way. Compare Petrarch, part ii, *Sen.* xva.

"Le cresse ch'ome d'or puro lucente

E i lampeggiar dell'angelico riso," etc.

And *Trionf. Morte*, cap. ii, terz. 29:

And, "So mayest thou bring to a happy conclusion," said he, "all thy arduous enterprise, why did thy face just now display to me a flash of merriment?"

Dante is perplexed by the contradictory injunctions of his two companions.

Or son io d' una parte e d' altra preso ; 115  
 L' una mi fa tacer, l' altra scongiura  
 Ch' io dica : ond' io sospiro, e sono inteso  
 Dal mio Maestro,\* e :—" Non aver paura,"—  
 Mi disse,— " di parlar ; ma parla, e dighi  
 Quel ch' ei domanda con cotanta cura."— 120

" Appena ebb' io queste parole ditte,  
 Ch' i' vidi lampeggiar quel dolce riso," etc.

And Tasso, *Ger. Liber. iii.*, st. 32 :

" Lampeggiar gli occhi e folgorar gli sguardi  
 Dolci neil' ira."

And Boccaccio (*Decam. Giorn. ii.*, Nov. ii) : " Rinaldo queste parole udendo, e il lampeggiar degli occhi della donna veggendo," etc. And *Decam. Giorn. iii.*, Nov. v : " Ma pur lei riguardando nel viso, e veggendo alcun lampeggiare d' occhi di verso di alcuna volta . . . alcuna buona speranza prese."

These quotations are one of the numberless instances of the truth of the words of the writer of the article in the *Edinburgh Review* cited above, in a footnote at p. 293. "The *Trionfi* of Petrarch, the . . . works of Boccaccio, . . . of Ariosto, etc., abound in fragments of Dante embedded in the language like fossils. But his words on the passage we are discussing are very lucid. " *Un lampeggiar di riso* : cioè uno aprimento di riso imperò che Dante fece come fa lo lampo, che prima apre e poi quando esce fuori, e possa (forza) chiude, e così fece Dante, prima aperse li occhi a ridere mosso da passione, quindi allegrezza che tanto bene volesse Stazio al suo maestro Virgilio, e possa chiuse per obedire Virgilio che l'avea ammonito che tacesse."

\* *È sono inteso Dal mio Maestro* : I much regret that the discrepancy of reading in this passage is not among those treated and discussed by Dr. Moore in his *Textual Criticism*, but I know him in his new edition of *Dante's Works*, Witte, and Vasta, in reading as above. This is the reading (says Vasta) adopted by all the best Codices, and by the following commentators Anon. Fior., Benvenuto ; Buti ; Landino ; Mazzoni, Camerini ; etc. But by far the larger number of



Now am I caught both on the one side and the other ; the one (side, i.e., Virgil) bids me be silent, the other (Statius) entreats me to speak : on which I heave a sigh, and am understood by my Master, and said he to me : " Fear not to speak, but say on, and tell him that which he asks with so much anxiety."

Buti thinks Virgil had stopped Dante speaking before, so as not to interrupt what Statius was saying, but when he saw Statius look perplexed, he thought it would be kinder to tell him what it was about which they were making signs.

Fortified by Virgil's permission, Dante gives to Statius the information asked.

Ond' io - " Forse che tu ti maravigli,  
Antico spirto,\* del rider ch' io fei :  
Ma piu d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli.†

Commentators follow the variant adopted by the Vatican and Caetani MSS., *e non inteso*. " *Di' il mio Maestro, e non aver paura, Medice*. It says Scartazzini numbers were always right, the question would be already decided. But mere pliancy, in cases like these, is not of the slightest importance, all the less so, that they that have eyes to see must have remarked hundreds and hundreds of times that Commentators by no means unrequently follow each other. *E ad che per la prima, e a tre fanno (Purg. iii, 82)*. Besides the tautology of " *Di*," — *non aver paura—parla dighi*, four times repeated would be insufferable. Scartazzini thinks that, as it is, three times is rather more than sufficient.

\* *Antico spirto*. Benvenuto remarks that Statius may well be called ancient, since he wrote poems more than a thousand years before the scene here described is supposed to occur.

† *più d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli*. This almost repeats one of Mark Anthony, who first shows the mob Caesar stabbed all over, and then, suddenly plucking it as dead, shows them the dead body.

" Kind souls, what weep you, when you but behold  
Our Caesar's vesture wounded ! Look you here,  
Here is himself, mangled, as you see, by traitors."

—Shakespeare *Julius Caesar*, act iii, sc. 2†

Questi, che guida in alto \* gh occhi miei,  
 E quel Virgilio dal qual tu toglhesti 125  
 Forza a cantar † degh uomini e de' Dei.‡  
 Se cagnone altra al mio rider credesti,  
 Lasciala per non vera esser, e credi  
 Quelle parole che di lui dicesti."—

Whereupon I: "Perchance thou marvellest, spirit of days gone by, at the smile I gave; but I will that greater wonderment seize upon thee. This one, who is guiding my eyes up, on high, is that Virgil from whom thou didst gain strength to sing of men and of the gods. And if thou didst believe in any other cause for my smiling, abandon it as not being true, and believe those words (rather) that thou didst speak of him."

Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 387) points out the poetic art with which Dante describes what took place upon the sudden disclosure of Virgil's identity. Doubtless Statius broke forth into warm exclamations of devout reverence, at the unexpected realization of his longed-

\* *scartazzini* points out that *in alto* means as far as the summit of the mountains, beyond which Virgil, representing Reason, could have no power to go, and not as Benvenuto interprets it, as meaning to Heaven.

† *Forza a cantar*. This is the reading adopted by Dr Moore, Scarlattini, Fantani, Brunone Bianchi, Guoberti, Andreoli, and others, following the Sta Croce, Caetani MSS, and several others mentioned by Dr Barlow. Some, including Benvenuto, read *Forza or Forza*, but by far the larger number read *Forza a cantar*, including Benvenuto and Landino. As Scarlattini points out, Dante is merely re-echoing the sentiments expressed by Statius at L. 94. Statius never said that Virgil would him to sing *courageously*, nor *in a loud tone*, nor *loftily*; Benvenuto has said that he took from the *Æneid* poetic fire, and Statius, his verse, as is fully expressed by the reading *Forza a cantar*.

‡ In the *Thebaid*, Statius introduces both gods and men as *imitating* feats of arms, and therein imitated Virgil, who in turn had imitated Homer.

for hopes; but Dante has supplied the place of these demonstrations of affection by merely recording that Statius at once dropped upon his knees, or bent down, intending to embrace Virgil's feet as (in *Purg.* vii, 15) Sordello had done: *ove il minor s' appiglia*. Virgil forestalls his intention, reminding him that they are both spirits, and impalpable. Statius makes a courteous excuse for having forgotten their want of substance, and explains that it arose from his intense delight at seeing before him the spirit of one for whom he felt such profound reverence.

Già si chinava \* ad abbracciar li piedi 130  
 Al mio Dottor; ma egl disse:—"Frate,  
 Non far, chè tu se' ombra, ed ombra vedi."—  
 Ed ei surgendo:—"Or puoi la quantitate †  
 Comperder dell' amor ch' a te mi scalda,  
 Quando dismento I nostra vanitate, 135

\* *Già si chinava*. Some Commentators, especially the Jesuits, remarks Goberti, find fault with Dante for representing Statius a spirit that had completed his purgation, and was already one of the elect to Heaven, secure of his salvation, thus inclining himself before Virgil, who was everlastingly condemned to *Limbo*. We may however note that whatever Statius may have been expected to do he was by Virgil himself prevented from doing. The spirits in Purgatory were not supposed to be omniscient, and Statius would not yet know that Virgil's fate was different from his own blessed lot. He has simply learned the fact that Virgil is before him, and is on his way up the mountain as Dante's *Comento* adds: "Il Venturo trova a ridere in questa dimora di Stazio; noi ci veggiamo per lo contrario una natura di mirabile bellezza, e un modo peregrino *an instance of great beauty* ad esprimere come l' improvvisa novella mettesse Sordello fuori di sé, com' egli stesso dichiara nell' ultima terzina.

† *la quantitate*: Compare *Convito*, i, 4: "La fama delli bene e lo male oltre la vera quantità." Scartazzini says that *la quantitate* is used in its scholastic meaning, though Fortino questions the fact.

I *dismento*: The *Gran Dizionario* says that *dismentare*

Trattando l' ombre come cosa calda.\*

Already was he stooping to embrace my Teacher's feet; but he (Virgil) said to him: "Brother, do it not, for thou art a shade, and a shade thou seest!" And he (Statius) rising: "Now canst thou comprehend the sum of the love which warms me to thee, when I can forget our emptiness, treating shades as substantial matter."

There is a certain inconsistency in the way that Dante has dealt with the three episodes of the interviews of himself and Virgil with (1) Casella in *Purg.* ii; (2) Sordello in Cantos vi and vii; and (3) with Statius in this Canto.

In *Purg.* ii, Dante, a living man, tries in vain to

the contrary of *ammentare* (to remember, not by recalling a thing to one's mind, but by retaining it there). *Ammento* here is a "δυνατ λεγόμενον, there being no other instance of the word in Dante's works. *Ammentare* occurs twice in the *Divina Commedia*, namely *Purg.* xiv, 56; and *Purg.* xv, 22.

\* *Trattando l' ombre come cosa calda*: On these last verses 130-137, there is a very interesting retraction by Gioberti in 1823; of opinions that he had previously expressed unfavourable to Dante's being a true Christian. Speaking of Christianity he had said "Dante vedeva il Cristianesimo, e la sua scienza, nel vecchio umano, . . . senza sentirne la vera natura, cosa conosciuta solo al vero Cristiano, *qual fur troppo non era Dante.*" This is followed by a noble recantation: "Mi ritratto, 1823 — Dante in tutto il suo poema è pieno di vera e profonda religione. E se difetti, ma li temperò, e non crederemo mai che del suo poema far volesse un teatro di scortesie e vili vendette, e di orgoglio. Non ne conosce che la corteccia [*the outer bark of Dante*] chi lo accusa di sconoscerne il Cristianesimo e di trattarlo con mano profana." Poletto alludes to this, advising readers to notice how a man in maturer age and after more profound study, may modify his judgment, and he urges them to take example from a great genius like Gioberti, who, finding his opinions so modified, had the greatness of mind to make a recantation of them, for fear that by not doing so he might have done injury to his neighbour's good name.

embrace Casella, who, as a spirit, is impalpable touch.

In *Purg.* vi and vii, Virgil and Sordello, both able spirits, embrace each other without any d

And now in the present passage we find seeking to embrace Virgil's feet, and, on b minded by him that they are both impalpable acquiesces in the reproof as being deserved forgetfulness.

This interview between Virgil and Statius | the passages quoted by the late Dean Church beautiful contribution to English literature, *on Dante*, as illustrative of the great Poet's de power: "Nor is he less observant of the more phenomena of mind, in its inward working connection with the body. The play of feat involuntary gestures and attitudes of the past power of eye over eye, of hand upon hand, th of voice and expression, of musical sounds e not understood—feelings, sensations, and mind which have a name, and others, equal rous and equally common, which have none often so fugitive, so shifting, so baffling and in are expressed with a directness, a simplicity of truth at once broad and refined, which once on the congenial mind of his country pointed out to them the road which they lowed in art, unapproached as yet by any tors." (*Dante and Other Essays*, Macmillan, 1888, pp. 171, 172).

END OF CANTO XXI.

## CANTO XXII.

ASCENT TO THE SIXTH CORNICE.—STATIUS RELATES HIS SIN OF PRODIGALITY.—AND HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.—VIRGIL'S REPLY TO HIS ENQUIRY AS TO MANY ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES WHO ARE IN *Limbo*.

THE SIXTH CORNICE.—GLUTTONY.—THE GLUTTONOUS.—THEIR CHASTISEMENT.—THE MYSTIC TREE.—EXAMPLES OF TEMPERANCE.

At the beginning of the last Canto, Benvenuto stated that in it would be treated the purgation of Prodigality, but it was an error on his part, for the subject was not mentioned at all until the present Canto. Here again, in his opening words, Benvenuto continues his error, saying: "As in the preceding chapter, our Poet treated of the vice of Prodigality in the person of Statius, so now in this chapter xxii, he concludes the subject of Prodigality in the same personage, and enters upon the subject of Gluttony, which is punished in the sixth Cornice."

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 54, Dante relates how he found that his purgation from Avarice had already taken place, and how he learns that it was for Prodigality and not for Avarice that Statius had to suffer.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 55 to v. 93, Statius

informs Virgil, in answer to a question, that it was from Virgil's writings that he had learnt the Christian Faith.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 94 to v. 114, Statius asks Virgil what has become of certain illustrious writers of antiquity.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 115 to v. 154, the Poets reach the sixth Cornice, and the purgation of the sin of Gluttony is described.

*Division I.* It would seem that, between the conclusion of the last and the commencement of the present Canto, Dante had passed before the Angel of the Fifth Cornice, who had erased another P from his brow, so that two only now remain upon it, the P of Gluttony, and the P of Sensuality, which will be erased in the Sixth and Seventh Cornices above.

The three Poets, Dante, Virgil, and Statius, appear to have already entered upon the stairway leading to the Sixth Cornice. Dante tells us that they have left the Angel behind them at the foot of the steps.

Già era l' Angel retro a noi rimaso,  
L' Angel che n' avea volti al sesto giro,  
Avendomi dal viso un colpo raso :  
E quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro  
Detto n' avea \* *beati*, e le sue voci

\* *n' avea* : Scartazzini says that this is one of the passages that have been terribly tortured, first by the amanuenses, and then by the Commentators. The variations in the reading are many, but the most common alternative reading is *n' avea*, which would imply that it was not the Angel, but the spirit of the Fifth Cornice, who pronounced the words, "Beati, che hanno a giustizia lor disiro." But such an interpretation simply destroys the beautiful symmetry of the poem. Wherever else it is the Angel guarding the exit who, in dismissing the purified souls, chants the appropriate *beati*, according to the reading *n' avea*, the Angel in this Canto

Con *sitiunt*,\* senz' altro, ciò fornio.

made to act differently, and to allow the travellers to be noticed by him. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*) says p. 405: "the right reading *n'avea* (unless I am mistaken) and in any of the earlier Commentators, yet it has considerable support among the MSS, being found in about half the MSS. Still on fuller and wider consideration, context and parallel passages, *avea* will, I think, prove decidedly more appropriate.

Dr. Moore (*ut supra*) remarks that the reading is almost entirely devoid of MS. authority, only about six MSS being known to him, one of which is in one of the MSS. On the other hand the reading *sitio* was found in 170 MSS. He observes: "Now no one can doubt the plan and method, not only throughout the whole poem, but in each of its three great divisions, and this unity of plan nowhere more marked than in the circumstances of passage from one *Cornice* to another of the *Purgatorio*. In each case the Angel in charge of the *Cornice* removes one or seven P's that have been impressed on his forehead, and makes him lighter for his upward journey. In every case also, the Angel is out of sight for the moment the present passage, i.e. in each of seven, this act is accompanied by the recitation of the Beatitudes from *St. Matt.* ch. v." These six cases are: p. 110; xv, 38; xvii, 68; xix, 50; xxiv, 151; and p. 156. The analogy therefore requires that in the case of the sixth *Cornice* also the Angel should dismiss the Poets with a Beatitude. The words of the full text of the Beatitude (in *St. Matt.* ch. v. 6) are "Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt (not *sitio*) iustitiam." Dr. Moore (p. 407) continues "We may then, I think, be granted, (1) that the quotation is certainly a Beatitude; (2) that it is probably spoken by the Angel guarding the sixth *Cornice*, and consequently we should certainly read *sitiant*, and probably also *avea*. . . The reference p. 409 to the Beatitudes is obscured by the somewhat awkward way in which the *Beati* break into the quotation; also by the irregular order which makes *Beati* come last instead of, as in the full text, first; also by the free and altered form in which the quotation is made, and the mixture of Italian and Latin in it; and finally by its fragmentary character. On this last point a note may be added in conclusion. In order to supply the number of appropriate Beatitudes for the several *Cornice* one had to be divided, and a separation introduced between 'hungering' and 'thirsting after righteousness.' The latter is reserved for the Sixth *Cornice*, where it affords a



By this time was the Angel left behind us, the Angel who had made us turn to the Sixth Cornice, after erasing from my brow one (more) mark: and he had said to us that they who have their desire set upon righteousness are *Beati*, and his words completed this sentence (*ad fornire*)\* with *sitiant*, without the rest.

natural contrast to the sin of Gluttony, while the latter offers an equally natural antithesis here in the Fifth Cornice to the sin of Avarice, which is so constantly described as a 'thirst' for gold that we are scarcely conscious of the metaphor. Hence it was necessary to quote the Beatitude more loosely and fragmentarily, with the result that by many the quotation has not been recognised. It may be observed that when the other part of this Beatitude is quoted in xxiv. 151-154, it also is cited more freely than in the other cases, and it is further the only case in which none of the original Latin appears in the citation. Perez (*Sette Cerchi*, p. 217) quotes a passage from St. Thomas Aquinas (*Comm. in St. Matt. cap. v.* which aptly illustrates the opposition in which the love of *gustare* in this passage is placed to the sin of Avarice: "Ubi intelligatur de iustitia spirituali, quod est quod homo reddat unicuique quod suum est, convenienter dicitur *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam*, quoniam esuries et sitis proprie avaritiam est, quia nunquam satiantur qui aliena iniuste possidere desiderant. Et vult Dominus quod ita anhelamus ad istam iustitiam, quod nunquam quasi satiemur in vita nostra, sicut avarus nunquam saturatur.

\* *ad fornire*: The primary meaning of *fornire*, verb. act. (See both the *Gran Dizionario* and the *Vocab. della Crusca*) is "to finish, to bring to a conclusion, to complete, and only in *Par.* xi. 132, do we find our English signification of the word "to furnish, to provide." Dante uses the verb *ad fornire* in *Par.* xxx. 16-18, in the sense of "to carry out fully, to complete."

"Se quanto infino a qui di lei si dice

Fosse concluso tutto in una loda,

Poco sarebbe a fornir questa via e."

Compare also Petrarch, *Sonetti e Canzoni sopra vari argomenti*, Son. vii.

"Ma però che mi manca, a fornir l' opra,

Alquanto delle fila benedette

Ch' avanzaro a quel mio diletto padre."

And Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, Prosa vii: "Vengo a me adattare il quale . . . in modesta fortuna, nudrito . . . appena avea otto anni forniti, che le forze d' amore a sentire incominciar."

The Angel had confined himself to the first half of the Beatitude, "Blessed are they that thirst." On this Scartazzini observes that these last words imply that as there are seven Angels, into whose mouths Dante wishes to put a Beatitude, he finds himself obliged to leave out from this text the words, "Blessed are they that hunger," "*Beati qui esuriunt,*" which comes in very appropriately in the next *Comte*, where Gluttony is chastised.

Dante having been disburdened of five out of the seven mortal sins, of which the emblems, the seven *Ps.* had been traced on his brow, describes how relieved he feels.

Ed io, più lieve che per l' altre foci,\*  
M' andava sì, che senza alcun labore †  
Seguiva in su gli spiriti veloci

\* Compare *Purg.* iv, 88, where Virgil, in answer to Dante's queries as to the ascent, replies :

" Questa montagna è tale,  
Che sempre al cominciar di sotto è grave,  
E quanto uom più va su, e men fa male "

† *Purg.* xii, 112, where Dante compares the Cornices of Purgatory to those of the Circles of Hell.

" Ah! quanto son diverse quelle foci  
Dalle infernali : chè quivi per canti  
S' entra, e laggiù per lamenti feroci."

\* *labore*. A primitive word from the Latin, used instead of *lavoro*, and has the signification of fatigue. Dante makes use of it in *Conv.* ii. 16, ll. 39, 40. " se non teme labore di studio e lue di abitazioni." Compare also *Par.* xxiii, 5, 6 :

" E per trovar lo cibo onde li pasca,  
In che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati."

† was much used by the early Italian writers. Compare *botanico* Latini, *Tesoretto*, cap. iv (quoted in Nannucci's *Teorica de' Vani*, p. 108 ; and by the *Gran Dizionario*) :

" Ma tutto mio labore,  
Quanto che io l' allumi,  
Convien che si consumi."

220 *Tesoretto*, cap. vii :

And I, more light-footed than through the other trances, was walking on, so much so, that with any distress I could follow upwards after those swimming spirits (Virgil and Statius).

Benvenuto remarks that Virgil now addresses in a few noble words, and, to win his good, prefaces his remarks with a noteworthy opinion on honourable love. After laying down this opinion on the reciprocity of love, Virgil proceeds to tell that, though only knowing him by hearsay from Juvenal, whom he had met in *Limbo*, he had known him for many centuries, so that, now that he had met him, the ascent of the remaining stairways of Purgatory will in his company be but a light task.

Quando Virgilio comincò: "Amore,"  
 Acceso di virtù, † sempre altro acceso,  
 Pur che la fiamma sua paresse fuore.

"Volsè tutto libore  
 Finir nello migliore."

Compare also Panuccio dal Bagno *Poeti del Primo* 2 vols. 8vo, Firenze, 1816, vol. 1, p. 387.

"Ma quei, che men si itanza in ver valore  
 Non si nebbiosa in essenza, ov' in veigli,  
 Che sia divisa da vero libore (footnote  
 'fatta.')

\* *Amore . . . sempre altro acceso*: Compare *Inf* 1, 101  
 "Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona

Buti comments: "Purchè sappia l'amato esser amato, niente ama." Virgil states this proposition in order to show on hearing of the writings of Statius, in which admiration of himself is expressed, he too had felt a sympathetic touch for Statius.

† *Acceso di virtù*: "From this we see that we often find a virtuous man, even though we have never seen or known just as I, Benvenuto, love Dante, who is dead." Benvenuto Petrarca expresses a like idea part iv, canz. 11, st. 80.

"D'gli un che non ti vide ancor da presso,  
 Se non come per fama uom s'innamora."  
 The *Anon. Fior*: "Quello amore ch'è impresso da virtù"

Onde, dall' ora che tra noi discese  
 Nel limbo dello inferno\* Juvenale, †  
 Che la tua affezion mi fe' palese,  
 Mia benvoglienza ‡ inverso te fu quale  
 Più strinse mai di non vista persona, §  
 Sì ch' or mi parran corte queste scale.

15

potere, s' egli appare di lui alcuno segno, che gli conviene accendere nello amato amore inverso quello che così prima ama.

\* *Limbo dello inferno*: Compare St. Thom Aquin. *Summ. Theol. pars 1<sup>a</sup>, suppl. qu. lxxix, art. 5*: "Limbus vel est ideus quod infernus, vel est pars inferni. . . Si ergo considerentur limbus patrum et infernus secundum locorum qualitatem prædictam non est dubium quod distinguuntur, tum quia in inferno est pena sensibilis, quæ non erat in limbo patrum, tum etiam quia in inferno est pena æterna; sed in limbo patrum detinetur carceri temporaliter tantum. Sed si considerentur quantum ad eorum locum, sic probabile est quod idem locus, vel quasi idem, sit infernus et limbus; ita tamen quod quædam superior pars inferni, limbus patrum dicatur."

† *Juvenale*. Many read *Giovenale*. Gioberti observes that Dante would seem to place Statius before Lucan; since he traces Virgil say that he loves Statius more than any other poet besides, giving to Statius and not to Lucan the honour of the beautiful episode. Scartazzini remarks that Dante would name Juvenal, both because he was an admirer of the *Thebaid*, as well as being a contemporary of Statius; but the truth is that, although Dante was acquainted with Juvenal's writings, he does not seem to wish to bestow upon him either praise or censure.

‡ *Benvoglienza*, a word which can be spelt in seven different ways, is, says the *Gran Dizionario*: "più e men di affetto, e più manifesta, e sempre è men dell' amore."

§ The *Dizionario* quotes the following from the *Filosofia Morale* di Francesco Maria Zanotti, the celebrated Bolognese philosopher 1723-1777: "La benevolenza non è amicizia, ma è principio di amicizia," cf. also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxvi, st. 27:

"È l' un fiamma e l' altro,

L' altro benivolenza più ch' amore."

§ *Non vista persona*: Compare Cicero, *De Amicitia*, cap. viii, from which Dante may have taken the ideas expressed in the present passage. "Nihil est enim amabile virtute, nihil, quod magis amicitia ad diligendum: quippe quum, propter vir-

When Virgil began: "Love, kindled by virtue, has always enkindled another (*i.e.*, a reciprocal virtuous love), provided only that its flame appear outwardly. Wherefore, from the hour that Juvenal, who made me acquainted with thy affection (for me), descended into the Limbo of Hell, my good will towards thee has been such as never bound me before to an unseen person, so that now these stairs will appear short to me.

Virgil does not appear to mean that he had hitherto found the ascent toilsome, but only wishes to express his regret that he will not be able to go beyond the summit of the stairway of the last *Cornice*, and will consequently have so short a time to pass in the company of Statius.

Benvenuto says that Virgil, having addressed the above graceful words to Statius by way of prelude, now asks him how it is possible that he can have been guilty of the sin of Avarice.

Ma dimmi, e come amico mi perdona  
 Se troppa sicurtà m' allarga il freno,\*  
 E come amico omai meco ragiona:  
 Come potè † trovar dentro al tuo seno

tutem et probitatem, eos etiam, quos nunquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus." And Petrarch, *Trionfo dell' Amore*, cap. 4, *terz.* 8:

"Ma tua fama real per tutto aggiunge,  
 E tal che mai non ti vedrà nè vide,  
 Con bel nodo d' amor teo congiunge"

\* *m' allarga il freno*: Petrarch uses the words in the same figurative sense in *Canzone 1* (in some editions iv, st. 6):

"Alle lagrime triste allarga il freno,  
 E lasciale cader come a lor parve."

† *Come potè*, etc. Scartazzini thinks that Virgil's mistake is very natural. The Poets had heard from Adrian V that the Fifth *Cornice* was punished the sin of Avarice, *Purg.* vii, 11. Moreover, Statius, in *Purg.* xxi, 67, has told them that he had lain in that *Cornice* for five centuries. Nothing had been said

Loco avarizia, tra cotanto senno \*  
Di quanto, per tua cura, † fosti pieno ?”

But tell me—and as a friend forgive me if too great freedom loosens my rein (of speech), and henceforth converse with me as a friend—how could Avarice find a place within thy breast, amid wisdom so great as thou wast filled with by thy diligence ?”

Statius cannot forbear from smiling at this misapprehension on the part of Virgil, just as Dante had previously laughed at that of Statius.

Queste parole Stazio mover fenno 25  
Un poco a riso ‡ pria ; poscia rispose :  
“ Ogni tuo dir d' amor m' è caro cenno.

These words made Statius smile a little at first ; then he answered : “ Every saying of thine is to me a cherished token of love.

Statius says this because Virgil had asked him for pardon, if he used too much freedom in speaking about his supposed sin of Avarice.

Benvenuto observes that, after this preliminary remark, Statius commences his speech, and does so in

about Prodigality being punished there, and Virgil consequently took it for granted that Avarice had been one of the sins of Statius. Alfieri in his marginal notes, quoted by Biagioli, says that Dante's aim in these words was to show how utterly impossible it was that Avarice, the most ignoble of all vices, could ever abide in any noble soul, much less in that of a distinguished writer (*letterato vero*).

\* *tra cotanto senno*. The same words occur in *Inf.* iv, 102 :  
“ Si ch' io fui sesto tra cotanto senno.”

† *per tua cura* : “ Senno non solo naturale, ma coltivato da stato mestit. ” (*Tommaso*). “ Perchè il senno e la scienza non vengono da sè, ma si acquistano per indefesso studio. ” (*Brunone Bianchi*).

‡ *mover fenno Un poco a riso* : Compare *Purg.* iv, 121, 122 :  
“ Gh' atti suoi pigri, e le corte parole  
Mosson le labbra mie un poco a riso.”

a style which one cannot sufficiently admire, both from its artistic merit, worthy of so great an orator, and also as being quite after Virgil's manner. He says it often happens that things which are perfectly true are not believed, from ignorance of causes. It seems incredible that, under a clear sky and on a tranquil sea, a ship should suddenly go to the bottom and not be seen again; and in the same way the statement made in the last Canto, that Titus attacked Jerusalem to avenge the death of Christ, is false. Titus made war against the Jews on his own account. Statius then deals with Virgil's misapprehension, and he immediately shows where the mistake lies.

Veramente \* piu volte appaion cose,  
Che danno a dubitar falsa materia, †  
Per le vere ragion che sono ascose.

30

\* *Veramente*, et seq. : Compare Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, Emd., 892-893 :

“ O purblind race of miserable men,  
How many among us at this very hour  
Do forge a life-long trouble for ourselves,  
By taking true for false, or false for true,  
Here, thro' the feeble twilight of this world  
Groping how many, until we pass and reach  
That other, where we see as we are seen.”

† *materia*: Used by the early Italian prose writers, as well as by poets, for *materia*. Nannucci (*Journal de la Sorbonne*, p. 103) quotes this as one of the many words that Dante is erroneously supposed to have altered arbitrarily for the sake of the rhyme, a fact which Nannucci indignantly denies, and after proving his point, by quoting instances in prose of the use of *materia* these words, he adds: “ Ed ecco dimostrato per questo esempio, se il nostro poeta fosse tirato dalla rima, *che per materia non si vent poetica e di compensi a prendersi delle irregolarità non a danno e a pregiudizio della lingua e del buon gusto, come il Signor Canonico sentenziava*, ma la conclusione è questa che non vi ha nessuna voce fra le tante che i Commentatori dicono usate in grazie della rima, che non mi sia venuto in

La tua domanda tuo creder m' avvera \*  
 Esser ch' io fossi avaro in l' altra vita,  
 Forse per quella cerchia dov' io era.  
 Or sappi ch' avarizia fu partita  
 Troppo da me, e questa dismisura  
 Mighaia di lunari † hanno punita.

35

Of times indeed things appear, which afford false matter for doubt, because their real causes are hidden. Thy question convinces me that it is thy belief, perchance from that Cornice where I was, that I was avaricious in the other life. Know then that Avarice was too far removed from me, and this excess (*i.e.*, Prodigality) thousands of months have chastised.

But remarks that, instead of hoarding the things he ought to have given away or reserved, he gave away

*accusaria fuori di rima, e la più parte di esse anche in prosa.* The Canonico referred to was Moreni who, in his preface to *Il Viaggio in Terra Santa di San Martino di Siena*, had dared to write in such disparaging terms about Dante.

\* *avvera*: Compare *Purg.* xviii, 34-36.

"quant è nascosa

La veritate alla gente ch' avvera

Ciascuno amore in se laudabil cosa."

In this quotation the *Gran Dizionario* subjoins: "In Toscana dicono: "M' è stato avverata che . . ." (Meno di *1000*).

† *Mighaia di lunari*: Statius died A.D. 96, which, deducted from A.D. 1200, leaves 1204 years, of which, as we noticed before, he had spent 200 in the Cornice of Avarice; 400 in the Cornice of Envy; and 504 in Aste Purgatory. Total, 1,204 years = 14,448 lunar months. *Lunaresis*, says the *Gran Dizionario*, a substance, *è, il temp. del corso della luna*. Buti commenting on the *seventy* passage writes: "Lunaresis chiama una innovazione di luna che si fa in ventette (27) di ore nove, cioè che la Luna corre di girare tutto l'zodiaco." Compare *Giov. Villani*, *lib. x, cap. ii.* "E, nel cominciamento e grande parte di questo lunare davanti al diavolo tutto grandi somiglie in Firenze in molte parti, e questo fu segno del futuro diluvio." Note *Buti's* assertion, the true period of the "lunation" about 29½ days.



both the things he ought to have given away, and also the things he ought to have reserved.

Statius now goes on to relate that it was a passage in Virgil's writings that had wrought an amendment in him, and then, having quoted the words of Virgil, tells him how reflection on those weighty lines influenced his life, for he then began to understand that both Misers and Prodigals have a sinful thirst for gold, though with the intent of using it in opposite ways; and that they often seek it by sinful fraud, or violence.

E se non fosse ch' io drizzai \* mia cura, †  
 Quand' io intesi ‡ là dove tu esclame, §  
 Crucciato quasi all' umana natura .

\* *drizzai*: *drizzare* and *dirizzare* both can signify, as here, to make straight (*paggiuolare, correggere, indirizzare*) to amend. In the present passage it means *fu i dritta mia cura*, I made straight, amended, my zeal, which before had been crooked, *i. e.* misdirected. Compare *Purg.* xxiii, 125, 126:

“Salendo e riguardo la montagna  
 Che drizza voi che il mondo fece torti.”

(*i. e.* which makes straight you whom the world has made crooked).

† *mia cura*: Buti interprets *cura*, “i miei pensieri”, Fraticelli, “mio contegno” (thus I have adopted, Philaethes and Witte “Bestreben”, Lubin “inclinazione”; and Luciani personally, who agrees with Fraticelli, told me, “rectified my conduct”).

‡ *intesi*: *intendere* has a vast number of significations. The principal of these are “to hear” and “to understand”. Both these are used by the different commentators, Witte translates *ich las*, but I can find no authority for that as a literal translation. Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinon.* p. 247, *Stm.* 3380) writes: “*Intendere* riguarda, più specialmente, il significato delle parole,” and at p. 1072, *Stm.* 3380 “*Intendere*, veramente del senso della parola udita . . . Si può udire un discorso senza intenderlo; si può udire senza voler intendere, perchè talora si prezzano come non intelligibile tutto quello che non piace.”

§ *dove tu esclame*: There is a graceful courtesy in Statius quoting a passage from Virgil's own writings, and telling him

' Per che ° non reggi tu, o sacra fame  
Dell' oro, l' appetito dei mortali?'

40

the influence it had upon his life. It reminds one of Casella the musician, mentioned in the second Canto, who, when asked by Dante to comfort his soul with song, after the bodily and mental prostration he felt from his passage through Hell, commenced singing one of Dante's sonnets set to music of his own.

\* *Per che*: Some read *perchè* and translate: "Why dost thou not regulate and confine within due bounds the appetite of mortals?" Others, *a che*; translating: "To what pitch dost thou not drive? Some take *sacra* in a good sense, as though the words meant: "Why dost not thou, O holy hunger of gold, restrain the desire of mortals?" Scartazzini says that is clear, before everything else, that Dante intends here either to translate or to imitate the well known verses of Virgil (*Æn.* iii, 56):

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
Auri sacra fames?"

This is evidently the opinion too of Benvenuto, who translates it:

"O execrabilis cupiditas auri."

Scartazzini says that, of four different ways of interpreting the passage, he prefers the following: "Per che distorte vie, per che mal agiti, non conduci e guidi tu, o esecranda fame dell' oro, l' appetito degh uomini?" (*Through what crooked ways, and through what wickedness, dost thou not conduct, etc.*) He also cites a number of commentators who say that rightly to understand how Virgil's severe censure of the hunger of gold serves to condemn Prodigality for both the miser and the prodigal (have the sinful love of money), the following passage from Aristotle (*Ethics*, book iv, ch 1, R. W. Browne's translation) may be quoted: "But the majority of prodigals, as has been stated, also receive from improper sources, and, are in this respect liberal (in the Italian version *avareliberos* is translated, *slaty of the sin of Avarice*). Now they become fond of receiving because they wish to spend, and are not able to do it easily, for their means soon fail them; they are therefore compelled to get supplies from some other quarter, and, at the same time, owing to their not caring for the honourable, they receive without scruple from any person they can, for they are anxious to have, and the how or the whence they get the money matters not to them." Biagioli has the following note "*SACRA*, esecranda. *FAME*, per desiderio smoderato. It is used by Petrarch, *per il, Canz.* iv, st. 8: *Quella per che' io ho di morir tal fame*. Every one can see that this is the Virgilian *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?* When (adds Biagioli) I read for

Voltando sentirei le giostre grame.\*  
 Allor in accorsi che troppo aprir l'ali †  
 Potean le mani a spendere, e pente' mi:  
 Così di quel come degli altri mali.

45

And had it not been that I rectified my conduct, when I understood that passage (*la*) where thou, as it were indignant against human nature, dost exclaim — 'Through what (crooked channels) dost not thou, O accursed hunger of god, drive the appetite of mortals?' — I, rolling the weight should (even now) be experiencing the grim jousts (of the Misers and Prodigals in Hell). Then did I perceive that the hands could spread their wings too much in spending, and I repented me as well of that as of my other sins.

Statius next condemns Prodigality in men, who like himself in his life-time, seem to be ignorant of how

the first time this *per. h.*, written thus as one entire word, I confess that I did not succeed in understanding the construction of it, although the sentiment of it can be so clearly seen. I returned to my house and commenced the analysis, separating the preposition *per* from the adjective *che*, knowing that, in whatever aspect it presents itself, *che* is nothing but an adjective, and therefore connected with a noun either expressed or understood, and I quickly found that I could fill the void, by writing 'per che *per quest'i* scelleraggia, non reggi, etc. *through total crimes dost thou not vanquish, etc.*,' and in this way the construction becomes quite simple."

\* *gioste grame*: This of course refers to the collisions between the Misers and Prodigals, as they encounter one another in their ceaseless course backwards and forwards *and* in their own half of the Fourth Circle of Hell. Compare the words in that passage *Inf. vii. 31-35*.

"Così tornavi in per lo cerchio tetro,  
 Da ogni mano all'opposito punto,  
 Gridando: l'ost' anche loro entoso metro:  
 Poi si volgea ciascun, quando era giunto  
 Per lo suo mezzo cerchio all'altra giostra."

† *aprir l'ali*: In *Purg. x. 25*, Dante gives wings to the eyes, as here to the hands:

"E quanto l'occhio mio potea trar d'ale  
 Or dal sinistro ed or dal destro fianco, etc."

great a sin it is. Benvenuto says we may suppose that Statius now anticipates the possibility of Virgil asking him: Why then did he remain so long doing penance among the Misers? We may assume that Dante represents Statius as replying to this imaginary question, by stating that the two sins of Avarice and Prodigality, diametrically opposed to one another, are rightly punished in the same *Cornice*.

Quanti risurgeran coi crin scemi,\*  
Per ignoranza,† che di questa pecca  
Toglie il pentir vivendo, e negli estremi:‡

\* *crin scemi*. Compare *Inf.* vii, 46, where Virgil, in describing to Dante the punishment in Hell of the Avaricious and the Prodigal, says of the former.

"Questi fur cherci, che non han coperchio  
Piloso al capo, e Papi e Cardinali,  
In cui usa avarizia il suo superchio."

And at verse 55:

"In eternu verranno all' due cozzi;  
Questi risua, et anno del sepulcro  
Col pugno chiuso, e questi co' crin mozzi."

† *ignoranza*. Scartazzini explains that there are two kinds of ignorance—the one sinful, and the other not. Ignorance is which could be overcome by exercising and perfecting the intellect. See St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*, p. 1, 2<sup>æ</sup>, q. 94, art. 2): "Quicumque negligit habere vel facere id quod tenetur habere vel facere, peccat peccato omissionis. Unde propter negligentiam ignorantia eorum que aliquis scire tenetur est peccatum, non autem imputatur homini ad negligentiam si nesciat ea que scire non potest. Unde horum ignorantia in rebus dicitur, quia studio superari non potest. Et propter hoc talis ignorantia, cum non sit voluntaria, eo quod non est in potestate nostra cum repellere, non est peccatum. Quo patet quod nulla ignorantia inevitabilis est peccatum; sicut autem inevitabilis est peccatum, si eorum que aliquis tenetur, non autem si sit eorum que quis scire non tenetur."

‡ *negli estremi*: Benvenuto has a fanciful interpretation of *negli estremi*, "the extremes," for such are Avarice and Prodigality.

E sappi che la colpa, che rimbecca\*  
 Per dritta opposizione alcun peccato,  
 Con esso insieme qui suo verde secca. †  
 Però, s' io son tra quella gente stato  
 Che piange l' avarizia, per purgarmi,  
 Per lo contrario suo m' è incontrato."—

How many shall rise again with shorn hair, through ignorance, which cuts off repentance for this sin, (both) in life, and at the extreme hour! And know that the fault which sets itself in direct opposition to any sin, here (in the fifth Cornice they have just left)

\* *rimbecca*: Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) says that *rimbecca* is a word of uncertain origin, and that Dante uses it in the sense of being directly opposed to anything. It properly signifies to strike the ball backwards and forwards from one player to another. The word is used in Corsica as the title of a kind of song to excite the backward when unwilling to act on a *vendetta*. It would seem to correspond with the English word "return," and the French "*riposter*," terms familiar in the tennis-courts of London and Paris. The *Grand Dictionnaire* gives the following quotation from the Florentine translation by Varchi, of Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, Florence, 1534, in which allusion is made to the ancient game of *Pallone*, the original parent of the game of Tennis: "se aremo a far ce uno che sia buono giuocatore ed esercitato, noi manderemo palla più sicuramente; perchè in qualunque modo gli venga saprà rimbeccarla agevolmente e con destrezza." And in the sense of repartee or retort, compare Varchi, *I Herosimo, libro logo nel quale si ragiona generamente delle lingue, ed in particolare della Toscana, e della Fiorentina*, Venice, 1580, 4to, p. 103: "Se alcuno ha detto alcuna cosa, o vera, o falsa che ella sia, un' altro per piaggarlo, e fare, ch' ella si creda gliela fa buona, cioè l' approva, affermando così essere, come colui dice, e di volta accrescendola, sono in uso questi verbi, *risporre*, *risare*, *rimettercela*, o *mandarsela* l' un l' altro, *rimbeccarsela*, o *palpettarcela*."

† *suo verde secca*: This is taken from the figure of a plant that is withered up, consumed. On this Goerbert writes: "verde, cioè il troppo suo rigoglio (*over exuberance*), trache torce la cosa alla sua giusta misura." Compare *Isaiah* xx, 47: "Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every of tree."

together with it dries up its verdure. Wherefore, if I have for my purgation been among that multitude who bewail their avarice, it has happened to me by reason of its contrary."

The first of the two faults undergoes the same purgation, and is punished in the same place in Purgatory, as the fault which is the direct opposite to it. Benvenuto says of *la colpa che rimbecca* "id est, adversatur et occurrit a becco a becco," and of *qui secca suo verde*, "id est luit poenam æqualem" . . . "And mark here, reader," he adds, "that our poet rightly assigns the same penalty to both those sins, for, although Avarice is always the most detested of the two, yet in real truth Prodigality is a damnable pest, and hostile to the public weal. For the prodigal, who spends more than nature requires, and more than fortune supplies, soon replaces plenty with emptiness, sweet with bitter, light with darkness, praise with derision, much with nothing. The prodigal soon renders himself contemptible in the eyes of those, by whom, but shortly before, he was held in respect. . . . O how many worthy and great men has this sin cast down into rage and despair!"

In the Article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1835 (referred to in the last Canto, on *The Classical Studies of Dante*, the reviewer writes at p. 304: "Virgil is made to express his surprise that one so wise as Statius could have been stained with so heinous a vice (and it is to be observed that Dante had a very special contempt for the vice of Avarice). Statius explains that his was the contrary vice, viz. that of Prodigality, . . . and that in purgatory, as in

hell, the excess and defect are punished together in connected forms of vice, on strict Aristotelian principles. Statius then declares that he was indebted to Virgil for his recovery from his vice, as well as for the more important boon of his conversion to Christianity, which comes later. In particular his conversion was effected by Virgil's well-known lines (see above). . . the form, however, in which these words are quoted by Statius is very difficult to explain. . . We are not aware of the existence of any such tradition as to the character and habits of Statius. . . It appears to be a pure invention on the part of Dante as much so as the alleged conversion to Christianity. The object in both cases seems to be to connect the benefits received with the influence of Virgil, and with some definite passage that could be quoted from his works. What makes this particular invention more singular is that it is somewhat inconsistent with the picture of Statius's condition presented by Juvenal in *Sat.* vii, 82-87, which Dante appears to have been acquainted with, though we cannot point out the indications of this here. For *Prodigality* implies the possession of considerable means, whereas Juvenal implies that Statius was poor, and that even his great popularity would not have saved him from starvation unless it had been relieved by the more substantial support of Domitian's powerful favourite, Paris. *Esurit intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven."*

*Division II.* In this, the principal division of the Canto, Statius relates to Virgil the cause of his supposed conversion to the Christian Faith. Virgil

begins by asking Statius: "How were you guided to this Faith? there is no evidence of it in your writings. On the contrary, in your *Thebaid*, there would seem to be direct evidence that when you wrote it, you were a pagan."

"—Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi 55  
Della doppia tristizia di Jocasta,"—<sup>\*</sup>  
Disse il Cantor de' bucolici carmi,<sup>†</sup>  
— "Per quello che Chio z teco li tista,  
Non par che ti facesse ancor fedele  
La fe, senza la qual ben far non basta § 60

<sup>\*</sup> *In doppia tristizia di Jocasta.* Eteocles and Polynices, twin sons of Oedipus and Jocasta, having succeeded their father as Kings of Thebes, had agreed to rule in alternate years, and that he non reigning brother should pass the year in voluntary exile. Eteocles reigned first, but, when at the end of the year, Polynices came to claim the sceptre, Eteocles refused to give it up, and thence arose the celebrated war of the Seven Kings against Thebes so magnificently described by Æschylus.

<sup>†</sup> *Cantor de' bucolici carmi.* Compare Horace, *I Sat.* 10, 45:

"molle atque facetum

Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes iure Camenarum."

On this Mr. Maclean's *Horatii Opera Omnia*, London, 1881) remarks that whether Virgil had at this time published his  *Bucolica* is uncertain, but at any rate he had them in hand, and his friends had probably heard a great part of them recited in private. The  *Bucolica* had been published some time, but, until  *Georgics* had made some progress, we have no reason to suppose that Virgil was classed by his contemporaries with poets of the highest rank.

<sup>‡</sup> Statius begins the *Thebaid* with an invocation to the Muse of History, whose office it was to record the heroic actions of brave men. See *Thebaid* i, 40-45.

§ *La fe, senza la qual ben far non basta:* Compare *Inf.* iv, 430.

"... ei non peccaro: e s'elli hanno mercedi,  
Non basta, perchè non ebber battesimo  
Ch'è parte della fede che tu credi.

*Inf. Helicæus*, xi, 6. "But without faith it is impossible to please



Se così è, qual sole o quai candeletto  
 Ti stenebraron sì, che tu drizzasti  
 Poscia dietro al pescator le vele?— †

"Now when thou didst sing of the fierce warfare of the two-fold affliction of Jocasta (*i.e.*, Eteocles and Polynices)," exclaimed the Singer of the Burlesque lays, "it does not appear by *that* which Cho touches with thee there (in *thy* poem), *that the* Faith, without which good works do not suffice, had as yet made thee a believer. If this be so, what Sun (light from heaven), or what candles (light from earth), did so pierce the darkness for thee, that thou didst afterwards turn thy sails into the wake of the Fisherman (St. Peter)?"

Stattius replies, premising that the light which illumined his mind came to him from a certain passage in Virgil's writings.

Ed egl a lui:—"Tu prima m'inviasi  
 Verso Parnaso a ber nelle sue grotte, ‡

\* *qual sole o quai candeletto*: Frateelli on this: "Il Sole simbolo della grazia divina; la *candela*, della scienza umana."

† *dietro al pescator le vele*: According to Dean Plumptre the image had become familiar through the *Sigillum Petri* used by the Roman Pontiffs, on which there was a representation of Christ fishing with a line, and St. Peter with a net. The first mention of this seal occurs in a letter of Clement IV. in 1265, the year of Dante's birth. "Con questa periferia Dante accenna di qual lume soprannaturale fosse mestieri a un intelletto naturalmente vano della sua sapienza, e inimitabile di un'evangelica coll'abbidire ai successori d'un pescatore (1500) berti. Sicutani thinks *pescator* being applied to St. Peter is in allusion to the words addressed by Our Lord to him and to his brother Andrew. *St. Mark* i, 16, 17. "Now as he walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea—for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men."

‡ *grotte*. I follow Camerini in taking *grotte* as "hills, slopes," and not as "caves, grottoes." He says: "*Grotte* si pare per *ribe*, come *Inf.* xvi, 110, e *Purg.* xiii, 45." And *Las.* 20 says that "nelle sue *ribe* erano le fonti pagasae *Pegasae* contra

E poi, appresso Dio, m' alluminasti.\*  
 Facesti come quei che va di notte,†  
 Che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova,  
 Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,  
 Quando diresti: "Secol si rinnova; ‡

70

one de mure." The *Gran Dizionario* specially quotes the present passage, and says *gratta* must be taken to signify "Arto di terra, Argine, Ripa." Trissino also accentuates this explanation of *gratta*.

\* *F poi, appresso Dio, m' alluminasti*: Gioberti exclaims: "Un poeta Dante far un più grande elogio a Virgilio. (1) fa cadere la Statua riceva l'educazione poetica, e l'idea de' suoi poemi. xvi, 24, et seq.; (2) la buona dottrina che lo converte all'virtù (xvii, 37, et seq.). (3) il lampo stesso che lo conduce alla luce (xv, 64, et seq.), onde fa di Virgilio non solo un maestro *impersona*, e in *morale*, ma eziandio di religione, e di religione *personale*. Riavasi da ciò pertanto come Virgilio fosse riputato da Dante un poeta religioso, e mezzo cristiano."

† *quei che va di notte*. An allusion to the attendant who at night walks in front of his master, carrying a lantern behind him, so that, while giving light, he himself remains in the dark. The passage nearly identical is found in a sonnet of Messer Po. da Rossio in Lombardy who flourished about 1230 (*Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, 1816, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i, p. 129).

"Si como quel, che porta la lumera  
 La notte, quando passa per la via,  
 Alluma assai più gente della spera,  
 Che se medesimo, che l'ha in balla."

According to Dante, Virgil walking in the darkness of ignorance, but bearing the light of wisdom, gave to Statius, who came after him, the knowledge of the true faith. The Edinburgh Reviewer says that the *duro giudizio* by which Virgil, though able to save others, is not able to save himself, is a strong and exquisite metaphor. Gioberti after asking himself the question, why this should be, says that by this example Dante wishes to demonstrate a profound theological truth: "In non guarda per salvare ai menti della natura: nella sua ragione il suo ordine di giudicare è imperscrutabile, e si serve per far l'effetto bene spesso delle opere e dei detti del riproscito."

‡ *Secol si rinnova, et seq.* The passage referred to is contained in the words put into the mouth of the Sibyl, Virgil's *Bucolics*, *Ecol.* iv, 5-7:

Torna giustizia, e primo tempo umano,  
E progenie discende dal ciel nuova.

And he to him. "Thou first didst shew me the way to Parnassus, to drink (of the waters) on its slopes, and then didst illumine me (in drawing) near to God. Thou didst like him who walks by night and carries the light behind him, and profits not himself, but makes wise the persons behind him, when thou saidst, 'The world is born again; Justice is returning, and man's primeval time, and a new progeny descends fr m heav'n'

Comparetti (*Virgilio nel medio evo*, Livorno, 1871, vol. i, p. 128, etc.), says that this prophecy of the Cumæan Sybil is applied by Virgil, who was a courtier, to the birth of the son of Asinius Pollio, but that Dante sees in the words an announcement of the birth of the Redeemer. Nor was Dante the first to understand it. The presentiment that breathes through the whole *Eclogue* of a speedy renewal of the world, in an age of happiness, justice, love, and peace, and the way that such expectation is linked on to the birth of an infant, were things too seductive for Christians to read, and not to connect them with

"Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.  
Jam redit et Virgo, sedesit Saturnia regna.  
Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto."

It will be seen that Dante translates it almost literally. I have rendered *sedesit* *si rinnuova* and I see Mr. Shadwell does the same, "the world's born again." The *Grand Dictionnaire* (vol. 8, p. 8) has "Vale anche il Mondo e le Cose mondane" also quotes the following from Giov. Villan, lib. 5, cap. 30, where is related the seizure of Constance of Sicily, who had and her enforced marriage to the Emperor Henry V (1197-1207) "Costanza serocchia che fu del re Guglielmo la quale era monaca a Palermo — la fece cedere papa Clemente) uscire del monastero, e dispenso in lei ch' adoperasse al reals e usare matrimonio."

the birth of Christ, and the renewal of the world in new and gentle doctrines which he offered to it. In fact the Christian interpretation of the Fourth *Eclogue* is seen to have been much in vogue among Christian writers of the Fourth Century. The best interpretation of it in this sense is to be found in an allocution delivered (according to Eusebius, *Const. iv*, 32; and *Constantini Oratio*, cap. xix.) to the Emperor Constantine before an ecclesiastical assembly. The Emperor, examining that composition of Virgil in its various parts, sees in it the prediction of the Advent of Christ, shown in a very circumstantially; the virgin that returns is Mary; the new progeny sent down from heaven is Jesus; the serpent that shall be no more is the ancient tempter of our fathers; the *anomum* that will be born everywhere is the Christian race, raised from sin; and he goes on interpreting after the same wise other details in the *Eclogue*. He maintains that Virgil wrote with the clear intention of predicting the birth of Christ, but that he expressed himself in veiled language, mixing up with the words even the names of heathen divinities, so as not too openly to shock the beliefs of that time, and not to draw upon himself the displeasure of the spiritual authorities.

Lactantius also, who lived in the same century as Constantine, interprets this *Eclogue* in the Christian sense referring it however not to the first, but to the second coming of Christ. (Lactantius, *Div. institut.* vii, *ch.* 24). St. Augustine, while admitting the presence among the heathen of prophets who foretold the coming of Christ, also cites the Fourth

*Eclogue*, and curiously enough takes up verses 131 and 14, which he refers to the remission of sins, through the merits of the Saviour. (August. *Epist.* 137 *Volus.* ch 12, *Epist.* 258, ch. 5. *De Civ. Dei*, lib. ch. 27). In vain did St Jerome inveigh against such ideas, ridiculing those who could believe that Virgil could be a Christian without a Christ. (Hieronymus *Epist.* 53, *ad Paulin.* ch. 7). Christian theologians continued to interpret the famous *Eclogue* in their own way, and even those who did believe that Virgil had himself understood his own words, in the sense which they attributed to them, still maintained, though personally unconscious of the fact, he offered a testimony and an argument for the true faith. The pretended irresistibility of that argument also gave rise to ecclesiastical legends of conversions due to the verses of the Fourth *Eclogue*, that of Statius, and that of the three heathens Secundianus, Marcellianus and Verianus, who, being suddenly enlightened by Virgil's lines, from being persecutors of Christians became martyrs for Christ. Pope Innocent III quoted the lines in confirmation of the Christian faith in his Christmas sermon (*Serm.* ii, *in fest. Nativ. Domini*), and they were understood in the Christian sense during the middle ages and afterwards. We may conclude then that Dante is here following the exegesis of tradition generally accepted in his time, that makes Virgil a prophet of Christ.

Benvenuto, without going so far as to deny that the lines refer to the birth of Jesus Christ, is far more inclined to think that they allude to that of Augustus Caesar.

Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano ;

Ma perchè veggi mei \* cio ch' io disegno,†

A colorare stendero la mano.

75

Through thee was I poet, through thee a Christian ;  
but that thou mayest better discern what I am sketch-  
ing out, I will put forth my hand to fill in the colours.

Stautius means that he will explain in detail what he has merely shadowed forth in outline. This he proceeds to do, and relates how he became acquainted with the early Christians, his sympathy for them in their persecutions, the help he gave them, his conversion to Christianity, and his weakness in not daring to confess it.

Gia era il mondo tutto e quanto pregno

Della vera credenza, seminata

Per li messaggi del eterno regno ,

E la parola tua sopra toccata

Si consonava ai nuovi predicatori,

80

Ond' io a visitarli presi usata ‡

Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,

Che, quando Domizian li persequette,§

\* *ser.* " Mei si disse eziandio in vece di *miglio* per abbreviato degli antichi, siccome lo disse Buonajunta . \* Perche veggi mei me lo credesse e Messer Cino . \* Dunque sarebbe stato fossi morto. ( *Gran Dizionario* ).

† *disegno* . . . *colorare* : Gioberti interprets *disegno* in the sense of *in scorcio*, and *a colorare*, *a colorar*, *a abbozzato* . . . . . Blani ( *Vocabolario Dantesco* ) says that *colorare* is here used in the figurative sense, and thus signifies : " to explain anything in detail . Brunone Bianchi explains : " Il disegno adombrava cosa e li colori l'avvivano . "

‡ *usata* for *usata* . Scartazzini notices that the past participles were anciently used as nouns ; *il destinato* for *il destino* , *la sospesa* for *la disposizione* ; *il cogitato* for *la cogitazione* .

§ *quando Domizian li persequette* . The persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Domitian took place in A. D. 95, and continued until his death in the following year . Statius himself died about the same time .

Senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti  
 E mentre che di là per me si stov'e,  
 Io li sovvenni, e lor dritti costumi  
 Fer dispregiare a me tutte altre sette.  
 E pria ch'io conducessi i Greci al fiume,  
 Di Tebe postando, ebb' io batte-smo;  
 Ma per paura ch'uso + cristian fu mi,  
 Lungamente mostrando paganesmo;  
 E questa tep' dezza il quarto cen' hio  
 Cerchiar mi te piu ch' al quarto centesmo.

Already was the whole world teeming with the true  
 belief, sown by the messengers of the Eternal King  
 (by me) above were so much in harmony with the  
 new preachers, that I adopted the practice of visiting  
 them. After that, they began to seem so holy to me  
 that when Donatian persecuted them, their lamenta-  
 tions were not unaccompanied by my tears. And  
 long as I remained in vnder world, I gave them  
 assistance, and their upright ways made me despise  
 all other sects, and ere I had led the Greeks as far

\* *condussi* . . . *ai fiumi*. There are twelve books in  
 Theban. In the ninth book Statius describes how the Greeks  
 under Adrastus, their king, came to the assistance of Thebes  
 and how they reached the Ismenis and Asopus rivers of  
 Thebes. Statius is thus made to say that he was baptized  
 before he had completed his poem, and his lukewarmness  
 be shown by there being no profession of his faith, or of  
 the Christian religion, in his three last books.

† For *ch'uso* in the sense of "hidden," compare  
 134, 135:

"I ancora ch' aggrappa  
 O scoglio ud altro che nel mare e chiuso,"

and *Inf.* xxv, 147, 148

"Non poter quei fuggirsi tanto chiaro,  
 Ch'io non scorgessi ben Puccio Sciancato."

‡ *quarto versato*. In the Fourth Office of Purg.  
 is chanted. Compare *Purg.* xvii, 85-87

"L'amor del bere scemo  
 Di suo dover, quarta si ristora,  
 Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo."

as the rivers of Thebes in my poem (the *Thebaid*), I had received baptism: but through fear remained a hidden Christian, for a long time making a show of Paganism; and that lukewarmness obliged me to pace round the Fourth Circle for more than four hundred years.

An interesting paragraph in the before-mentioned article in the *Edinburgh Review* (p. 306) asks the very pertinent question: "What does Statius symbolize in the *Divina Commedia*? The part assigned to him is almost, if not quite, as conspicuous as that mysterious personage Matelda in the Earthly Paradise, and only surpassed in importance by the parts played in the action of the poem by Beatrice and Virgil." The Reviewer offers as a suggestion that if Virgil represents Human Reason, and Beatrice Revelation or Theology, Statius might be supposed to typify something intermediate, such as "Human Reason generally enlightened by Christianity, but not specially instructed or interested therein; the cultivated 'lay' man in an age that has received the general impress of Christianity . . . one that is unconsciously rather than consciously under its influence . . . Dante may have intended to create a type of this intermediate condition between Virgil and Beatrice, between the highest type of pre-Christian intellect, or merely human reason, and the fullest development of the soul enlightened by the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are imparted by revelation and dogmatic theology."

*Division III.* Statius concludes his speech by asking Virgil what has become of certain of the



Tu dunque, che levato hai il cope  
 Che m'ascondesca quanto be  
 Mentre che del salire avem  
 Dimmi dos' è Terenzio † nostro  
 Cecilio, § Plauto e Varro, se

\* *soperchio*: This must be taken in com  
 "qual sole o qual candeale

Ti stenebraron-sì, etc. Compare  
 "But even unto this day, when Moses is  
 their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall  
 veil shall be taken away)

† *mentre che del salire avem soperchio*  
 his marginal notes, quoted by Biagioli, pag  
 "che si sopratanzaza il tempo per salire"

‡ *Terenzio*. The readings vary betwe  
 "amico" and "nostro amico". The read  
 to be preferred, for "nostro" distinctly in  
 Dr. Moore's *Textual Criticism*, pages 410

§ *Cecilio*. Statius Cassibus was a comi  
 a contemporary and friend of Terence, w  
 mitted his own compositions to the criti  
 a man of superior judgment. He died A

¶ *Varro*: Scartazzini observes that, in  
 literature, two poets of this name are  
 renowned was Marcus Terentius Varro R  
 BC 116. He filled various public off  
 During the civil wars he at first followed



Nel primo cinghio del carcere greco.\*  
 Spesse fiato ragioniam del monte  
 Che sempre ha le nutrie nostre seco.

105

Thou then, who didst lift the veil which was hiding from me that good which I now proclaim (*i.e.*, the knowledge of the Christian Faith), while in our ascent we have time to spare (*lit.* excess of ascent), pray tell me where is our ancient Terence, (where are) Cecilius, Plautus, and Varro, if thou knowest it; tell me if they are damned, and (if so) in what circle (*lit.* street). "They," replied my Leader, "and Persius, and I myself, and a great many others, are with that Greek (Homer), whom the Muses suck'd more than they ever did another, in the first zone of the darksome prison (*i.e.*, in *Limbo*, the first Circle of Hell). Oftentimes do we converse about that mountain (Parnassus), which is always the abode of (*lit.* has with itself) our nursing mothers (the Muses).

Having named Homer as the patriarch of Greek poesy Virgil now proceeds to mention certain other Greek poets.

Euripide v' è nosco, ed Anifonte,†

Che Polinnia con le sore fero  
 Del latte lor dalcissimo pia pingue," etc.

\* *carcere greco*. Compare *Inf.* x, 56 a. where Cavalcante Cavalcanti uses the same expression, when asking Dante for news about his son Guido, Dante's great friend.

"Se per questo greco

Carcere vai per altezza d'ingegno,  
 Mio figlio non c'è perche non c'èco?"

Compare also *St. Peter*, iii, 19, "by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."

† *Antifonte*. Antiphon, also a tragic poet, lived first at Athens and afterwards at Syracuse at the court of the tyrant Dionysius who had him put to death, for being too frank in his speech. *Arist. Rhet.* ii. Aristotle praises him as a poet, and Aristotle speaks particularly of him as one of the best Greek writers. The tragedy *Antifonte* is adapted by all the best Codices, the first four editions, and many of the best Commentators, including Benvenuto, Buti, Lana, Pietro di Dante, W. H. G.

Simonde,\* Agatone,† ed altri piùe  
Greci che già di lauro ornar in fronte.

Empedocles is there with us, and Antiphon, Simonides, Agathon, and many other Greeks, who in former times (*già*) decked their brows with laurel.

Benvenuto says of *ed altri piùe Greci*, that Dante means Greek poets not less famous, such as Pindar the Theban, Sophocles, Æschylus, Alcaeus, all tragic poets, Aristophanes, Philemon, and many others, from all of whom Virgil took many ideas.

And having now spoken of certain Greek poets, he goes on to mention some Greek women well known to Statius.

Quis si veggion delle genti tue‡

Antigone, Deiane ed Argia

Ed Ismene si trista come fue.

110

etc. but others read *Anacreonte*, the lyric poet. Scastazoni points out the improbability of Dante, a grave, serious poet, making mention of one who was all softness and effeminacy, and placing him among the greatest representatives of dramatic, epic, and lyric poetry. Especially does this argument gain force when one notices that Dante neither mentions Catullus nor Propertius, nor Tibullus, nor Ovid, with whose names he would be far more familiar than with that of Anacreon. Moreover, it would not be in the least probable that amanuenses would change the well known name of Anacreon into the much less known name of Antiphon, but an amanuensis, who had never heard of Antiphon, might quite well be supposed to yield to the temptation of altering the word into Anacreon.

\* *Simonde*. Simonides was a distinguished Greek lyric poet, born B.C. 559. He was brought to Athens by Hipparchus. He beat Æschylus in a competition for a prize offered by the Athenians for the best elegy upon the warriors who fell at Marathon. He also wrote celebrated compositions upon Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea. He died at Syracuse, B.C. 469.

† *Agatone*. Agathon was a Greek tragic poet, a disciple of Socrates, born at Athens, B.C. 448, and died about 401.

‡ *genti tue*. Tommaséo remarks that the artificer loves the children of his thoughts, and lives in them. Thus Statius may

And there or my personages (in  
*Achilles*) is to be seen Antigone, D  
and Ismene as sorrowful as ever. T  
she (Hypsipyle) who showed (the  
Lamia, there too is (Daphne) the  
sias, and Thetis, and Deidamia wit

Scartazzini points out the difficulty  
commentators at the apparent con-  
making Virgil say that the daugh-  
*quasi*, which is usually understood  
*primo cinghio* of Hell, i.e. *Limbo*  
daughter of Tiresias, mentioned by  
(who is also introduced in the *Thid*  
been placed by Dante in Hell amo  
in the fourth pit of the *Malebolge*.  
been taken for granted that this w  
Dante, and that he had taken a na  
Scartazzini asks, Is it so? Was tu  
He suggests a way of interpret  
solve the difficulty, and that is,

---

almost be said to have created these perso  
was but imperfectly acquainted with the



Rimase addietro, e la quinta era al temo,<sup>o</sup>  
 Drizzando pure in su l'ardente corno; 120  
 Quando il mio Duca — "Io credo ch'allo estremo †  
 Le destre spalle volger ci convegna,  
 Girando il monte come far solemo." —  
 Così l'usanza fu li nostra insegna,  
 E prendemmo la via con men sospetto 125  
 Per l'assentir di quell'anima degna ‡

Both the Poets had now become silent, their attention awakened anew to look around, being freed from the ascent and from the walls, and by this time four of the handmaidens (hours) of the day were left behind, and the fifth was at the pole (of the car), still directed upwards its blazing point; when my Leader "I think we shall have to turn our right shoulders to the outer

the handmaidens had remained behind and the fifth was at the pole directed her blazing point upwards, that is, not yet having reached the half of her course) . . . it follows that four and a half hours since sunrise were nearly accomplished, and therefore it was not far from being eleven o'clock. Compare *Purg.* xi, 80, 81, where noon is described in similar language.

† vedi che torna

Dal servizio del diavolo alla sesta

• *la quinta era al temo . . . ardente corno*. The fifth was approaching the extreme point of the pole of the chariot of the Sun, and its point is termed *ardente* (says Antonelli, because the fifth hour is the one nearest to mid-day).

† *allo estremo Le destre spalle volger*. By turning their right shoulders to the outer edge of the mountain, they would cause their course to turn to the right. In this *Cornice* they do so without asking the way, as they had done previously. Probably they had taken the directions given to them in Canto x, 81: "*Le vostre destre s'en sempre d. fura*," as general directions for their guidance in each successive *Cornice*, and not necessarily applying to that Fifth *Cornice*. It is hardly needful to remind the reader that in Hell, as they entered each Circle, they were always turned to the left.

‡ *quell'anima degna*. Statius, having been liberated from further penance in Purgatory, was duly qualified to ascend Heaven, and might therefore be supposed to have the gift of divine inspiration in his way upwards.

edge, encircling the mountain as we are wont to do.<sup>7</sup>  
Thus was custom there our guide, and we took the  
way with less doubt, through (having) the assent of  
that noble soul (Statius).

Bati observes that up to this point Dante has demon-  
strated how Man by penitence may be purged from  
the five spiritual sins of (1) Pride; (2) Envy; (3)  
Avarice; (4) Anger, (5) Avarice, and for this, Reason  
(*i. e.* Virgil) has sufficed, which taught him how  
such vices can be purged from the soul. But now  
that he has got to show how the two sins of the flesh,  
namely, Gluttony and Sensuality have to be purged,  
he has represented Statius as being added as a further  
guide, and by him we are to understand the passive  
intellect accompanied by Reason, which (Reason) by  
itself would not be able to comprehend the loftier  
matter to be now discussed. *Imperò che lo intelletto  
passibile\* apprende le cose divine, le quali per la loro  
altezza non apprende la ragione.*

The three Poets walk forward along the Cornice,  
and Dante testifies to the benefit he had in his earlier  
days derived from the works of Virgil and Statius, by  
relating the attention he gives to their words as he  
follows in their steps, literally and figuratively.

Eli givan dinanzi, ed io soletto  
Dietro, ed ascoltava i lor sermoni †  
Ch' a poetar mi davano intelletto.

\* *Intellectus passivus, sive passibilis dicitur intellectus, quatenus recipit species impressas prorsquam efformet cognoscendum, et dicitur utam intellectus passibilis, quia si putens sit habere res unamquamque species." (Joseph Zamac Me. nu. Lexi-  
quo Veterum Tacologorum Locutiones explicantur, Coloniae,  
155).*

† *sermoni . . . intelletto: Compare Pt. cxix, 130: "The en-*



They were walking on in front, and I by myself after them, and I was listening to their discourse, which gave me understanding for Poësy.

This entrancing conversation is interrupted by sight of a tree in the midst of the path, of a peculiar shape, such as will be described, laden with the fragrant and luscious fruit. A crystal stream falls from the cliff-wall percolates through its branches. This is the instrument of the penalty of the Gluttonous, who hungry, thirsty, and emaciated, have before their eyes the most appetizing food, and the most refreshing drink, but are prevented by the form of the tree from ascending to the object of their desire, which is placed beyond their reach.

Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni  
 Un arbor che trovammo in mezza strada,  
 Con pomi \* ad odorar soavi e buoni.  
 E come abete in alto sì digrada  
 Di ramo in ramo, così quella in gusso,  
 Cred' io perchè persona su non vada. †

tran e of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding of the simple, which in the *Vulgate* is: "Declaratio sententiarum dicitur et intellectum dat parvulis."

\* *pomi*: The primary meaning, as in Latin *pomum*, of *poma* or *pomi* is the fruit of any tree, round fruit for choice never means "apple" in Tuscany, except in such a case as "*pomo della discordia*," the apple of discord, and "*pomo d' Adamo*," "Adam's apple" in anatomy. Tommaseo (*Il natio dei Sinonimi*, p. 478), *Sin. 18003* says: "*Poma*, pomamente, le *frutte*, ma quel d' albero, e alquanto grosse, per esempio le fragole, nè le more *mulberries*. In altro dicitur le mele (*apples*) chiamansi *pomi*." The proper word for "apple" is *mela*, as in Latin *malum*, and for an "apple tree," *malus*.

† *su non vada*: Lubin is amused at the idea of the branch being too weak to support the weight of spirits. Buvio explains the tree in a natural way, namely that the foliage is abundant at the top, but that the branches diminished in the lower parts so as to offer no opportunity of access. But

Dal lato onde il cammin nostro era chiuso,  
Cadea dell' alta roccia un liquor chiaro,  
E si spandeva per le foglie suso.

But soon was the pleasant converse interrupted by a tree that we encountered mid-way in the path, with fruit sweet and grateful to the smell. And as a fir-tree tapers upwards from branch to branch, so that (tree tapered) downwards, in order, I suppose, that no one might climb up it. From the side, on which our path was closed, a limpid water fell from the high cliff, and was distributed over the foliage above.

As the three Poets have turned to their right, they have the margin of the *Cornice* on their right hand, and the cliff from which the water splashes down would be on their left hand.

We shall find that later on (*Purg.* xxiv, 100, *et seq.*) the Poets encounter another tree, precisely similar to this one, and learn that it is an off-shoot from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil that God planted in the Garden of Paradise. Scartazzini says that we may therefore conclude that this first tree, before which they have now been brought to a standstill, must be an off-shoot of the Tree of Life that was in the same sacred spot.\* Perez thinks the two

the old Commentators actually believed that the tree was upside down with its roots in the air; and the commentaries of Landino and Vellutello each contain an engraving so representing it. I am sorry to find so intelligent a commentator as Perez falling into the same error, and moreover representing the water, after falling upon the tree, as *re-ascending* 'wards'. The illustration by Doré shows an ordinary forest of which the upper branches spread out widely, but are as the tree tapers downwards.

\* Finge l' autore che nel sesto cerchio, nel quale si purga la gola, siano du' arbori, l' uno presso a l' entrata del cerchio, e l' altro presso alla sahta dell' altro girone. (Buti.)

water-falls on the trees, were the rivers Eunoe and Lethe.\*

A voice is now heard from the inside of the foliage of the tree, forbidding the Poets to eat of the fruit and then citing examples of the blessings of abstinence. The first example is as usual an episode in the life of the Blessed Virgin, when she intervened in the marriage feast of Cana, not for her own gratification, but from a kind thought for others.

Li due poeti all' arbor s' appressaro ;

Ed una voce † per entro le fronde

Gridò : — " Di questo cibo avrete caro." ‡

\* " Due alberi carichi de' più belli e soavi e odorosi frutti lieti della più vivace verdura, fan di sé mostra alletterati. Il primo, presso all' entrata, l' altro presso all' uscita del cerchio. Sopra i due rampolli levati da quell' albero della scienza de' beni e del male, che è posto sull' cima del monte, nel Paradiso terzetto [Pérez here refers to the above quotation from Buti, e. g. " il frutto la gola immoderata de' nostri parenti beve e mangia e ne posterò tanto veleno. Hanno le radici verso il cielo, e verso la terra see note on l. 135], i rami vengono sempre allargandosi e ingrossandosi ad alto, sì che persona non li potesse salire. E sopra il primo (che potremo dire il rampollo di *sheol*) della scienza del bene vien giù dal monte, e scende per le foglie, e ritorna in suso : l' acqua d' un' h. arrossa certamente del rivo Eunoe. E sopra il secondo (che potremo chiamare il rampollo della scienza del male) piove per la roccia, e infondesi per le fronde, e risale in alto l' acqua d' altro rivo freschissimo, che sembra dover essere Lethe. *Pérez, Sette Cerchi*, pp. 218, 219.)

† *una voce*: Buti comments. " Questa voce finge che sia voce dell' angelo posto a guardia del detto albero, lo quale è che sta tra le frondi." Scartazzini reminds us that this voice is not there for the three Poets, but for the spirits undergoing purification for Gluttony, and to these latter is the voice addressed.

‡ *caro*: This is another form of *carestia*, "famine." It here means "total privation." Brunone Bianchi explains, " *caro, caro, avrete carestia, ne sarete privati in pena della gola, che siete puniti in questo cerchio.*"

Poi disse :— " Più pensava Maria † onde  
 Fosser le nozze orrevoli † ed intere,  
 Ch' alla sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde.

The two Poets drew near to the tree, and a voice from within the branches cried out : " Of this food ye shall have want." Then it said : " Mary thought more how to make the marriage festivities honourable and complete, than of her own mouth, which now answers for you.

The Poet is of course expressing the opinions of the Roman Church, and, by the words *sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde*, means that out of the mouth of the Blessed Virgin there still proceed prayers to God on behalf of mankind.

Benvenuto remarks that here, for fear that some man might object that the Blessed Virgin being full of the Holy Spirit, her example would not apply to men with ordinary feelings and appetites, an instance is next given, not of one, but of many abstemious men in heathen times. For the Roman ladies, as Tertullian relates, used not to drink wine, lest they might be led into any breach of good manners. In later days, in the time of the Emperors, things were changed, and Seneca complained that women did not drink less than men, and also incited men to drink, and that formerly baldness and gout were not

*pensava Maria, etc.* : Compare *Purg.* xiii, 28-30 :

" La prima voce che passo volando,  
 Vinum non habent, altamente disse,  
 E retro a noi l' andò reterando."

*orrevoli* for *onorevoli*. The same form occurs (in some MSS. in *Inf.* iv, 72 :

" *orrevol* gente possedeo quel loco "

follow Dr. Moore's new text as well as Witte, and read *orrevol* in *Inf.* iv, 72.

prevalent among the Roman ladies, as was then the case. And therefore the voice from the tree spoke these words in addition.

È le Romane antiche\* per lor bere  
Contente furon d'acqua, e Daniello †  
Dispregiò cibo, ed acquisto sapere.

145

And the Roman dames of old time for their drink  
were satisfied with water, and Daniel despised food,  
and acquired wisdom.

Benvenuto says: "Would that the Roman ladies  
nowadays were satisfied with one kind of wine!"

\* *le Romane antiche*: "Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur. Quis proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inebriationem Venerem esse consuevit." Valerius Maximus, *Factorum Dictorumque Memorabilium*, lib. ii, cap. 1, § 5). Gilberti observes that in more than one passage in his poem Dante inveighs against the vices and the corruptions of women (*Purg.* xxiii, 100; *Par.* xv, 100, etc.) for well did he know what immense influence women have upon men. Compare St. Thom. Aquinas *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>ae</sup>, qu. cclix, art. 4. "Sobrietas maxime requiritur in juvenibus et mulieribus, quia in juvenibus viget concupiscentia delectabilis propter levetatem aetatis; in mulieribus autem non est sufficiens robur mentis ut hoc quod concupiscentis resistant. Unde secundum Valerium Maximum mulieres apud Romanos antiquitus non bibebant vinum."

† *Daniello*: See *Daniel*, i, 8: "But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the King's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself." . . . v. 11: "Then said Daniel to Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hanan, ab, Mesai, and Azariah, 'Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days: and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink.'" v. 17: "As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams." . . . v. 20: "And in all matters of wisdom and understanding, that the King enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers that were in all his realm."

Daniel was an example of rigorous abstinence in the midst of the luxuries of the Chaldees.

The voice then alludes to the Golden Age which the ancients believed to have been while Saturn reigned over Crete; when men lived soberly, without war, and without any artificially prepared food. And with this the Canto concludes.

Lo secol primo \* quant' oro fu bello ;  
 Fe' saporose con fame le ghiande, †  
 E nettare con sete ogni ruscello. 150  
 Mele ‡ e locuste furon le vivande,

\* *Lo secol primo*: Compare *Purg.* xviii, 139-144 :

"Quelli che anticamente poetaro  
 L'età dell'oro e suo stato felice,  
 Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.  
 Qui fu innocente l'umana radice;  
 Qui primavera è sempre, ed ogni frutto:  
 Nettare è questo di che ciascun dice."

And Ovid, *Met.* i, 89-91 :

"Aurea prima sata est ætas, quæ, vindice nullo,  
 Sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat."

† *Fe saporose con fame le ghiande, e nettare, et seq.*: *l. c.*

101 106 :

"Ipsa quoque immunis, rastroque intacta, nec ullis  
 Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus :  
 Contentique tibus, nullo cogente, creatis,  
 Arbuteos foetus, montanaque fraga legebant,  
 Cornaque, et in duns hærentia mora rubetis,  
 Et quæ deciderant patu a Jovis arbore glandes."

And Boethius, *Philosoph. Consol.* ii, *Metr.* v :

"Ielix nimiam prior ætas,  
 Contenta fidelibus arvis,  
 Nec inerti perdita luxu,  
 Facili quæ sera solebat  
 Jejunia solvere glande.  
 Nec Bacchica munera norant  
 Liquido confundere melle  
 Nec lueda vellera Serum  
 Tyrio miscere veneno."

‡ *Mele (or miele)* in this line is a masculine noun signifying

Che nutrì il Batista nel deserto ;  
 Perch' egli è glorioso, e tanto grande  
 Quanto per l' Evangelio v' è aperto."—

The primal age was beautiful as gold ; it season  
 its acorns with hunger, and (made) every stream in  
 need <sup>with thirst</sup> Honey and locusts were  
 not the Baptist in the wilderne  
 for so glorious and great, as in  
 the is you."

It shot ed that St. John the B  
 is the | lorence. \*

"honey, mfounded with *mele*, the fu  
 plural of

\* Compare —

44 :

"Io fui della città che nel Batista  
 Muto 'l primo padrone."

END OF CANTO XXII

## CANTO XXIII.

THE SIXTH CORNICE (*continued*). — THE PURGATION OF GIUTTONY. — EMACIATED APPEARANCE OF THE GLUTTONOUS. — FORESE DONATI — NELLA DONATI. — DENUNCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF FLORENCE.

THERE is no break or change of scene at the opening of this Canto. At the end of the last, we left Dante, Virgil, and Statius standing in wonder before the mysterious tree, with the luscious fruit on its branches, hanging far out of reach; and high up on their left hand the refreshing sight and sound of a fall of water dripping over its topmost leaves. They had also heard the voice, probably of an unseen angel, speaking from the foliage, and informing the spirits of the Gluttonous that their penance was to be total deprivation of the fruit and the water, and that they should meditate upon certain instances of commendable abstinence.

In this Canto their punishment is described more in detail.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In Division I*, from v. 1 to v. 36, Dante relates the first appearance of the spirits of the Gluttonous, and those penance it is to endure the pangs of starvation.

*In Division II*, from v. 37 to v. 75, he introduces the spirit of Forese Donati, well known in life as



death, he is not still detained in Ar  
ese, in his reply, tells him it is due  
of his wife Nella, the only virtuous

*In Division IV*, from v. 112 t  
forms Forese who he is, and who

*Division I.* Dante first relates  
reproof from Virgil for being led  
through the branches of the tree  
from whom proceeded the myst  
mentioned.

On hearing this admonition, D  
and moves towards Virgil and S  
so, a solemn chant from unseen  
his ear. This rouses in him bot  
such deep devotion, and grief, ou  
those spirits suffering from hunge

Dante, according to his wont, t  
to Virgil, who tells him it is the  
singing.

Mentre che gli occhi per la fro  
Ficcava so cost, come far

Lo più che padre mi dicea :—" Figliuole,\*  
 Vienne oramai, chè il tempo che c'è imposto 5  
 Più utilmente compartir si vuole."—  
 Io volsi il viso, e il passo non men tosto  
 Appresso ai savi, che parlavan sic †

et illum cognoscere." (*Rememuto*). "È notabile che l'uccellatore . . . perde sua vita, andando di rieto all'uccellini; perde lo tempo che in più utile cosa si vorrebbe spendere; non è utile a nulla la vita dell'uccellatore se non a la; e però meritevolmente la riprende qui."—(*Butt.*) Com- Shakespeare (*As You Like It*, act ii, sc. 7):

"But whate'er you are  
 That in this desert inaccessible,  
 Under the shade of the melancholy boughs,  
 Lose and neglect the creeping hours of time."

*Figliuole* The *Gran Dizionario*, § 3, says that some writers from *figliuolo*, formed the vocative singular *figliuole*, and the present passage in illustration. The *Dizionario* adds from the Latin *Domine* has come the familiar exclamation *mine!* Both the *Dizionario* and the *Voi della Crusca* quote following from the *Trattato* 1, (Nannucci says *Tr.* ii) of *Luca Giudeo da Brescia*, Firenze, 1610, 4to:

"Non cessate, figliuole, d'udire insegnamento:"  
 again.

"Figliuole, dalla juventute tua ricevi la dottrina."  
 This, from the translation published at Milan, 1829, in 8vo, MS work *Trattato del Giuoco degli Scacchi* di Fra Paolo da Cessole. "Aspettati, figliuole; più sono i punti di adda, che tu non credi." These three instances in prose greatly disprove Blanc's assertion that Dante altered the *figliuolo* to suit his rhyme—a statement which cannot be adduced too often. Nannucci (*Teoria dei Nomi*, p. 152) cites the above quotations, and adds "*Figliuole*, dal vocat. *figliole*, d. *figlie*, desinenza primitiva. Così *l. iv. Andron* in *Odys.* *et noster*, Saturni *filie*." Scartazzini cites an instance addo al suo *figliuole*, *et seq.*, to show that the form is not mainly only the vocative case.

*et for cor.* Lombardi (in reference to *parlavan sic*) quotes the fragments of Publius Syrus the following saying: *des-facundus in via pro-vehiculo est.* Daniello says that he bent his steps in the wake of "i savi Poeti, i quali parlavan bene, e di sì belle cose, che seguendoli, non sentiva di camminare."

Che l' andar mi faccan di nullo costo.  
Ed ecco piangere e cantar s' udie :

*Labia mea Domine,\* per modo*

Tal che diletto e doglia parturie.†

—"O dolce Padre, che è quel ch' i odo?"—

Cominc.a' io; ed egli—"Ombre che vanno,  
Forse di lor dover solvendo il nodo"—‡

While I was straining my eyes through the green foliage, as one is wont to do that wastes his life after a little bird, my more than father (Virgil) said to me "My Son, come on now, for the time that is ordained to us must be more usefully portioned out." I turned my eyes, and not less quickly my steps towards the Sages, who were holding such converse as made it of no cost to me to proceed. And lo! both in lamentation and in song was heard. "*Labia mea, Domine,*" chanted in such fashion as gave birth both to delight and to grief. "O beloved Father," I began, "what is that which I hear?" And he: "Shades, perchance, who pass, while unloosing the bond of their debt.

This means, that they are performing the due expiation of their sins, tormented by the pangs of hunger and thirst. The above passage, and especially the

\* *Labia mea*: From the *Miserere*, Psalm li, 15: "O Lord, open thou my lips; and my mouth shall show forth thy praise." This Psalm forms part of the service of Lauds for *Luce* and it is on Easter Tuesday that the present scene is supposed to be taking place. The words in the *Vulgate* are "*labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem Tuam.*"

† *Tal che diletto . . . parturie*. Compare *Purg.* viii, 135)

"*Te lucis ante* si devotamente

Le usci di bocca, e con sì dolci note,  
Che fece me a me uscir di mente.

‡ *Solvendo il nodo*. Andreoli on this: "Sciogliendo debito loro, soddisfaziendo per il loro peccato alla divina stua." Compare *Purg.* xvi, 22-24:

"Quei sono spirti, Maestro, ch' i odo?"

Diss' io. Ed egli a me: "Fu vero apprendi  
E di iracondia van solvendo il nodo."

perde, denotes censure, and shows the severe character of Dante's mind, to which fowling was a waste of time.

The spirits of the Gluttonous now come into view, taking the Poets from behind and passing beyond them, and Benvenuto points out that their actions and behaviour exactly correspond with those of the pilgrims in his own time, who, if they passed other pilgrims whom they did not know, would just glance at them, but would not interrupt their meditations by addressing them.

Si come i peregrin pensosi \* fanno,  
 Giugnendo per cammin gente non nota,  
 Che si volgono ad essa e non ristanno ;  
 Così diretto a noi, più tosto mota,  
 Venendo e trapassando, ci ammirava 20  
 D'anime turba tacita † e devota.

*peregrin pensosi.* Scartazzini says their thoughts would be the goal of their pilgrimage. "Per la forza della astinenza sono pensosi. Il digiuno rende l'animo attento alle cure, e la satollezza dà sopore alli membra." (*Ultimo*). In a case i penitenti qui ci offrono atteggiamento diverso da degli impenitenti golosi dell'Inferno: poichè dove quelli, presentare il loro eterno vizio, sedevano tra puzzo e lordura qua neve e grandine, questi, a espriare il proscritto sedere pensosi anti che, e la tardità delle membra e dell'ingegno, di fronte quel sedere è cagnone, camminano di continuo, non rassomigliati a sollevati e pur meditatondi pellegrini. In caso in questi pellegrini il Poeta nota il devoto portamento di costerità del silenzio, che non cessa nemmeno quando incontrano in uomo vivo: chè silenzio e gravità d'atti è bella dizione a un vizio, onde procede tanta abbondanza di parole in vani, e tanto scemaso di decoro al passo e a tutta la vita." (*Perez, Nella Cerchia*, pp. 220, 221.) Compare also 221. 13. "Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in wine and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness." The pilgrims appear to be closely following St. Paul's precept. *tacita.* Velutello, but no commentator before him, observes that word implies a contradiction of l. 10, in which it says

Even as do pilgrims, who, wrapt in thought, when overtaking on their way people unknown, turn round to them but tarry not; so did a crowd of spirits, silent and devout, come up behind us at a more rapid pace, and passing by, gazed upon us in wonder.

Dante now describes the lean and attenuated appearance of the suffering spirits, whose features are marked by the pangs of starvation. After first citing an instance of extreme emaciation in a single individual and then that of the whole population of Jerusalem during its siege and subsequent destruction by Titus, he goes on to speak of a curious fancy prevalent among the theologians and mystics who professed to be able to read in the human face the words *HO NOBIS DEI*, traced there by God himself, when man was created. Longfellow translates an extract (see below) from a sermon by Brother Berthold, a Franciscan monk of Regensburg, in the thirteenth century.\*

that the spirits were lamenting and singing. Lombardi justly points out that Dante never said that they wept and sang incessantly, but only when in their circuit they approached the mysterious trees. The Poets had, it is true, already passed the first tree, not so far however but what they could hear the utterances of the spirits near it.

\* "Now behold, ye blessed children of God, the Almighty has created you soul and body. And he has written it upon your eyes and on your faces, that you are created in His likeness. He has written it upon your very faces with ornamented letters. With great diligence are they embellished and ornamented. This your learned men well understand, but the unlearned may not understand it. The two eyes are two *o's*. The *h* is properly no letter; it only helps the others; so that *homo* with an *h* means Man. Likewise the brows arched above the nose down between them are an *m*, beautiful with three strokes. So is the ear a *d* beautifully rounded and ornamented. So are the nostrils beautifully formed like a Greek *e*, beautifully rounded and ornamented. So is the mouth an *i* beautifully adorned and ornamented.

**m**

Dante says that, for those who profess to read these letters in the human face, it would be easy to do so here, for the nose and cheek bones were conspicuously prominent in these unfortunate penitents. Dante however only speaks of "Omo," or **M** *Homo Dei*.

Negli occhi \* era ciascuna oscura e cava,  
 Pallida nella faccia, e tanto scema,  
 Che dall' ossa la pelle s' informava.  
 Non credo che così a buccia estrema †  
 Eresitone ‡ fosse fatto secco  
 Per digiunar, quando più n' ebbe tema.

25

Now behold, ye good Christian people, how skilfully he has adorned you with these six letters, to show that ye are his own, and that he has created you! Now read me an *o* and an *m* and another *o* together, that spells *homo*. Then read me a *d* and an *e* and an *i* together that spells *dei*. *Homo dei*, man of God, man of God! (Wackernagel, *Deutsches Lesebuch*, 4th edition, Basel, 1859, vol. i, p. 678).

\* *Negli occhi*. The poet Alfieri in one of his marginal references, quoted by Biagioli writes: "Sfido Michelagnolo, non che quanto a vivere, e pittori e poeti, a ritrar sì vero e forte." Compare Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 803-808:

"Hirtus erat erinis; cava lumina; pallor in ore;  
 Labra incana siti; scabri rabigine dentes;  
 Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent;  
 Ossa sub incurvis extabant arida lumbis;  
 Ventris erat pro ventre locus; pendere putares  
 Pectus, et a spine tantummodo crate teneri.  
 Anxerat articulos macies, genuumque rigebat  
 Orbis, et immodico prodibant tubere taia."

† *a buccia estrema*: Compare Virg. *Aen.* iii, 590-592:

"Cum subito e silvis, macie confecta suprema,  
 Ignoti nosse forma viri, miserandaque caltu,  
 Procedit, supplexque manus ad litora tendit."

‡ *Eresitone*: Erisichthon, son of Triops, a Thessalian, out of anger of Ceres, cut down a grove sacred to her. The enraged goddess punished him by perpetual hunger, and he at last devoured his own limbs. The story is related by Ovid (*Metam.* viii, 280).

Io dicea fra me stesso pensando :—" Ecco  
 La gente che perde Jerusalem,  
 Quando Maria nel figlio die di becco."\*  
 Parean l' occhiaie anella senza gemme. †  
 Chi nel viso degli uomini legge *omo*,  
 Ben avria quivi conosciuto l' emme.

Each was dark and cavernous in the eyes, pallid in the face, and so emaciated, that the skin took the outline from the bones. I do not believe that Esichthon could have been withered up through starvation to such an extremity of mere skin, at the time when he had the most fear of it (*i. e.*, of starvation). Thinking within myself I said: "Behold the people who lost Jerusalem, when Mariam thrust her beak into her own son." The orbits appeared like rings without their gems. Those who in the face of men can read *o m o*, might readily here have distinguished the *m*.

Dante concludes his description of the Gluttonous in general by expressing his inability to understand from what this extraordinary emaciation proceeded.

\* *Maria nel figlio die di becco*. Josephus (*De Belle Jud.* v. 11, cap. 3) in his account of the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem relates how a noble lady, Mariam or Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, maddened with hunger, killed her own little son and cooked and ate half of his body. Goiberti, agreeing with Vossius, thinks the expression *die di becco* beautiful and happy, inasmuch as it likens this miserable mother to a bird of prey.

† *anelli senza gemme*: Compare Petrarch (part II, Son. lvi):

"Pianger l' aer e la terra e l' mar dovrebbe  
 L' uman legnaggio, che, senz' ella, è quasi  
 Senza fior pinto, o senza gemma anello.

and Shakespeare *King Lear*, act v, scene ii.)

"and in this habit

Met I my father with his bleeding rings,  
 Their precious stones new lost."

and Chaucer *Troilus and Criseyde*, book v, st. 79):

"O ring, fro which the ruby is out falle,

O cause of woe, that cause hast been of lisse"

[. . .]

for he cannot imagine that it could be caused by the  
tree

Chi crederebbe che l'odor d'un pomo \*

Si governasse, generando brama,

33

E quel d'un'acqua, non sapendo como? †

Who could believe that the perfume of a fruit, and  
that of a spring, could have such influence, begetting  
craving, if they did not know the reason?

*Division II.* Dante now introduces the spirit of  
Forese de' Donati, kinsman † of his wife Gemma, and

\* *l'odor d'un pomo . . . E quel d'un'acqua.* Compare Job.  
v. 6. "Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring  
forth boughs like a plant." Itaglioli notices the expression "the  
perfume of a water," and says we have a poetical proof in the  
lines of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (*Giorn. v, act. iv,*  
11) that water can throw out a perfume.

"Voglio inferir, ch' io dar non risaprei  
Quanto mi sia quel gentiluom sembrato  
Felice nel goder degli orti suoi,  
Sunt sempresti, suoi boschetti e prati,  
E del verde dell'erbe e delle frondi  
Perpetue, e de' fior che succedeva  
Vi ridon per le fervide o gelate,  
Non men che per le tiepide stagioni  
Dai vitali guariti, e confortati gli spiriti  
Nella soavità d'odori, e d'acque  
Sorgenti e mormoranti."

oli, as usual, omits to give the reference, by no means easy  
to verify.

mo, derived from the Latin *quomodo*, like *mo*, from *modo*,  
occurs (*Trionfi dei Nemi*, xix, xx, and footnote (1), says it was  
a frequent use among old Italian writers, and is "voce  
usata e regolare." Nannucci gives the two following illus-  
trations of its use by prose writers. Guittone, (*Lettere* 1, 2):  
"quanto d'isterro voi como," and *lett.* 3): "E como  
Sapienti."

We have maintained that Gemma was a sister of Forese,  
and Piccarda de' Donati, but Professor Isidor Del Lungo,  
Appendix to the *Commento di Dino Compagni* (*Dino  
Compagni e la sua Cronica*, Florence, 1879, 4 vols., 8vo), vol. II,  
specifically denies this. "Non cognato però, come lo



his intimate friend, though certain vituperative sonnets addressed to Dante, and attributed to Forese, authentic, would show that their friendship was uninterrupted.\* The brother of Forese, Corso Donati, the celebrated Guelph leader, was Dante's bitter foe. He was the head of the *Neri*, by whom Dante was driven into banishment. According to Buti, Forese had an unenviable reputation for

Dante first relates how Forese recognises him.

Già era \* in ammirar che sì gli affama,  
Per la cagione ancor non manifesta

chama il Tommaséo, era a Dante il Donati : la Gemma Donati era figliuol di Manetto ; Corso, Forese, Piccarda, di Simone. See in vol. 1, p. 168, after speaking of the feuds of the *Centi* with the Donati, Prof. Del Lungo adds : " Ci troviamo Manetto di Portinatu, uno de' fratelli di Beatrice, e probabilmente Dante pone secondo fra gli amici suoi dopo il Cavalcanti, e fa partecipe delle proprie lacrime nella morte di quella gemma. Dante vi ha poi anche Manetto Donati, padre della Gemma, il quale fu uno de' primi a tener l'ufficio di Capitano."

\* The Sonnets are reproduced by Prof. Del Lungo with comments upon them (*op. cit.* vol. 1, pp. 610-624). Their translation of them in *Dante and his Circle*, by Dante G. Rossetti, London, 1892, pp. 220-222.

† *Già era in ammirar . . . di lor magrezza*. Dante has the sense of this in ll. 59-60, where he begs Forese not to let him speak while he is still under the effects of his fast and his repulsive appearance. In *Purg.* xxv, 20-21 Dante asks Virgil to solve this doubt for him, which he does. Dante asks :

" Come si può far magro  
Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca "

He could not understand how impalpable spirits, who have no need of food, could grow thin from the lack of it. Virgil's answer is the leading feature in Canto xxv, showing how punishments are given to souls in Hell and Purgatory in order that they may undergo their punishment.

Di lor magrezza e di lor trista squama ; \*  
 Ed ecco del profondo della testa † 40  
 Volse a me gli occhi un' ombra, e guardo fiso,  
 Poi grido forte : "Qual grazia m' è questa ?" —

was still in wonderment at what could thus a-hunger  
 tern, through the as yet unrevealed cause of their  
 anness and their desquamation, and lo<sup>t</sup> from the  
 innermost cavities (*sc.* eye-sockets) of his head a  
 ade turned his eyes upon me, and looked (at me)  
 tentively ; after which he cried out loudly : "What  
 face to me is this?"

He looks at the gaunt attenuated figure, whose  
 fires convey no recognition to his mind, but, as  
 he fancied he could identify Jacob by his voice,  
 does Dante identify the well-remembered sound of  
 his friend's speech.

*squama* primarily means the scale of a fish or of a serpent,  
 the husk of anything. In Sermon xi, § viii, of the *Quare-*  
*rum* of Padre Segneri Turin, 1876, he says men will ever  
 do God the husk, and keep the fruit for themselves : "Or  
 fate voi ? Gl' date forse il meglio che sia su vostra tavola ?  
 Questo no. Anzi gli solete dare sempre il peggio. Per voi  
 è la polpa, al cane date l'osso, date le squame, date le  
 ossa, date gli avanzi piu vili. Ora cosi appunto alcuni trat-  
 tano l'iddio, lo trattan da cane. Gl' voglion dare sempre il  
 peggio." This is the only passage in the *Divina Commedia* in  
 which the word occurs. The Commentators generally render it  
*scudicella*. The *Gran Dizionario* says that the more usual  
 is *scuama*, and rarely *squamo*.

*profondo della testa*. In verse 22 we read that :

"Negli occhi era ciascuna oscura e cava,"

now, when he speaks of one of the shades moving his eyes  
 the innermost cavities of his head, he paints with terrible  
 truth the hollowiness of the eyes.

*Qual grazia m' è questa ?* Compare *Purg.* vii, 19 :

"Qual merito o qual grazia mi ti mostra ?"

*Purg.* viii, 65, 66 :

"Su, Corrado,

Vieni a veder che Dio per grazia volse.

Ma non l'avrei riconosciuto al viso ;  
 Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese  
 Cui che l'aspetto in sè avea conquiso \*  
 Questa favilla † tutta mi raccese  
 Ma conoscenza alla cambiata labbia, ‡

\* *conquiso*: In translating this word "obliterated" I stand upon Blani's interpretation which is the best I found. "*Conquiso*, part. p. di *conquistare*." See below. Modern Italian dictionaries, such as *De V. G. e. abbattere, annihilare*, so nondimeno son di opinione che abbia l'istesso valore del francese *conquis*, usurpato in un più esteso; poiché la conquista trae seco per lo più distruzione e ruina. Sarebbe dunque quasi sinonimo di *conquistare*: *vincere*. Il solo luogo della D. C. dove *conquiso* si trova è *Purg.*, xxiii, 45, "Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese Cui che l'aspetto in sè avea conquiso." Significa: "Io lo riconobbi non avendo il suo aspetto, il suo volto attuale, totalmente distrutto e invaso, i sembianti che portava durante la sua vita." See *D. non vivia*, quotes Castelvetro, *Giunta a' rag. di Flor.* 1603. "*Conquiso* è voce italiana ed è intera latina, *conquis* [vincit]. Nè [neither] significa 'Quello che fu conquistato'." Scartazzini in his more recent Milan commentary (1881) although some interpret *conquiso* as "conquered, subdued, some" "destroyed, wrecked, annihilated, the two interpretations come to the same thing, as Blani remarks above. The sense of conquest is to bring ruin in its train.

† *favilla*: Others read *favella*, "the voice," but Dante just said *voce* in verse 44 and *favilla* means that the spark acted like a spark.

‡ *labbia*: *Favilla, aspetto* (*Gran Dizionario*). See footnote, in *Readings on the Inferno*, at the illustration of the given Compare Guido Cavalcanti (*In Rime di Guido Cavalcanti*, Firenze, Vangelia, 1932), p. 68.

"Veder mi più della sua labbia uscire  
 Una sì bella Donna, che la mente  
 Comprender non la può."

And Poliziano, *La Giostra*, lib. 1, st. 24.

"E quale è uom di sì sicura labbia,  
 Che fuggir possa il mio tenace vischio?"

And Lippo Lanciai, *Cane me beginning Angela*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

"Onde mia labbia si mortificata

Divenne allora ohimè! che io non pareo"

E ravvisai la faccia di Forese.\*

er should I have recognized him by his face, but as voice was made manifest to me that, which his eye had obliterated within itself. This spark recalled in me all my (former) knowledge of the loved countenance, and I recognized the features of Forese.

But, pointing out that Dante never would have known by the face that he was looking at Forese, we see that a prolonged indulgence in gluttony so alters a man's appearance, that Domitian, who had the beautiful youth, grew ugly, bald, and fat, and he is told a friend that nothing was more desirable, nor more short lived than beauty.

He begs Dante not to heed the wreck of his face, and to tell him who he is, and who are his companions.

Deh non contendere † all' ascutta scabbia

\* This person, as we showed at p. 8, was brother of Forese (P. 10), and Corso de' Donati, the powerful chief of the party of the *Neri*. Of him the *Falco Bionacci* says, "Forese de' Donati, fratello di Messer Corso Donati in questo vizio, e fu costui delizioso uomo e piacevagli ogni cibo e fu grande amico di Dante; poi per parte di Forese e di parte *Neri*, cioè che Dante era di parte *Neri* e Forese di parte *Neri*." Orsini (*Purgatorio de' 304*) alluding to the fact of Forese and his holy-minded wife, Kinsfolk of Dante's wife, observes, "Dante parle de sa famille. Parcourez la Divine Comédie. Béatrix la loue ses rayons; mais jamais le poëte ne nous entretient de son frère Donati sa femme, ni de ses fils, qui cependant n'avoient pas été indignés de leur glorieux père, deux d'entre eux, Pierre et Jacques, devaient ses combats." C'est donc avec un plaisir inattendu qu'on trouve dans le Purgatoire une scène d'intérieur, un souvenir de jours, où Dante, nouvel époux, trouvait dans la personne de sa femme de fraternelles affections, avant que la mort ne lui eût fait venir de détruire ce fragile bonheur.

† I confess to feeling very undecided which of two constructions of this verb to adopt. Scartazzini thinks there



Ma dimmi il ver di te, e chi son quelle  
 Due anime che là ti fanno scorta :  
 Non rimaner che tu non mi favelle." —

"Ah," entreated he, "do not give heed to this dry  
 leprosy that discolours my skin, nor to the want of  
 flesh that I may have; but tell me the truth about  
 thyself, and who are those two spirits yonder who  
 bear thee company. Do not delay in speaking to me."

As we shall see by Dante's reply he had been looking  
 anxiously at Forese's altered countenance, hardly being  
 able to recognise the once familiar features, and Ben-  
 vento remarks it is as though he would say: I am  
 full of the desire to make thee speak thyself to  
 gratify my curiosity, but am really not capable of  
 answering thy questions rationally at this moment.

"La faccia tua, ch'io lagrimai già morta,  
 Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia," —\*

*La faccia tua, ch'io abbui... il vero: Mi dimmelo, etc.* Both  
 Cesar. and Blanc recall the similarity of this passage with that  
 of *Inf.* vii, 28, *et seq.* where the shades of three Florentines,  
 great men, but whose hideous crime has reduced them to  
 the lowest depths of degradation and infamy, appeal to Dante  
 to disregard them, or refuse to listen to them on account of  
 their keered and peeled faces. It is remarkable that, in these  
 different passages, allusion is made in both to the alteration  
 in the texture of the skin (*brullo, scabbia*), and to the colour of  
 the skin (*tinto che scolora la pelle*). I must reluctantly give up  
 the latter interpretation which I should have preferred to have  
 rendered thus: "Ah do not deny me (the truth)" was his prayer,  
 because of this 'scabby rind' as Mr. Shadwell renders it) which  
 discolours my skin, nor at the want of flesh that I may have  
 but tell me the truth about thyself, etc. Witte translates  
 "Verage nicht dem durren Aussatz . . . Deine Antwort."

\* *Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia*: This reading is the  
 one adopted by Witte and by Dr. Moore (*Tutte le Opere di  
 Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1803). There is a very important  
 variant which occurs in the Vatican MS., in one of the Chigi,  
 as well as in other MSS., *Mi dà di pianger mo minor la doglia*,  
 which would quite alter the sense of the passage. Lana does  
 not give this latter reading, but interprets the words as if he

Rispos' io fui,—"veggendola sì torta" \*  
 Però mi di, per Dio, che sì vi sfoglia; †  
 Non mi far dir menz' io in maraviglio,  
 Chè mal puo dir † chi è pien d'altra voglia. - 50

did so "I wept for thee in the first life when thou didst lie  
 but now I do not grieve for thee thus, for I see thee ~~not~~  
 the lost, but on the way to reach life eternal. The reading  
*minor degliu* is also found in a Riccardi MS, in the  
*Beccaria*, and in the early Mantua edition, and comes at  
 same signification. Scottazin would prefer the reading  
*minor la doglia*, as according better with *Purg.* iv, 123  
 where Dante tells Belacqua that he no longer feels ~~the~~  
 misgivings about his salvation, only against this, Scottazin  
 the context *veggendola sì torta* speaks too clearly against  
 the usual reading, the one I have adopted.

\* *veggendola sì torta*. In Hell (*Inf.* xv), Dante gave vent  
 unbounded grief at seeing his old instructor Brunetto  
 among the lost, and with a face that was scorched ~~with~~  
 beyond recognition. But there is a great difference in the  
 condition of a soul supposed to be in Hell, from one in Purgatory.  
 It is the contrast between eternal damnation and sure  
 hope of salvation. Brunetto's countenance would remain  
 to all eternity, but Forese's case is quite different. When  
 wept over his dead friend he knew not what was to be his  
 destiny. But now, seeing him in Purgatory, he has  
 assurance that his sufferings are but for a while, and therefore  
 him that his altered features (*tu sì torta*) give him less  
 for bitter weeping than when he mourned for him at his  
 Benvenuto interprets *torta*, "*tantum transmutatum ab*

† *si sfoglia*. We must compare this expression with  
*estrema* in l. 25. The literal meaning of *sfoglia* is the  
 skin of any plant. The literal meaning of *doglia* is  
 off the leaves, hence to "denude." As a plant is covered  
 leaves and thus beautified, so are the bones covered  
 and with a healthy colour. Compare *Purg.* xxiv, 88  
 Dante is speaking of another Glotonous spirit undergoing  
 same punishment, which he describes by the *verga*  
 pluck the grapes from off a vine, and with the allegory  
 of gradually consuming the body:

"la ov'er sentia la piaga  
 Della giustizia che si li pilucca."

‡ *Non mi far dir . . . Che mal pu' dir*. Tommaseo  
 marks that this iteration of *dir* is, because quite useless  
 means displeasing.

"Thy face," I answered him, "which once I wept for when dead, makes me now weep with no less a grief, seeing it so disfigured. Tell me therefore, in the name of God, what so denudes you; do not make me speak while I am marveling, for ill can he speak who is full of other longing."

Forse concisely answers Dante's question as to his emaciation, and adds that all the other spirits are undergoing a similar punishment. Their hunger and thirst are caused by the sight and the smell of the water and of the fruit, which, as the *Ottimo* remarks, sharpened their desire, and this desire dried up their ribs.

Ed egli a me. " Dell' eterno consiglio  
 Cade vita nell' acqua, e nella pianta  
 Rimasa netto,\* ond' io si m' assottiglio.†  
 Tutta esta gente che piangendo canta,‡  
 Per seguitar la gola oltra misura,§  
 In fame e in sete qui si rifa santa.  
 Di bere e di mangiar n' accende cura

65

\* *pent. Rimasa retro*. We are to infer that the Poets had wisely left the Tree some distance behind them.

† *in sottiglio*. Others read *in sottiglio*, but the difference is very important.

‡ *hangent' santa*. We may conclude that the spirits only drew near one or other of the trees.

§ *Per seguitar la gola oltra misura*: Compare St. Thomas *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. cxlvii, art. 1. "Gula est inordinata [excessiva] quolibet appetitum edendi et bibendi, sed non inordinata. Dicitur autem appetitus inordinatus ex eo quod tenet ab ordine rationis, in quo bonum virtutis moralis consistit."

¶ *in rifa santa*. Dante elsewhere speaks of spirits going to the Tree beautiful. Compare *Purg.* i., 75.

"Quasi oboliando di ire a farsi belle.

*Par.* xvi., 31

"O creatura che ti mondi,  
 Per tornar bella a colui che ti fece . . ."



l' odor ch' esce del pomo,\* e dello sprazzo †  
Che si distende su per la verdura.

And he to me: "By the Eternal Will, power descends into the water, and into the tree you have left behind you, whereby I become thus extenuated. All this multitude who, while they lament, sing, because they followed their appetite beyond measure, in hunger and in thirst are here renewing their sanctification. The odour that issues from the fruit, and from the spray which is diffused all over the verdure, kindles in us the desire to eat and to drink.

It is not merely passing suffering, Forese tells Dante, that they are undergoing. The intensity of their torment lies in the continued renewal of it, but he hastens to add that they all strive to think of it as a

\* *pomo*: Dante uses *pomo* as a symbol of the highest good. In *Inf.* xvi, 61, he says to the three Florentines: "Lascio lo fele, e vo per dolci pomi." And, as Virgil is taking leave of Dante at the entrance into the Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg.* xxiii, 115-117), he says to him:

"Quel dolce pomo, che per tanti rami  
Cercando va la cura dei mortali,  
Oggi potrà in pace le tue fami."

And in *Purg.* xxiii, 73-74, Christ Himself is spoken of as

il "melo,  
Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti."

On the smell of the water, see *Job*, xiv, 9.

"Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring  
forth boughs like a plant."

† *sprazzo* or *sprazon*: Thus the *Gran Dizionario* explains it: "the distribution of any liquid matter in very minute quantities," in English "spray." It is only used thus once in *Diziona Commedia*, but it is found in the works both of Boccaccio and Pulci. See Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* xxvii, st. 56:

"Il vento par certi sprazzo avviluppi  
Di sangue in aria con nodi e con gruppi."

And *Morg. Magg.* xxviii, 147:

"Convien che se n' appiechi qualche sprazzo."

Tommasèo thinks *sprazzo* corresponds to *aspergo* in Latin. See *Ann.* iii, 534:

"Objectæ salsa spumant adspergine cautes."

mercy granted to them in accordance with their desires, and, by way of testifying to their complete submission to the penance imposed upon them by God, he compares it to the way that Our Lord set his face steadfastly to drink the Cup of suffering which His Father had given Him.

Some Commentators understand the renewal of torment to come from the return to the same tree again and again. Others think that, as the shades go round the cornice, they meet with similar trees at different intervals. We will assume that there are two, the first being the offshoot of the Tree of Knowledge, and the second one from the Tree of Life.

E non pure una volta, questo spazzo\* 70

Girando, si rinfresca nostra pena :

Io dico pena, e dovrei dir sollazzo ; †

\* *spazzo*: The proper meaning of *spazzo* is the surface of the ground, and ultimately "floor." Compare *Inf* xiv, 13-15 :

"Lo spazzo era un arena arida e spessa,

Non d'altra foggia fatta che colei,

Che fu da piè di Caton già soppressa."

Find it in the sense of "floor," in the *Viaggi in Terra Santa* of Leonardo Frescobaldi e d'altri del Secolo xiv, Florence, 1862.

An early copy was given to me by a much lamented friend,

the late Marchese Dino de Frescobaldi, a descendant of

the author. See p. 25, where the palace of Alexandria is de-

scribed "Era bene insino al terzo dalla sala pieno lo spazzo

di massimi drappi e tappeti." In Borghini, *Studi*, ed Gigli,

Florence, 1855, pp. 247-8, the author utters his indignation

against the Commentators who attempt to see in *spazzo* merely

an alteration from *spazio* for the sake of the rhyme, and he

states that "this accursed rhyme is the salvation of ignora-

nces. *Spazio* intervallum. *Spazzo* solum. From *spazzo*

was *salto* derived *spazzare* to sweep, and *girar quello spazzo*

is precisely the same as *girar quella via* or *girar quello smalto*,

either "path" or "beaten floor." The quotation above, from

*Inf* xiv, shows that the word was not used for the rhyme's sake,

as it is not at the end of a line.

† *sollazzo*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*

Chè quella voglia all' arbore ci mena,  
 Che meno Cristo lieto a dire 'Eli',\*  
 Quando ne libero con la sua vena" =

And not once only, as we circle round this path, is our penalty renewed; I say penalty, and I ought to say solace. For that same Will leads us to the tree, as led Christ rejoicing to say 'Eli,' when he ransomed us with his blood (*lit. vein*)." =

Benvenuto says that the truth of this may be seen in the purgatory of the heart, *in purgatorio m. t. t. t.*, because the man who wishes to purge himself from the sin of Gluttony will abstain from toothsome food and from luscious wines, although it will seem to be an exceedingly hard struggle to forego his accustomed dainties. And note that penitential expiation is in a man's life-time more voluntary, because it is his will that imposes it; but the expiation of Purgatory is by the will to endure, because the spirits there accept their penance voluntarily, and, while performing it earnestly, aspire to reach their heavenly country and, to attain that, entreat the help of the interests of others.

### Division III. Dante had been told by Bela-

pars. ii. Supplem. Append. qu. ii. art. 2. "Videtur quod poena sit voluntaria, quia illi qui sunt in purgatorio, volunt habere cor. Sed hoc est rectitudo cordis, ut quod volunt suscipere divina voluntati conformet, ut Augustinus dicit, in psal. 32 a. p. n. Ergo cum Deus velit eos puniri, quod voluntarie sustinent. Præterea, omnes sapienter illud sine quo non potest pervenire ad talem meritum. Sed qui sunt in purgatorio, sciunt se non posse perire, et ad certum prius puniantur. Ergo volunt puniri." And *l. x. v.* "And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also.

\* *Eli*. Compare *St. Matt.* xxvii. 46. "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, Eli, Eli, lama sa ba ni; that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

*Purg.* iv, 130 that the souls of those, who delayed repentance till death, had to remain in the *Ante-Purgatorio* for a term equal in duration to the length of their lives on earth, and as Dante knew that his friend Forese had only died five years before, and probably knew also that he had delayed his repentance until the very end of his life, he is surprised to find him already in one of the cornices of Purgatory proper.

He evidently knew that Forese had made some sort of repentance, or else he would not have expected to find him even in the *Ante-Purgatorio* but in Hell with Ciaccio and the other gluttons.

Ed io a lui: "Forese da quel di  
 Nel qual mutasti mondo a miglior vita,\*  
 Cinqu'anni non son volti I intano a qui  
 Se prima s' tu la possa in te nimita  
 Di peccar più, che sorvenisse l'ora

80

\* *miglior vita*. Lombardi remarks that they who are lost change the world for a worse life.

\* *Cinqu'anni*, etc. Benvenuto says that, according to the text, Forese must have died in 1295: "quasi cecidit in mortuos in quibus quinque annis elapsis, scribit in meo esimo dicens: 'Forese mori anno sexto.' haec praesupposito, *come se tu venuto fosse a qua*, ad verum purgatorium, etc."

\* *volti*. Compare Petrarch, part. i. *ion.* 40 (in some editions 45 :

"Or voige, Signor, l' undecim' anno

Ch' i fui somnesso al dispietato piogo."

\* *Se prima s' tu la possa in te nimita*. The *Ullman Commento*, which seems to have been written by a contemporary of Dante, refers to this passage, possibly not without foundation of fact:

"Queste cose sa bene l'Autore per la confessione (meant in the *Confessione* veritativa, ch' egli aveva col detto Forese), ed l'Autore fu quegli che, per amore che aveva in lui e far thar, lo indusse alla confessione e confessossi a Dio anni prima di morire. See also *Conetto* iv, 28.

Del buon dolor \* ch' a Dio ne rimarita,†  
 Come se' tu quassù venuto? ‡ Ancora  
 lo ti credea trovar laggia di sotto,  
 Dove tempo per tempo si ristora."—

And I to him: "Forese, from that day when thou didst change the world for a better life, five years have not yet rolled by. If the power to sin more was ended in thee, before the hour supervened of the godly sorrow which re-weds us to God, how is it that thou art arrived up here? I thought to find thee still down there below, where time (of penance) makes restitution for time (wasted)."

Forese answers Dante, telling him that the intercession of his wife Nella, and her virtuous devout life, have been efficacious in helping him to ascend more speedily. Benvenuto relates that Nella did all in her

\* *buen dolor*: Compare II Cor vii, 10 "For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death."

† *a Dio ne rimarita* Compare *Par* vii, 61-63, where the espousals of St. Dominic were said to have been celebrated at his baptism:

"Poichè le sponsalzie fur compiute  
 Al sacro fonte intra l'ave-la fede,  
 U' si dotai di nutria salute," etc.

The man that falls into sin is, as it were, divorced from God. We find in many passages of the Old Testament a *ἕως ἔσθαι* xiii, 37, *Hosea* i, 2; the idolatry of Israel called its adultery. Therefore, in like manner, the repentant sinner is said to be re-wedded to God.

‡ *Come se' tu quassù venuto?*: Some read *di qua* instead of *quassù*. Differences have arisen among modern commentators as to whether the note of interrogation should be placed *all'venuto* or *ancora*, the next word, but neither MSS nor editions can decide that point, for, as Scartazzini observes, orthographical signs were not invented until a later date. For the larger number of editions place the note of interrogation after *ancora*. Bianchi and Scartazzini point out that, if such punctuation be adopted, *an-ora* must be taken in the sense of *quest'ora, così presto*. "How is it that thou art arrived up here so soon (or, at this time)?"

power to check Forese in his excessive gluttony, and, though she had to prepare the dishes likely to tickle his fastidious palate, she never herself gave way to excess, and after his death devoted herself to praying for the peace of his soul, and as we know from *Purg.* iv. 134, that such intercessions would be listened to in heaven, we may infer that, from her prayers having been heard, she was known by Dante as a saintly woman.

Ond' egli a me :—" Si tosto m' ha condotto 85  
A ber lo dolce assenzio \* de' martiri  
La Nella † mia col pianger suo dritto.  
Con suoi preghi devoti e con sospiri

\* *assenzio* : From the Latin *absinthium*, wormwood. In its conjunction here with *dolce*, it is supposed to be bitter to the taste, but sweet to the intellect. Likewise the torments of Purgatory are supposed to be bitter to endure, but sweet to the soul, as they prepare it to enter into Life Eternal. *Dolce assenzio* is an instance of the figure in rhetoric *oxymoron*, a seeming paradox, such as there are numerous instances of both in Greek and Latin, e. g. :

"νιμφὴν τ' ἄνυμφον, παρθένον τ' ἀνάρθρον."

(Eupr. *Hecuba*, 612)

Compare also Horace, *I Carm.* xxxiv, 2 :

"*Insanientis dum sapientie*  
*Consultus erro.*"

Also Hor. *I Epist.* 11, 28 :

"*Strenua nos exerceat inertia.*"

And Catullus, *Carm.* lxxv, 81-83 :

"*Ipsæ suam Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis*  
*Proicere optavit potius, quam tālia Cretam*  
*Funeris Cecropiæ nec funera portarentur.*"

Also Milton, *Paradise Regained*, 11, 310

"He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless  
The city gates outpour'd."

† *La Nella* is the Florentine contraction of *Giovanna*, *Giovanella*. It is a custom at Florence among the lower classes to prefix the definite article to the names of women—*La Nella*, *La Susanna*, *La Carla*, *La Concetta*, *La Nina*.

Tratto m' ha della costa \* ove s' aspetta,  
E liberato m' ha degli altri giri.

Whereupon he to me: "It is my Nella with her overflowing tears, who has brought me thus speedily to drink the sweet wormwood of these torments. By her devout prayers and by her sighs, she has withdrawn me from the hill side where one tames (i.e., the *Ante-Purgatorio*), and has set me free from the other circles (i.e., the Cornices of Pride, Envy, etc.).

The better to accentuate the virtues of his excellent wife, the only righteous woman in a wicked city, Forese now draws an unpleasing picture of the dress and demeanour of the women of Florence, comparing that city to the district of Barbagia, in the island of Sardinia, where the women had an evil reputation, both for their immodest attire, and for their licentious morals.

\* *costa* in this passage means the lower slopes of the mountain, below and outside of the Gate of Purgatory or the *Ante-Purgatorio*. The primary meaning of *costa* is a *steep ascent* (*colla p'v'ascenti*). Throughout Dante's poem it always express "hill-side," and sometimes the hill, or its outline. Compare *In*° x., 61, 62, where Nessus addresses the locusts as they descend the precipitous side of the cliff

"A qual maturo

Venite voi che scendete la costa."

And the *Uranian* quotes from Varchi, *Giornale de' 211*, a MS. in the Magliabechiana Library at Florence an exact definition of *costa* is given: "La via che va da S. Miniato, si chiama costa, ovvero crista [*crisp*] e sima via di S. Miniato a Firenze si chiama crista, ovvero crista." From "steep ascent" the word was used to describe ascent from the sea, as in Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, where one of the most beautiful regions in the world is described: "Credesi che la marina da Reggio a Gaeta la più dilettevole parte d'Italia nella quale assai sono i una costa sopra il mare riguardante, al danti chiamano la costa d'Asolo." The meaning sea-shore, only comes ultimately from the above significations.

Tant' è a Dio più cara e più diletta  
 La vedovella \* mia, che tanto amai,  
 Quanto in bene operare è piu soletta ; †  
 Che la barbagia ‡ di Sardigna assai  
 Nelle femmine sue è piu pudica  
 Che la Barbagia dov' io la lasciai.

95

So much the dearer and more precious in the sight of

*vedovella*: This is the diminutive of *vedova*, used says the *Italian Dictionary* sometimes in the sense of compassion, as we find at other times, as an expression of censure, to denote one who does not bear herself with due decorum in her widowhood. Dante uses it in the first of these two senses in the episode of Trajan and the widow, *Purg.* x, 76, 78.

"Io dico di Traiano imperatore ;

Ed una vedova a gli era al freno,

D' lagrime atteggiate e di dolore."

*soletta*: Diminutive of *solus*, and here is evidently used with certain tenderness to express the solitude of a beloved and long-won-in. Some have tried to make out that Dante, by saying that *Verla* was *soletta in bene operare* just before attacking the women of Florence, meant to cast a reproach on his own wife's name. But, as Scartazzini remarks, it is not at all certain that *Verla* was not already dead at the time these lines were written. *Barbacia* was a mountainous region of Sardinia, and took its name from the ancient Barbaricini, celebrated in the history of the island for their idolatry and independent ways. It lies in the heart of the principal chain of mountains. The Barbaricini had been subdued in Sardinia by the Vandals, and forthwith they took possession of the neighbouring mountains, and practised robbery and plunder. St. Gregory (*Ep.* ix, 23) says of them *in insula inmensa inimicitia vivunt*. The *Codice Corsico* says of them in the Barbagia *mulieres vadunt seminude*. Pietro di Massa makes them worse *sub vadunt nude mulieres*. The *Codice Corsico* is quoted by Cameroni. "In insula Sardinia est montium, quae dicitur La Barbagia: et quando Ianuenses [the Venetians] retraxerunt dictam insulam de manibus Infidelium, non potuerunt retrahere dictam montaniam, in qua habitant mulieres sine civitate, et feminae suae vadunt indute *indute seminude*, ita quod omnia membra ostendunt inhoneste, et sine magno calore. Benvenuto confirms this statement. "In insula caere et prava consuetudine vadunt indute pannos, et excollate ita, ut ostendant pectus et ubera." It is even at the present day, the costume of these women is not so scanty, although their conduct is without reproach.



God is my poor widow, whom I loved so tenderly, in proportion as she is the more solitary in good conduct. For the Barbagia of Sardinia is far more modest in its women than the Barbagia where I left her.

Foresè means that Florence was a second Barbagia. He then tells Dante that he foresees a day of retribution on the Florentine women, when laws will have to be made to check the immodesty of their dress.

O dolce frate, che vuoi tu ch' io dica?  
 Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,  
 Cui non sarà quest' ora molto antica,\*  
 Nel qual sarà in pergamo † interdetto  
 Alle sfacciate donne Fiorentine  
 L' andar mostrando con le poppe il petto  
 Quai Barbare ‡ sui mari, quai Saracine, §

\* *quest' ora* . . . *antica*. Compare *Par.* viii, 118-120:

"E s' io al vero son timido amico,  
 Temo di perder viver tra coloro  
 Che questo tempo chiameranno antico."

† *pergamo*, a pulpit, is not to be confused, as some commentators have done, with *pergamena*, parchment. *Pulpit* is desk, not pulpit. The words *in pergamo interdetto* may mean the sermons that were preached against the immodesty of the women's dress, or better perhaps, the episcopal decrees, and canonical penalties which were proclaimed from the pulpit against such disgraceful habits. It is evident the verses 103-5 that Dante uses *interdetto* in the latter set. Sacchetti (*Novelle*, 115 and 178) speaks at length on this subject.

‡ *Barbare*. Some translate this simply "barbarian women." I prefer to follow Lana's explanation: "E dice quas est mandando: quando avvenne mai nè in Barbaria nè in Sardinia che le donne fosseno sì sfacciate ch' elle convenessero essere corrette da li spirituali predicatori?" The *Ottimo*: "Quas dice in infamia e vitupero delle dette donne; dicendo che il primo atto e il più popolare e volgare d'ella onestate lea femmina, è il tenere coperte quelle membra, che la donna richiede che sieno chiuse; e però quello che è naturale e di luogo è uno medesimo. Onde dice le Barbare, le quali si partite da' nostri costumi, e le Saracine, che sono come alla lussuria. . . . si vanno coperte le mammelle e il petto."

§ *Saracine*: In the middle ages all unbaptized persons except Jews were frequently called Saracens.

Cui bisognasse, per farle ir coperte,  
O spirituali o altre discipline? \*

105

O dear brother, what wouldst thou have me say?  
A future time is already in my view, to which the  
present hour will not be very old, when from the  
pope it shall be interdicted to the unblushing dames  
of Florence to go about displaying the bosom with  
the paps. What women of Barbary, what Saracen  
(women) were there ever, for whom either spiritual  
or other discipline was needed to enforce their going  
about (decently) covered?

Dante now puts into the mouth of Forese a prediction  
of the disasters that actually took place in Florence  
between 1300 and 1316.

Ma se le svergognate fosser certe  
Di quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna, †

\* *discipline*: G. Villani (*lib. ix, c. 245*) relates that in April 1301, "arb' in furono fatti in Firenze, i quali feciono molti capitoli e forti ord' n. contra i disordinati ornamenti delle donne di Firenze." He further relates (*lib. x, c. 11*) that in December, 1300, Carlo, Duke of Calabria, "a priego che le donne di Firenze aveano fatto alla duchessa sua moglie, si rendè alle tre donne uoo loro spiacevole e disonesto ornamento di trece pice di seta gialla e bianca, le quali portavano in luogo di face di capelli davanti al viso, lo quale ornamento perchè piaceva ai Fiorentini, perchè era disonesto e trasnatutato, fano tolto alle donne, e fatti capitoli contro a ciò e altri disordinati ornamenti. Benvenuto speaks of this matter at length, and thinks the Poet has most deservedly uttered reproach against these women. No artificers in the world dress such varied contrivances for the exercise of their handi- work, as the women of Florence for the decoration of their bosoms. For not content with natural beauty, they ever strive to beat it, and are always arming themselves against all deeds with incredible art and sagacity. They assist shortness of hair with a high patten (*um planata alta*), they whiten a black skin, they rouge a pallid face, they make their hair yellow, they set their teeth like ivory; "Mamillas breves et duras: et ut ardeant omnia membra artificiose componunt."

† *quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna*: Dante here alludes in the form of a prophecy to all the calamities that befel Florence

Già per urlare avrian le bocche aperte.  
 Chè se l'antiveder qui non m'inganna,  
 Prima sien triste che le guance impeli  
 Colui che mo si consola con nanna \*

110

But if the shameless creatures only knew for certain that which swift Heaven has in store for them, they would already have their mouths wide-open to howl. For, if my fore-sight here does not deceive me, they will become sad before that he who is now being hushed with lullabies (*i. e.*, the infant) shall have put forth beard upon his cheeks.

immediately after the entry of Charles de Valois in November 1302 (G. Villani, *Lib.* viii, c. 49), and in the following year in massacres of which Fulcieri da Calboli was the author (G. Villani, *Lib.* viii, c. 51). See also Canto xii, 58-66, and my note thereon. In this same year a great famine took place, and the following year the city was excommunicated by Cardinal da Prato (G. Villani, *Lib.* viii, c. 69) and the *Pente alla* (carrying) fell causing the death of a vast number of persons (*con grande pianto e dolore a tutta la cittade* c. 70). Villani says over and over again that these misfortunes were sent as a punishment for the wickedness of the citizens. Compare this with *Inferno* 7-12, where Dante, wishing to predict these same facts and events that would shortly take place after the year 1300 (though when he wrote the *Inferno* they were past occurrences), presents himself as having dreamt them towards dawn, when dreams are popularly supposed to come true. See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. II, pp. 348-352. The primary meaning of *ammanna* is "to bind, or prepare, a sheaf of corn," and hence simply "to prepare." It is derived from *manna* a sheaf (Lat. *manilla*). Cf. *Purg.* xvix, 49, 50:

"La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammanna,  
 Siccom'elli eran candelabri apprese."

\* *nanna*: *La Ninna Nanna* is the song with which nurses in Italy send children to sleep. Compare Michelangelo's *Il Bambino rotto il Giovane*, *La Fiera*, *Uccelli* II, act. I, sc. vi.

"Ed or n' andrete, dormigliose, a nanna."

Lana comments: "He wishes here to mark the time that elapse before such vengeance can take place; and wishes before the male child that is still in the cradle, and who is to sleep with the *Ninna Nanna*, shall have put forth beard; this vengeance will have come to pass — *i. e.*, within the space of 20 years."

"Note here, reader," says Benvenuto, "that I have heard some say rashly, that this prognostication is a discredit to Dante (*vituperium poete*) since such a long time had elapsed without those things taking place, which he seems to foretell as happening in so brief a space of time. To which I reply, that the author speaks here of things that are past and accomplished facts, and not merely of events about to take place. But he appears to prophesy, because he looks at the supposed time of his vision, which was the MCCC, as has already been so often said. For great misfortunes did follow after that date, such as intestine discords, civil wars, and the expulsion of the factions, which things took place in the second and third year following; and in the fourth year the *Guanchi* and *Neri* came again to arms against each other. And while the fury of war was raging, a fire broke out, whether kindled by accident, or, as many have said, the intentional work of a certain priest, *Neri degli Abati*, who first set it going in his own house: and in a short time the greater part of the city was burned, more than two thousand houses being destroyed, with a damage beyond all estimation. We did they meanwhile cease from strife, but all the time great pillage went on. And in the fifteenth year (1315) they (the Florentines) suffered a terrible slaughter at Monte Catini at the hands of *Ugucione della Faggiuola*."

*Division IV.* After uttering his denunciation of the women of Florence, and predicting the woes that will shortly befall them, Forese entreats Dante to say

who he is, as the whole band of penitents, of whom Forese is the spokesman, are lost in astonishment at seeing that Dante's body casts a shadow.

Deh, frate, or \* fa che più non mi ti celi :  
Vedi che non pur io, ma questa gente  
Tutta rimira là dove il sol vèl." †

And now, my brother, I pray thee no longer to hide thyself from me ; see that not only I, but all this multitude are gazing at that spot from which thou art screening the Sun."

Dante reminds Forese that, during the time of the friendship on earth, their lives were not such as have left pleasing recollections. He then answers Forese's question, telling him how Virgil had been sent to his aid, and had guided him through Hell, and thus far up the Mountain of Purgatory.

\* *or:* In l. 58 *et seq.* Dante had begged Forese to tell the reason of the terrible alteration of his features. So now Forese in so many words, says to Dante : " Now that I have given you the information you seek, do you, in your turn, tell us who we are so anxious to know, who are you who have a shadow here ? "

† *dove il sol vèl.* Compare *Purg.* iii, 88-93 :

" Come color dinanzi vider rotta  
La luce in terra dal mio destro canto,  
Sì che l'ombra era da me a la grotta,  
Restaro, e trasser sè in retro alquanto,  
E tutti gli altri che venieno appresso,  
Non sapendo il perchè, fenn' altrettanto "

In Tommasèo's commentary, there are the following observations by the astronomer Antonelli : " Se quando i Poeti giunsero su questo sesto girone era già presso le undici ore, doveva essere passato il mezzodì, come argomentasi dal verso del Canto seguente. E se proseguendo essi nel modo il cammino, fossero stati tra la tramontana e la punta della montagna, come a suo luogo vedremo di verso, a mezzogiorno allora la velatura del sole, cioè l'ombra del nostro Poeta, sarebbe caduta verso la ripa del monte, nella direzione della spalla sinistra e la faccia."

Perch' io a lui. "Se ti riduci a mente"  
 Qual fosti meco † e quale io teco fui,  
 Ancor fia grave il memorar presente.

115

*Riduci a mente*: Compare *Par.* xxiii, 50, 51:

Indarno di ridurlas: alla mente."  
 "s'ingegna

*Convito* i, 9; ll. 7-9: "Se noi riduciamo a memoria quello  
 sopra è ragionato," etc.

*Qual fosti meco*: There is much difference of opinion as to  
 precise import of these words. Some take the purely un-  
 favorable view, that during Forese's life time, he and Dante  
 even way to gluttony, and had together taken part in many  
 such feasts. But all that one has heard of Dante strongly  
 lies against that supposition, as he is credited with having  
 kept, in his diet. (On this, see Dr. Moore, *Dante and his*  
*Biographers*, pp. 161-164, where we learn that both Bo-  
 caccio and Filippo Villani testify to Dante's abstemiousness,  
 and he admired good cooking.) Others with much more  
 plausibility maintain that the whole context of these lines agrees  
 with Dante's account of himself (*Inf.* i, 1, 2) that at the age of 35  
 he was in a state of the greatest moral peril, and that, while he  
 was falling downwards to his ruin, Virgil met him and turned  
 him back into the right path, from the wrong one he was pur-  
 suing (*Che la diritta via era smarrita*). But Forese died, it is  
 supposed, in 1255, five years before the time of the supposed  
 meeting, and therefore Dante would have been walking in the  
 paths of the *selva oscura* for five years after Forese's  
 death before Virgil rescued him in 1300. Scartazzini in his  
 recent Milan commentary says that, in the set of virtu-  
 ous sonnets, it is very easy to see that the virulence  
 of the friends were displaying towards each other (Dante  
 speaking in insulting terms of the mother of Forese, and Forese  
 speaking against the Father of Dante) was so great, that when  
 they meet, in a state of penitence and contrition, their re-  
 pentance of their broken friendship, and their un-Christian  
 conduct towards each other, could hardly fail to suggest the most  
 painful reflections to them. This unseemly literary contest, in  
 which each of the two former friends sought to wound the feel-  
 ings of the other, must have attained a certain amount of pub-  
 licity in Florence, and would have amounted pretty nearly to a  
 scandal. They now may be supposed to be confessing to each  
 other their mutual transgressions, and Dante would explain to  
 Forese that he owes it to the influence of Virgil that he has  
 turned from his formerly thoughtless life into the paths of  
 virtue that are to lead him to Heaven.

Di quella vita mi volse costui  
 Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier,\* quando tonda †  
 Vi si mostrò la suora ‡ di colui 120  
 (E il sol mostrai). Costui per la profonda  
 Notte menato m' ha da' veri morti, §  
 Con questa vera carne ¶ che il seconda. ¶  
 Indi m' han tratto su li suoi conforti,  
 Salendo e rigirando la montagna 125  
 Che drizza \*\* voi che il mondo fece torti

\* *l' altro ieri* is, properly speaking, "the day before yesterday"; but all the commentators interpret it here, "the day before," "a few days ago." "*L' altro ieri* può dire tempo sì remoto che ieri l' altro, il qual significa *Due giorni indietro* (*Gran Dizionario, s. v. Jer'altro*).

† *tonda*: Compare *Inf. xx, 127* "E già iernotte fu la luna tonda." Antonelli (in Tommasèo's commentary) referring back to *l' altro ieri* and *la luna tonda* makes the following remarks: "Stando al solito supposto del plenilunio ecclesiastico della Pasqua del 1300, al Purgatorio avrebbero visto la luna tonda nella notte dal 6 al 7 aprile, e di presente vi correva l' idea dunque *l' altro ieri* significa cinque o sei giorni fa, cioè nessuna di tempo indeterminato; ma poco remoto."

‡ *suora*. The Sun (Apollo) and the Moon (Diana or Leto) were thought to be the children of Jupiter and Latona. Compare *Par. xxix, 1*:

"Quando ambo e due i figli di Latona."

§ *veri morti*: Compare *Inf. i, 115-117*:

"le disperate strida  
 Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti,  
 Che la seconda morte ciascun grida."

¶ *vera carne*: Compare *Purg. ii, 109*, when Dante, or Casella to sing, says to him:

"Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto  
 L' anima mia, che con la sua persona  
 Venendo qui è affannata tanto."

¶ *che il seconda*. Compare *Inf. iv, 15*:

"Io sarò primo, e tu sarai secondo."

\*\* *drizza*: Compare *Purg. x, 1-3*:

"dentro al soglio della porta  
 Che il malo amor dell' anime disusa,  
 Perché fa parer dritta la via torta."

Whereupon I to him: "If thou recall to mind what thou wast in my company, and what I was in thine, the present remembrance of it will even yet be grievous to us. From that life he who goes in front of me turned me but the other day, when the sister (the Moon) of him yonder—and I pointed to the Sun—showed herself to you at the full. He has led me through the profound darkness of the really dead, with this real flesh (*i.e.*, my body) which is following him. Thence (from Hell) have his encouragements drawn me upwards, ascending and encircling this mountain which straightens (*i.e.*, purifies) you whom the world made crooked.

Dante then speaks of the better hope he has to look to and in conclusion tells Forese who are his two guides, in answer to his question:—"Who are those two spirits that bear thee company?" (ll. 52, 53).

Tanto dice di farmi sua compagna,\*

Ch' io sarò là dove sia Beatrice;

Quivi convien che senza lui rimagna.

Virgilio è questi che così mi dice

130

(È adūta' lo), e quest' altro è quell' ombra †

\* *di farmi sua compagna*: It was of common usage among the early writers to leave out the *i* of *compagnia*, as here. Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 100-103:

"Ma misi me per l' alto mare aperto

Sol con un legno e con quella compagna

Picciola, etc.

and Poliziano *La Giostra*, *Lib.* i, st. 29).

"Spargesi tutta la bella compagna,

Altri alle reti, altri alla via più stretta,

Chi serba in coppa i can, chi gli scompagna;

Chi già 'l suo ammette, chi 'l richiama e alletta."

and Gio. Villani *Lib.* an, cap. ix. "Quasi tutti i soldati che erano co' Pisani . . . e più di duemila pedoni di masnade gli vennero, e partirono da Pisa, e feciono una compagna con alcuno picciolo soldo. Scartazzini (*Milan Edition*) remarks that one might also take *compagna* as the feminine of *compagno*, as agreeing with *anima*, or *ombra* understood.

† *quell' ombra*: Dante does not name Statius, and Scartazzini



Per cui scosse dianzi ogni pendice  
Lo vostro regno che da sè lo sgombra."—

So far he says he will afford me his company, until I shall be there (at the summit of the mount) where Beatrice will be; there shall I have to be left without him. ~~It is this one here~~ Virgil, who tells me so— and I find that she is discharged slopes." And this other (Statius) is kingdom (Purgatory) which itself, just now shook all its

**This refers**

says it is different name of Statius in the

ing lines of Canto xx.

but Tommaséo thinks that they have been of the slightest importance

END OF CANTO XXIII.

## CANTO XXIV.

THE SIXTH CORNICE. — GLUTTONY (*continued*).  
 FORESE DONATI. — PICCARDA DONATI. —  
 BONAGIUNTA DEGLI URBICIANI OF LUCCA. —  
 POPE MARTIN IV. — UBALDINA DELLA PILA.  
 BONIFAZIO DEI FIESCHI. — MESSLER MAR-  
 CHESE. — GENTUCCA. — DEATH OF CORSO  
 DONATI PREDICATED. — THE SECOND MYSTIC  
 TREE — EXAMPLES OF INTEMPERANCE. — THE  
 ANGEL OF ABSTINENCE.

DANTE continues the description of the penance and purgation of the Gluttonous, introducing a large number of spirits, most of whom had been his contemporaries, or had died shortly before his time.

Bevenuto divides the Canto into five parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante, continuing the conversation that was broken off at the end of the last Canto, obtains from Forese information about his virtuous sister Piccarda, and Forese then points out several spirits, who had been in their lifetime notorious for Gluttony.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 69, Dante converses with Bonagiunta Urbiciani of Lucca, who pays a graceful tribute to Dante's eloquence, while naming some of the most celebrated early poets who were his own contemporaries, and then hints that in a short time Lucca will have a special attraction for Dante.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 70 to v. 99, Dante resumes his conversation with Forese, and hears from him a prediction of the tragic end of Corso Donati, Forese's own brother, and the principal cause of the evils then existing at Florence. Forese then quits Dante and returns to his penance.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 100 to v. 120, the poets encounter a second tree. A description follows of the checks that are used against Gluttony.

*In the Fifth Division*, from v. 130 to v. 154, an Angel appears, who purifies Dante from the sin of Gluttony, and points out to him the ascent to the Seventh Cornice.

*Division I.* Benvenuto says that some people when in conversation out walking, are in the habit of stopping their companion every time they speak, and other persons, from the haste at which they are walking, either shorten their talk or omit parts of it. Such however is not the case with Dante and Forese, whose rapid progress Dante compares to that of a ship in full sail. Benvenuto draws attention to the appropriateness of the comparison, for the ship of Dante and Forese is holding its course towards a good haven of rest, with a sure confidence in its two skilful pilots, Virgil and Statius, who are walking on before.

Nè il dir l' andar, nè l' andar lui \* piu lento

\* *Nè il dir l' andar, nè l' andar lui, et seq.* It will be noted however, in l. 91, that Forese *did* after all find Dante's speed too slow, and apologises for leaving him behind. Dante estimates the rate of their progress by what is given to Man's power. The spirits not being burdened with *quel d' Adamo* (*Purg.* ii. 11) can naturally move much more rapidly. It may be remembered

Facea, ma ragionando andavam forte,  
Si come nave pinta da buon vento.

E l' ombre, che parean cose rimorte,\*  
Per le fosse degli occhi † ammirazione  
Traean di me, di mio vivere accorte.

5

Neither did our speech make our going, nor did our going make it (our speech) more slow, but as we talked we walked apace, even as a ship impelled by a fair wind. And the shades, that seemed things twice dead, drew in through their cavernous eyes astonishment at me, perceiving I had life.

The spirits would know Dante to be alive, both from seeing his shadow, and from his unstarved appearance.

that the fact of Dante being a bad walker was noticed in the *Questi* *Purg.* xi, 43-45, where Virgil says of him :

"Chè questi che vien meco, per l' incarco  
Della carne d' Adamo, ond' ei si veste,  
Al montar su, contra sua voglia, è parco."

Compare Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* xxxi, st. 34.

"Non, per andar, di ragonar lasciando,  
Non, di seguir, per ragonar, lor via.

*lui* refers to *il dir.* and Cesarì (p. 427) remarks that "come in cosa inanimata si adopera bene il pronome *egli*, come dicon gli esempi." I have often noticed this use of *egli* and *lui* at Florence. A Florentine friend and I were much amused one day by hearing an old man selling, what we might originally here describe as "Zadkiel's Almanacks," in the Market Place at Florence. His cry was "Ecco il Baccelli *Lunario*, *egli è lui* (Here is Zadkiel's Almanack, it is he himself), or it is the real article."

\* *rimorte*. This *terzina* reminds one of that in *Purg.* ii, 67-69, where Dante speaks of the band in which was Casella :

"L' anime che si fur di me accorte,  
Per lo spirare, ch' io era ancora vivo,  
Maravigliando diventaro smorte."

Scartazzini says that, by *rimorte*, Dante wishes to express something from which all form or comeliness has utterly vanished ; the most extreme pallor and extenuation, even as one whose countenance is not only corpse-like, but doubly corpse-like.

† *fosse degli occhi* : I have translated the words as though they were *per gli occhi incavati*.

The last Canto broke off in the middle of the sentence in which Dante was telling Forese who Statius was. The whole sentence, when completed, would have run thus: "And this other is that shade whom your kingdom, which is discharging him from itself, just now shook all its slopes. He walks perchance more slowly upwards than he would, for the sake of some one else." But the Canto broke off before the last clause, which Dante proceeds to utter now, and at the same time asks Forese if he can give him any information about Piccarda, who was sister to Forese, and a cousin of Dante's wife Gemma. Dante's interview with Piccarda in Heaven is described in *Par.* iii, one of the most beautiful Cantos in the *Divina Commedia*. He also asks Forese if there are any personages of distinction doing penance in his company.

Ed io, continuando il mio sermone,  
 Dissi .--" Ella sen va su forse più tarda  
 Che non farebbe, per l' altrui cagione \*  
 Ma dimmi, se tu 'l sai, ov' è Piccarda ; †  
 Dimmi s' io veggio da notar persona  
 Tra questa gente che si mi riguarda." -

\* *per l' altrui cagione*: Scartazzini thinks this was solely for the purpose of talking with Virgil; but Benvenuto explains it to be for the sake both of Virgil and Dante, adding, that Statius would already have soared up to Heaven, "thus see," observes Benvenuto, "how a real friend will while postpone his own comfort for a friend, as says the philosopher in the 11th book of the Ethics, and it is as though (Dante) would say tacitly. 'I must hasten away first, lest we retard Statius who is going to Heaven, therefore tell me, I beseech thee, where is thy sister?'"

† *Piccarda* was the daughter of Simone de' Donati, and sister to Corso and Forese. She took the vows of the order of Clare, but was forcibly abducted from the cloister against

And I, continuing my speech, said: "He (Statius) walks on upwards more slowly perchance, for the sake of some one else, than he would (naturally) do. But tell me, if thou knowest it, where is Piccarda; tell me if, among all this people who thus gaze at me, I see any one to note."

Forese first speaks in affectionate admiration of his sister's beauty and virtue; and then answers Dante's question.

"La mia sorella, che tra bella e buona \*  
Non so qual fosse più, trionfa lieta  
Nell' alto Olimpo † già di sua corona."— 15

\* by order of Messer Corso her brother, and married to Rosellino della Tosa. She tells the tale herself in *Par.* iii, 119-125:

"Perfetta vita ed alto merito incieia  
Donna più su, mi disse, 'alla cui norma  
Nei vostro mondo già si veste e vela,  
Perchè in fino al morir si vegghia e dorma  
Con quell' sposo ch' ogni voto accetta,  
Che caritate a suo piacer conforma.  
Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovincetta  
Fuggi' mi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,  
E promisi la via della sua setta.  
Uomini poi, a mal più ch' a bene usi,  
Fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostro;  
E Dio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi."

† *tra bella e buona*: Petrarch (part ii, sonnet lxxi) says of Laura,

"Nè vivrei grà, se chi tra bella e onesta,  
Qual fu più, lascio in dubbio."

† *Nell' alto Olimpo*: Scartazzini remarks that, according to Dante, the heathen poets had a presentiment of the truth, and their fancies are not mere fictions. Piccarda was in the lowest sphere of Heaven, as she says herself (*Par.* ii, 49-51).

"Ma riconoscerai ch' io son Piccarda,  
Che posta qui con questi altri beati,  
Beata sono in la spera più tarda."

Forese notices that Dante places the sister in Paradise, the brother, Forese, in Purgatory, and Corso, the other brother, in Hell.

said he first, and then : " Here is  
name every one, since our count  
ciated (*lit.* milked dry) by our all

Forese means that, as the whole  
are equally miserable in appet  
nothing invidious in naming ar  
the more so, that otherwise, a  
stranger would be impossible.  
Piccarda, and Forese had in f  
sister"; now lest Dante should  
to reprove him, he hastens to rea  
several of his fellow penitents, a  
a poet, a pope, a great noble, a  
reigning prince, we may take it

\* *si munta. Nostra sembianza era* :  
primary meaning of "to milk, it h  
which, "to deprive anything of wh  
further "to disfigure," and, besides  
in the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *munto*  
and "*maltra*." Therefore *muntare* : id  
milk dry.

† *la dacta* : "Il mangiar poco e cos  
(*Gran Dizionario*). See *Gusti*, P

tion would satisfy even Dante, who rarely, if  
notices anyone of the middle or lower classes.\*

Questi re mostrò col dito) è Bonagiunta,†

In *Inf.* xx, 103-105, Dante expresses this opinion to Virgil in precise terms:

"Ma dimmi della gente che procede,  
Se tu ne vedi alcun degno di nota;  
Che solo a ciò la mia mente s'afiede."

In the same Canto Dante afterwards names one Asdente, a poet, but Bartoli thinks that Dante only mentions Asdente for the sake of grouping him and an astrologer of the highest rank together as two diviners, and thereby bringing the pretentious astrologer into ridicule. In *Pur.* xvii, 133-142, this contempt for ordinary personages is strongly inculcated upon Dante by his ancestor Cacciaguida, who bids Dante ignore them altogether, and only write about illustrious personages, whether good or bad:

"Questo tuo grido farà come vento,  
Che le più alte cime più percuote;  
E ciò non fa d'onor poco argomento.  
Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,  
Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa,  
Pur l'anime che son di fama note;  
Chè l'animo di quel ch'ode non posa,  
Nè ferma sede per esempio ch'haia  
La sua radice incognita e nascosa,  
Nè per altro argomento che non para."

Bonagiunta was the son of Riccorno di Bonagiunta Orlandi degli Orlandi of Lucca. According to Scartazzini he died shortly after the year 1296, in the December of which year he was alive. Lana says he was a reciter of rhymes, and very popular in the vice of Gluttony. Nannucci *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, vol. 1, p. 103, begs his readers to note that Bonagiunta's reputed friendship with Dante, and their interchange of sonnets, is well worthy of credence when asserted by Jacopo della Lana, who was already a writer of some celebrity at the time of Dante's death, and might quite well have been acquainted with them. Benvenuto remarks: "*fuit maximus magister gluttonie*" . . . and further on: "he was an honourable man, of high rank of Lucca, a splendid orator in his mother tongue, with a facility in the matter of rhymes, but of greater facility in prose rhymes." Dante however held Bonagiunta in low esteem as a poet, and in *De Vulg. Elog.* i, xiii, includes him among



Bonagiunta da Lucca ; e quella faccia \*  
 Di là da lui, più che l' altre trapunta, †  
 Ebbe la santa Chiesa in le sue braccia .  
 Dal Torsò ‡ fu, e purga per digiuno  
 L' anguille di Bolsena § e la vernaccia. ¶

certain other Tuscan writers of the time whose language, by no means pure, being the mere local dialect of their respective cities. See also the article by Carlo Minutoli, *renna e gli altri Lucchesi nominati nella Divina Commedia* (117, *L' e il suo Secolo*, Florence, 1865), in which Bonagiunta is mentioned at pp. 222, 224.

\* *quella faccia*: The idea of the intensity of the emaciation is impressed on us by Dante saying "that face beyond him" instead of "that spirit beyond him." He wishes his reader to understand, that the sight of those cavernous eyes and his cheeks so seized upon the attention of the beholder, that for a time he would be unable to see anything but the face. The spirit in question is that of Pope Martin IV, a Frenchman, name Simon de Brion of Tours, who succeeded Nicholas in 1281. G. Villani (lib. vii. ch. 58) says of him "La nazione, ma molto fu magnanimo e di gran cuore ne fatto la Chiesa, ma per se proprio per suoi parenti nulla avera, e quando il fratello il venne a vedere papa, incontante rimando in Francia con piccoli doni e colle spese, che ch' e beni erano della Chiesa e non suoi." He was a partisan of Charles of Anjou, and an enemy of the Ghibellines. He retired to Orvieto, where the rich wines of Orvieto, Montefascone, combined with the eels here mentioned, have given him the serfent from which he is said to have died. The *Postillatore Cassinese* states that, owing to his predilection for eels, the following verses are said to have been written on his tomb:

"Gaudet anguillae, quia mortuus hic jacet ille  
 Qui quasi morte reas excoriabat eas."

† *trapunta*, for *trapuntata*, lit. "worked in embroidery," here "extenuated." "Le immagini ante dell' arida pelle dono immagine di trapunta." (*Tommaso*)

‡ *Torsò*: The city of Tours.

§ *Bolsena*: Lake *Bolsena* is near Viterbo, and said to abound in fish. It is in a most fertile district, but has an evil reputation for *malaria*.

¶ *vernaccia*: A species of white wine, both rich and cold. It was said to have been produced from a thick skinned

This one here—and he pointed with his finger—is  
 Braggiunta, Bonagunta of Lucca; and beyond him  
 (the with) that face more extenuated than the others,  
 once held the Holy Church in his embrace: from  
 Tours was he (Pope Martin IV), and by abstinence  
 he is expiating the eels of Bolsena and the Vernaccia  
 (wine)."

Dante here mentions the quiet satisfaction of which  
 the spirits give evidence, as they are named in turn.  
 Scartazzini thinks the context shows that, as they  
 are not seeking for renown in the world, they are not  
 proudly elated. They only desire from the world  
 the prayers of the living.

Molti altri m. nomo ad uno ad uno; 25

E del nomar parean tutti contenti,  
 Sì ch' io però non vidi un atto bruno.

Many others did he name to me one by one; and  
 all seemed pleased at hearing themselves named, so  
 that I did not for this (*però*) see one sombre gesture.

The two next mentioned are a Florentine noble and  
 Archbishop of Ravenna.

Vidi per fame a vòto usar li denti \*

It imparted a sweet rough flavour to the wine, which Benvenuto says is excellent, and comes from the mountains near  
 Pisa. He adds that he considers it to have been of special  
 utility to that High Priest (meaning Martin IV) to have drunk  
 the wine in which eels had been slain; for whoever drinks of  
 it so prepared straightway takes a disgust to all wine, as  
 Benvenuto says. Benvenuto himself saw the experiment  
 succeed with a great bishop. Chaucer mentions the wine in the  
 Merchant's Tale.

"He drinketh spocras, clarree, and vernage  
 Of spices late, t'empresen his corage."

Compare also Pulci (*M. 2g. M. 2g.* Canto xxv, st. 219), Boccaccio  
*Dec. Giorn.* x, Nov. 11, and Redi, *Storia in Toscana*  
 1711, 118.

*usar li denti*. The phrase is said to be derived from Ovid  
*Metam.* vii, 824-827

"Petit ille dapes sub imagine somni :

\* *Ubaldo della Pila*: Benvenuto's illustrious family of the Ubaldini, with other valiant men; he was liberal brother of the Cardinal Ottaviano & conducted the Pope, with his whole hospitality at his castle on the mount the Pope continued his guest for seven placed the Cardinal in Hell among whom Farinata Degli Uberti mentions fiery tomb (*Inf.* v, 118-120)

"Dissemi: 'Qui con più di m' Qua dentro è lo secondo È il Cardinale.'"

+ *Bonifacio*: This was the Archbishop of the Fieschi, Counts of territory, he was nephew of Pope Innocent III, appointed Archbishop by Gregory X at the Council of Lyons in 1274. Honorius IV was Pope at the Court of Philippe le Hardi, and after his death he was Pope. On p. 120 of a very beautiful work, *Le Fieschi*, Milan, 1891, it is recorded of Bonifacio that he was Archbishop of Ravenna for fully 20 years (1274-1294). He was more of a political agitator than a gentle pastor, and for the assistance he lent to the Ferraresi against the Este, but that no one except Dante mentions him. His wealth must have been enormous, as his castles and possessions, which he added to the clergy of Ravenna were well known. I explain the double meaning of the word *dissemi* implying that Bonifacio used his past life as Archbishop or archi-episcopal office.

I saw through hunger using their teeth on emptiness  
 Ubaldo dalla Pila, and Boniface who with his crozier  
 pastured vast herds (of courtiers and retainers).

Benvenuto's explanation is that Dante describes Boniface by one of the chief insignia of his great dignity. The Archbishop of Ravenna is a great shepherd, who has under him many suffragan bishops from Rimini as far as Parma: and he says *col rocco*; while the other shepherds (bishops) have the crooked pastoral staff he (the archbishop) has the crook straight and round at the top like a castle at chess *ad modum calculi, sive rochi*). This word has been the cause of much disagreement. Some have tried to make out that *rocco* means a belfry, others a rochet, but Scartazzini asks: "How can an archbishop rule with a part of his dress?" Scartazzini adds: "It is derived, like *roque* in Spanish and Portuguese, and *roc*, Provençal and French (and *rook*, English), from the Persian *rokh*, and means either more nor less than the castle in the game of chess. Now the ancient Commentators have told us, that the crozier of the Archbishop of Ravenna has at the top a piece shaped like a castle at chess. *Col rocco* therefore signifies 'with his crozier,' and all the other interpretations are but dreams."

The above is of course the right interpretation of

*pasturare* presenta in questo caso due tagli [*a double edge*] e con  
 conseguenza determina epigramma fra il *pasturare* il gregge  
 umano con la parola evangelica e la pietà, e il *pasturare*  
*bestiame* [*fill the bellies of*] il gregge dei cortigiani che gli si  
 pensavano intorno." Pietro di Dante writes. "Item de  
 Archiepiscopo Bonifatio Ravennate . . . qui cum rocco, id est  
 croce, utate dicitur Archiepiscopatus, super ejus pastorali in  
 summitate est forma unius rochi, saepe convivatus est."

Benvenuto, there are sweet  
wines!

Vidi messer Marchese,\* ch'  
Già di bere a Forlì con  
E sì fu tal che non sà

I saw my Lord Marquess who  
drinking at Forlì with less thirst  
was one who never felt sated.

Benvenuto here inveighs with  
the vice of drunkenness. He  
race are the only animals who  
sake, when they are not athi  
never ceases in any part of t  
worse, men devise incitements  
sake; with the deplorable g  
nobler qualities become vitiate

*Division II.* Dante relates  
inclination to converse with Bo

\* *messer Marchese*: Commentator  
*Marchese* was the name or the title  
to the latter view, as Pietro di Dante  
*Marchesio de Rigogliosis de Forlì*

pointed out to him (ll. 19, 20). He notices that only is Bonagiunta paying particular attention to him, but he overhears him muttering the word *Gen-  
tucca* and Bonagiunta, upon being appealed to by Dante for an explanation of this mysterious utterance, directs to Dante that, before a long time shall have passed, he will have reason to feel some interest in *gentucca*.

Dante first compares himself to one who, on entering into an assembly, looks about him, and then asks what person to approach first.

Ma come fa chi guarda, e poi s' apprezza \*  
 Più d' un che d' altro, se' io a quel da Lucca, 35  
 Che più pareva di me voler contezza.†  
 Ei mormorava, e non so che "Gentucca"  
 Sentiva io là ov' ei sentia la piaga  
 Della giustizia che sì li pilucca.‡

*per s' apprezza*. This is the reading adopted by Dr. Moore in his new Oxford text. It is so read in the Foligno, in the Jesi, in the Naples editions, as well as in the *Codice Cassinese*. Scartazzini reads *e poi fa prezzo*, the reading in the *Adone*, the *La Crusca*, and other texts. The *MS.* and the *Mantua* edn. read *e non s' apprezza*. This is merely another form of *prezzo* = esteem, appreciation, etc.

*per contezza*: Witte states that this reading is found in the margin of the *La Croce MS.* in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and Dr. Moore adopts it. Witte himself and Scartazzini read *pareva di me aver contezza*, which reading occurs in the *Cassinese*, and in the large majority of *MSS.* Daniello reads *per*, and fancies that Bonagiunta would, more than the spirits, have acquaintance with Dante. Compare *Purg.* xx,

"Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute  
 Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver contezza  
 Di quello spirito."

*pucca piluccare* is akin to the German *pfücken*, to pull off a bunch one by one, whence it means to consume by

the justice that so consumes the

The word of course issued from  
was most feeling the pangs of  
Benvenuto interprets *là ove* as  
might also refer to the vicin  
sight of its fruit.

There has been a great deal  
this word *Gentucca*, but the int  
ferred is that which makes it  
which is adopted by the la  
commentators.

Buti says: "Dante formed  
gentle lady called Madonna Ge  
on account of her great virtue a  
from any other love." Fraticel  
of Lucca with whom Dante  
fallen in love, when in 1314 he  
friend Ugucione della Faggiu  
the *Ottimo* interpret the passage  
making *gentucca* a common ne  
*obscura*, low people. The *Ott*

and the *Ottimo* sees therein an allusion to the  
 "and "Femmina è nata, cioè la Parte Bianca."  
 Mazzini explains it categorically. Dante heard  
 her utter something, and the only word he  
 heard was *Gentucca*. He thereupon begs him to  
 explain so that he can understand him. Bona-  
 joves so, telling him that a certain lady is  
 born who will make him find Lucca pleasant,  
 he had before uttered great abuse against it.  
 Hence then is, that Bonagiunta's statement  
 is a woman of Lucca is to explain what he had  
 said, when Dante had only heard *Gentucca*. If  
*Lucca* is the name of the woman. Some com-  
 ments contend, however, that it never was a  
 name. But Troya (*Veltro di Dante*, p. 142)  
 that, at that time, there really was living at  
 Lucca a lady called Gentucca, wife of Bernardo Morla  
 Stelmelli Allucinghi. Carlo Minutoli (*Dante  
 secolo*\*, p. 228) says that it is proved by in-  
 dependent documents that, at the same time, there  
 was in Lucca another lady of gentle blood,  
 called *Gentucca*, much younger than the other

incident of this Canto should omit to read the article in  
*Gentucca e gli altri Lucchesi nominati nella Divina  
 Commedia di Dante e il suo secolo*, pp. 203-231. At the end of  
 the writer says: "Ad ogni modo in Lucca ebbe requie e  
 sepoltura la bella donna di cui parla Villani contemporaneo, e  
 ebbe una degna sopra cui attirare li sguardi di Dante. La quale con la pietà  
 del cuor della donna quieto la tempesta di quell' a-  
 gritudine di crudeltà di fortuna, travolta nelle cicche  
 del male. E fu ispiratrice de' mirabili versi, onde il cantor  
 gli rese eterno nei posteri il nome della lucchese  
 [The passage referred to is in Villani, lib. ix, cap.  
 special mention is made of *le belle donne di Lucca*.]



1, *Gentucca* for *gentuccia*, *gentu*  
found in the works of any writ  
documents that, in the time  
living in Lucca two women, o  
name of *Gentucca*. 3, If *Gentu*  
among the people of Lucca, the  
Commentators, that the Lucch  
*tucca* to mean *gente bassa*, is m  
therefore we may conclude that  
of a woman, who gained the aff  
he was at Lucca in 1314.”  
stress on having purposely said  
for he is convinced that Dant  
was in no sense sinful, but a l  
pure, holy, and removed from  
was not chaste and modest.

Dante now accosts Bonagius  
ensues between them, in whic  
that Bonagiunta wished to adm  
Dante, who had asserted that  
was a fraudulent trafficker i  
*Senatorial* case that in the

ends that his interview with Bonagiunta took place, he could not have put into the mouth of the poet words referring to the twenty-first Canto of the *Purgatorio*, for no one believes that that Canto had then been written. Buti thinks it is simply a censure upon generally of the evil habits and words of the Florentines.

Buti leaves one to suppose that Bonagiunta desired to speak with him to defend Lucca, his native city, from the bad repute in which Dante held it. Buti now says to him in so many words: "It may not be in thee to mutter through thy teeth, but I pray thee to content me also by speaking distinctly."

— "O anima," diss' io, "—che par sì vaga \* 40

Di parlar meco, fa sì ch' io t' intenda,

E te e me col tuo parlare appaga."

"Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda," †

Cominciò ei,—"che ti farà piacere

La mia città, come ch' uom la riprenda ‡ 45

Tu te n' andrai con questo antivedere ;

\* *vaga* Di parlar meco: Compare *Par.* iii. 34, 35 :

"Ed io all' ombra, che pareva più vaga

Di ragionar, dinza mi, e comminciai."

† *non porta ancor benda*. The *Gran Dizionario*, explaining the foregoing passage, says: "Da quanto dicono gli spositori, al tempo dell' Adighieri, le maritate e le vedove portavano il capo coperto, non così le giovani da marito."

‡ *benda*. On this Buti comments: "Questo dice imperò l'Adighieri sono ripresi (*censured*), di loro costumi e del loro parlare," and Buti goes on to ridicule them for having earned this nickname in Tuscany of *Boudels*, from their mispronunciation of certain words, of which their contraction of *buonaiuto* into *buolo* is a specimen, from which the *sobriquet* was derived. However, was a Pisan, and between Pisa and Lucca there exists a great antipathy. The pronunciation and Tuscan idiom in the foregoing is of the strict and mountain region at the present day among the choicest in Italy.

horn, and wears not yet the  
wedded," he began, "who shall  
thee, however much men may  
go thy way with this presage (I  
muttering thou wast led into error  
will at some future day make it

Benvenuto notices that, when  
first mentioned Dante's future love  
him of his former love, for he  
been wonderfully in love (*mirabile*)  
had composed noble love songs.

He asks Dante if the person  
really that Dante Alighieri was  
style of poesy. In reply Dante  
damental principle of poetry, which  
style should be the close correlative  
to the thought. Bonagiunta asks  
himself, nor certain others of the  
the least understood or followed  
laments the fact.

Ma di s'io veggio qui colui

---

\* *ancor*: The adverb *ancora* has

Trasse le nuove rime,\* cominciando : 50

*Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' Amore.*

Ed io a lui — " Io mi son un † che, quando

Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo

Che ditto dentro, vo significando." ‡

— " O frate, issa ò veggio," disse, — " il nodo 55

\* *Le nuove rime*: Dante was the first to write sonnets in which, instead of the conventional love of which other poets had spoken, he elevated love as one of the most noble, pure and holy feelings of the soul. The line quoted here is the first verse of a canzone in the *Vita Nuova*, § xix, cant. 1. Dante evidently considered this to be one of his best canzoni, for he not only quotes it here, but again in his *De Vulg. Eloq.* lib. ii, ch. 12. With *nuove rime* compare Hoace, III *Carm.* 1, 2-4:

"Carmina non prius

Audita Musarum sacerdos

Virginibus puerisque canto."

† *Io mi son un, et seq.*: Cesari *Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 433) explains this well. "Amore è la scintilla, e è solo maestro della poesia. Anzitutto che che tu voglia. L'amore scuote l'ingegno, suscita, trova i migliori concetti, gli amplifica, aggrandisce ed ordina. ascolta lui, nota bene, e secondo che ditto, secondo che dice il poeta. Chi lavora di solo ingegno senza fuoco, scrive languido, secco, stentato; e mostra l'arte, non la natura." Compare also the excellent disquisition upon this passage in Tommaso's commentary in the digression at the end of the canto, where he says that in these few lines there is a whole treatise on poetic art.

‡ *io significando*. Compare Balaam's answer to Balak (*Numb.* 23-35): "And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee, have I now any power at all to say anything? the word that God putteth in my mouth that shall I speak." Also Chaucer, *Complaint of the Blacke Knight*, 194.

"But even like as doth a skryvenere,  
That can no more tell what that he shall write,  
But as his master beside dothe endite.

*Issa* stands for *adesso*, and is contracted from the Latin *in ipso anni*. Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 7:

"Che più non si pareggia mo ed issa."

And *Inf.* xxvii, 20-24.

"Che parlavi mo Lombardo  
Dicendo. Issa ten va, più non t'adizzo."

\* *il Notaro*. This is Jacopo da Lentini. He is said to have been a Sicilian poet here to censure his school, as antiquaries give him the credit of being one of the first of his time, and in *De Vulg. Erro.* lib. 3. by Jacopo beginning "*Madrinna dir*" about the year 1250. Nannucci thinks that Frisino and Bembo considered him of the early times. Lorenzo de' Medici was elegant and sententious, but devoid of the *delicatezza*. Nannucci thinks however that there was a transition into the *delicate stil nuovo*.

† *Guittone*. Fra Guittone d'Arezzo introduced the Italian sonnet into the perfect form that we see, and he left behind him the earliest specimens of the kind. He was born about 1250 of Firmena near Arezzo. He was genteel and elegant in tone, as he was one of the religious *Guelfi* mentioned in *Inf.* xxiii. He was a linguist, being learned in Latin, Provençal, and French. From these languages he took many words into his writings. He was even more distinguished than for his poetical compositions. He was an unjust verdict in a court of law his property and driven him into voluntary exile.

‡ *le vostre penne*: Bonagiunta mentions the modern sonneteers, such as Dante, Cavalcanti, and others, compared with himself and his contemporaries was

Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo ; \*—♦  
E quasi contentato si tacette.

But tell me if I see before me him who evoked those novel rhymes, beginning *Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' Amore* (*Ladies, who have intelligence of Love*.) And I to him: "I am one who, whenever love inspires me, take note, and in that fashion that he dictates within me I give utterance." "O Brother," said he, "now (*issa*) do I see the hindrance that held back the Notary, Guittone, and myself so short (*di qua*) of that sweet new style which I hear. I see how your pens follow closely after him who dictates (*i.e.*, after Love); the which was certainly not the case with ours. And he who sets himself to look further can no longer distinguish the one style from the other." And then, as if content, he held his peace.

*Bonagiunta* means that the later style adopted by Dante, Guido Cavalcanti and the others, was so vastly superior. Or the passage may be translated according

only found in Bodleian MS "A." Dr. Moore distinctly prefers *guardare* or *ri, andare*. The former has much larger MS. support, and suits the rhythm of the line much better—if such an argument be admissible. The MS. authorities are too long to quote here. See Dr. Moore, l. c. p. 413. For the reading *inguardar oltre*, there is the MS. authority of the Santa Croce, Bernin, Caetani, and Cassinese and other *Codices*, and the early editions of Foligno, Jesi, and Naples, of the commentaries of Lana, Buti, Landino, Vellutello, Brunone Bianchi, and Witte. For the reading *guardare* there is the MS. authority of the Vatican and Vienna *Codices*, the printed editions of Monti, Aldine, Crusca, and others, and of the commentators *Alessandro Pierattino*, *Daniello*, *Venturi*, *Lombard*, *Costa*, *Camerini*, and others. *Benvenuto* reads *guardare*.

\**dall' uno all' altro stilo*. *Benvenuto* explains this "da naturale a artificato." Some think it means "there is no comparison between the styles of the early and of the modern school of poetry." I prefer *Scartazzini's* explanation, namely, "there is no comparison between a conventional, imitated style, and a spontaneous style, dictated by the heart."

pleased with himself, because he  
the true state of the case.

Dante, having ended his con-  
giunta, describes the departure of  
by a beautiful simile.

Come gli augel \* che vernan  
Alcuna volta in aer fanno  
Poi volan più in fretta e  
Così tutta la gente che li era,  
Volgendo il viso, raffretti  
E per magrezza e per voi

Even as the birds that winter all  
one time form themselves into  
more in haste and go in file, so  
that were there, turning their faces  
their steps, made light both by le  
own) good will.

*Division III.* The conversatio  
resumed, which Dante's interv  
had interrupted. Forese, who

\* *Come gli augel* The birds here  
are described by Dante in two other  
43-48; and *Inf.* v, 46-49. Compa

and for a long time before he met Dante, is tired, does not go on with the other shades. Benvenuto says he may have been out of breath with much singing. Forese, walking at a slower pace, asks his friend if they are ever to meet again. Dante replies that the sooner the time comes for him to die and pass into Purgatory the better he will be pleased, seeing, as he does, the terrible calamities that are coming over Florence. Possibly, too, he means that he desires to quit the world of vexation and sorrow even in advance of the mandate of God for his creature.<sup>8</sup>

E come l' uom che di trottare † è lasso 70  
Lascia andar li compagni, e si passeggia ‡  
Fin che si sfoghi l' affollar del casso ; §

And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then I fly away and be at rest.' (*Psalm* lv, 6).

*trottare*: Cesari *Bellezze*, vol. II, p. 435 says that *trottare* is equally for a man on foot or on horseback, as for the hoofs of animals. Compare Boecaccio *Decamerone* II, li. 10: "Rinaldo rimasto in camiscia e scialto, essendo il freddo grande, e nevando tuttavia forte . . . sospinto dalla freddura, andò si dirizzo verso Castel Guglielmo, etc.

*si passeggia*: It is curious how many commentators and translators read *si passeggia*. This would not only involve a five verb *passeggiarsi* which does not exist, but would also destroy the sentence of the force of *si così*. Scartazzini says this out, and Andreoli comments: "e si passeggiava, e così gli altri andare passeggiava. Il Bianchi, col Biagio, ed altri, non passeggiava: ma bene avverte il Betti che passeggiarsi era stranissima e senza esempio in tutte le buone scritture."

*affollar del casso*: *affollare* is derived from the Latin *affollare*, a pair of bellows; and the verb refers to the act of blowing in, and expelling the air from the lungs. *Casso* comes from the Latin *capsa*, a receptacle, and here has the sense of chest, *thorax*. See in Scartazzini's later commentary (1893) an interesting quotation from Cavani (*Vita*



Si lasciò trapassar la santa greggia  
 Forese, e retro meco sen veniva,  
 Dicendo: — "Quando fia ch' io ti riveggia?"  
 "Non so," risposi io lui, — "quant io mi viva;"  
 Ma già non na il tornar † mio tanto tosto,  
 Ch' io non sia col voler prima alla riva  
 Perocchè il loco, u' fui a viver posto,  
 Di giorno in giorno più di ben si spolpa,‡  
 Ed a trista ruina par disposto. —

*c. Modi della Div. Com. dell' uso popolare toscano.* Firenze, 1877, in which the author shows that recent discoveries in Physiology have determined the precise similarity between the mechanism of respiration in an animal, and the mechanism of a pair of bellows.

\* *quant io mi viva*: Compare this with Virgil's statement of Antæus about the probable duration of Dante's life. *Ist. lit.* xii. 127-129.

"Ancor ti può nel mondo render fama;  
 Ch' ei vive, e lunga via ancor aspetta,  
 Se innanzi tempo grazia a sé nol chiama."

† *Ma già non ha il tornar*, etc.: Cesari paraphrases the "Al desiderio mio, sarà sempre tardi il mio venir qui, quantunqu' egli sia tosto." He goes on to say that, even in our modern times to show so much true faith, and hope of future life, he would be laughed at for being full of hypocrisy and cant. Nevertheless the authority of a Dante, if all other arguments were wanting, might well put to the blush our modern would be sages (*saputi*) and drawing room poets (*poeti delle stampe*), who on their side would perchance blush. It had to say "Thy Kingdom come." Compare Dante's *Par.* Casella, *Purg.* li. 91, 92:

"Case la fa o, per tornare altra volta  
 Là dove son, io so questo viaggio."

And *Vita Nuova*, § xxvii. can. viii. st. 4

"Dannomi angoscia il sospir forte,  
 Quando il pensiero nella mente grave  
 Mi reca quella che m' ha il cor diviso  
 E pesse m'ate pensando alla morte,  
 Me ne viene in desir tanto soave,  
 Che m' tramuta lo color nel viso."

‡ *si spolpa*. But "*Spolpa*" is to eat the pulp, and here it is used in the sense of "to eat up" or "to consume." Compare *Purg.* xxx. 1

And as a man who is spent with running allows his companions to pass onward, and thereby is enabled to walk at a foot's pace, until the panting of his chest is allayed; so did Forese allow that holy throng to pass on, and came behind with me, saying: "When will it be that I shall see thee again?" "I know not," I answered him, "how long I may live; but still my return will not be so speedy but what I shall with my heart reach the shore (of Purgatory) still sooner. Because the place where I was set to live (*i.e.*, Florence) becomes day by day more denuded of good, and seems predestined to dismal ruin."

By way of consoling Dante, Forese now tells him that the swift retribution of God will soon fall on him who is the chief cause of this evil at Florence, meaning his own brother Corso de' Donati. Benvenuto says that, it must be understood that Corso, a soldier tried in arms, in skill and in bravery, had been restored to power in Florence, as chief of the *Neri*, by Charles de Valois (*Sans Terre, Carolus sine terra*). He had annihilated the *Bianchi* at a time when they were at the zenith of their power and prosperity. His arrogance, however, and the state he kept, made him an object of suspicion to his colleagues in the Signoria, and he fell into bad odour even among his own adherents, partly because they felt that he seemed more their lord than their comrade. Benvenuto is here guilty of a slight inconsistency, leaving it doubtful whether Corso was father-in-law, or son-in-law of Ugucione della

"Quanto sofferson l' ossa senza polpe."

And *Inf.* xxv, 73, 74.

"Mentre ch' io forma fui d' ossa e di polpe,  
Che la madre mi diè, etc.

And *Commedia*, *Canc.* xv, st. 5:

"Ma questo fuoco m' have  
Già consumato sì l' ossa e la polpa," etc.

Faggiuola. First he says of Corso "*sed precipue ad populo, quia factus fuerat secer Ugucionis de Fa domini Pisarum potentissimi hostis florentinor*." Lower down, speaking of Corso's despair at the expected reinforcements from Ugucione not arrive, he says: "*tandem destitutus sperato auxilio deseruit domos, etc.*" Benvenuto goes on to say, being captured and on his way back to Florence, tried to escape by setting spurs to his horse, but either by accident or design he let himself fall from the saddle, and was dragged a long way, till at last a soldier struck him on the head and killed him.

Giovanni Villani (*lib. viii, c. 96*) tells the story somewhat differently from the account given by Dante. He says that, "being accused of treason less than an hour, without giving a longer time for the trial Messer Corso was condemned as a rebel and traitor to the commonwealth. The *priori* carried the standard of justice, together with the Podestà, captain and the executioner, . . . went at once to the houses inhabited by Messer Corso to carry out the execution." Corso defended himself gallantly, confident in succour from Ugucione della Faggiuola, "and the battle lasted most of the day, and was so fierce notwithstanding all the power of the people, if the reinforcements expected from Ugucione and his friends in the district had arrived in time, the people of Florence would have had enough to do that day." But the succours did not arrive, and Corso was obliged to take to flight. "Messer Corso, departing alone, was overtaken and captured, near Rovereto by certain Catalonian troopers, and as they led

to Florence, when they drew near to San Salvi . . . . .  
Alesser Corso, for fear of falling into the hands of his  
enemies, and being put to death by the people, suf-  
fering terribly as he was from gout in his hands  
and feet, let himself fall from his horse. The Cata-  
nians, seeing him on the ground, one of them  
thrust his lance through his throat, wounding him  
mortally and left him for dead: the monks of the  
old Monastery carried him into the Abbey, and some-  
time that before dying he gave himself up to them  
for penitence, while others maintain that they found  
him dead, and the next day he was buried at San  
Salvi, with little honour and small attendance, as  
the people were afraid of getting into bad odour with the  
authorities."

Scartazzini says that it is impossible to deny cre-  
dence to the account of Villani, who, on the 15th  
September, when this occurred, was actually in Flo-  
rence, and was to a certain extent an eye-witness of  
these events. Dante, on the other hand, was far away  
in exile, one does not know for certain where, and  
could receive the intelligence at second or third hand.  
It is quite easy to suppose that the account of the  
sudden fall of Corso from his horse, as related by Villani,  
could be magnified little by little into his having been  
killed by the stirrup. Dante must have written in  
perfect good faith, but from erroneous information.

Forese's prophetic utterance reveals to Dante the  
certain death of Corso, whose soul, he tells Dante,  
he has to go straight to Hell, whence there is no  
redemption. He professes to see the horse dragging  
it to the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

—"Or va,"—diss' ei, "chè quei che più n' ha colpa"  
 Vegg io a coda d' una bestia tratto  
 In ver la valle,† ove mai non si scolpa.  
 La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto,  
 Crescendo sempre fin ch' ella il percuote,  
 E lascia il corpo vilmente disfatto.‡  
 Non hanno molto a volger quelle rote §  
 -E drizzò gli occhi al ciel, che ti fia chiaro  
 Ciò che il mio dir più dichiarar non poate.

"Now go," said he, "for I can see him who is most to blame for it all, dragged at the tail of a beast towards that valley, where nevermore can sins be forgiven. The animal at every bound goes faster, increasing his speed until it smites him, and leaves his corpse hideously disfigured. Yon spheres have not much to revolve—and he raised his eyes to heaven—

\* *quei che più n' ha colpa* Benvenuto gives the following double interpretation "*Vegg io quel che più n' ha colpa* = *fratrem meum, tratto a coda d' una bestia*, scilicet ab infero, deinde a demone, *inver la valle*, primo Arn dem (i.e. Arn Arnò), deinde infernalem." But says that *bestia* must be understood in a double sense, literal and allegorical, *bestia* meaning the devil; but Scartazzini takes *bestia* in the literal sense as the horse.

† *In ver la valle*: This is the Valley of the shadow of Death or Hell. See *Inf.* iv, 78.

"in su la proda mi trovar  
 Della valle d' abisso dolorosa."

and *Par.* xvii, 137.

"Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa."

and *Par.* xx, 106, 107.

" . . . l' una dello Inferno, u non si riede  
 Giammai a buon voler."

‡ *disfatto*: Compare *Inf.* vi, 40-42, where Ciacco says

"O tu, che se' per questo inferno tratto,  
 . . . ti conosco, se sai."

Tu fosti, prima ch' io disfatto, fatto."

§ *quelle rote*: Compare *Purg.* xxx, 109-111:

"Non pur per opra delle rote marine,  
 Che drottan ciascun seme ad alcun fine,  
 Secondo che le stelle son compagne."

fore that will be quite clear to thee which my speech  
may not further explain.

He means that many years will not elapse from  
the date of their supposed interview, and 1308,  
Corso did actually die. He then explains that  
he can no longer accommodate his pace to that of  
thee, but must resume his penance of rapid running,  
in the conversation has interrupted.

Tu ti rimani omai, chè il tempo è caro \*  
In questo regno sì, ch' io perdo troppo  
Venendo teco sì a paro a paro."— †

How do thou stay behind, for the time is so precious  
in this realm that I lose too much in thus going side  
by side with thee."

Virgil's departure is described by a simile, which  
Lauri (*Similitudini Dantesche*, pp. 209-210) says is  
particularly well chosen, and adapted to those times, in  
the use of arms was a natural means of defence,  
though unfortunately but too often a provocative of  
discord.

Qual esce † alcuna volta di galoppo  
Lo cavalier di schiera che cavalcha, 95  
E va per farsi onor del primo intoppo, §

*Il tempo è caro*— See Lauri on this: "Nessuna cosa è più  
che il tempo a quelli che sono in purgatorio, o in stato di  
pena: imperò che quanto più tosto si compie la penitenza,  
più presto si va a godere."

*A paro*— Compare Petrarch, *Trionf. Amor.* cap. iii. terz. 9:

"Una giovane greca a paro a paro  
Con nobil. poeti già cantando."

*Qual esce*— Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xv, st. 28:

"Veggio ch' entrare innanzi si prepara  
Quel terzo agli altri a guadagnar l'alforo;  
Come buon corridor ch' ultimo lassa

Le mosse, e giunge, e innanzi a tutti passa."

*Primo intoppo*— Tommasèo suggests that Dante may have  
had in mind the battle of Campaldino, where he fought as a  
man in 1259.

Tal si parlò da noi con maggior valchi; \*  
 Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due, †  
 Che fur del mondo sì gran maliscalchi ‡

As sometimes a knight issues forth at a gallop from a troop of horsemen, and goes forward to win honour in the first encounter, so did he (Forese) depart from us with longer strides (than ours), and I was left in the path with only those two (Virgil and Statius), who were such mighty marshals of the world.

Benvenuto thinks that Dante has been very happy in the dignity he has given to these great Poets in styling them the world's marshals; since Virgil was unsurpassed in his description of the natural habits of horses, and the wars of men; and Statius in

\* *con maggior valchi*. *Valco* or *valeo* is derived from *valere*, *valutare*, *valere*, *valutare*. Akin to the English "wall" and the German "wallen." *Valco* means a step, a pace. Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xv. st. 40:

"Che tanto leggermente e corre e valca  
 Che nell'arena l'orma non n'appare"

† *con esso i due*. Blanc Fox *Dant* says sometimes this noun *esso* seems to have no other duty than that of giving greater precision to the image, and then it is always placed between the preposition and the substantive without taking the gender of the latter." Cf. *Purg.* iv. 27. "Con esso i pi."

‡ *gran maliscalchi*, here means Great Masters, first in matter of knowledge. *Maliscalco* means the governor of a vince, or commander of an army. Blanc explains the word *magister equorum*, from *magis* a more and *equus* a horse. In Danish and Norwegian too we find *magis* a more, *equus* a rogue. The word is used by Boccaccio, *Thesoro* (1700) Nov. 8. "Perotto, il quale in Galescol mader de' del re d'Inghilterra era rimaso, similmente crescendo venne in grado di signor suo." And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xvi. st. 97.

"Gran diodaro e maliscalco regio."

But comments on the passage in the text "Ciò è un governatore del mondo . . . Maliscalco è governatore delle coste, e de l'esercito sotto lo imperadore, e de essere esperta delle cose da fare, come seppeno quelli che per quello che si convenia fare nel mondo a vivere moralmente e civilmente."

the wars of the Greeks; and both were deeply versed in the habits of men generally, the changing fortunes of kingdoms, and the geographical positions of the places they described.

*Division IV.* Dante encounters a second tree, beneath whose overspreading branches the Gluttonous have to suffer even more acute pangs of hunger and thirst. Forese had quitted the three Poets, leaving Dante in deep thought as he ponders over Forese's recent words, and the events they predict. It must be remembered that the Poets are walking in a circle round the *Cornice*; so that, as they round the base of the cliff, they find the new tree quite close to them.

E quando innanzi a noi entrato fue,<sup>\*</sup> 100

Che gli occhi miei si fero a lui seguaci,

Come la mente alle parole sue,

Parverm' i rami gravidi e vivaci

D' un altro pomo, e non molto lontani,

Per esser<sup>†</sup> pure allora volto in làci.‡ 105

\* *innanzi* . . . *entrato fue*: *Entrare innanzi* is the same as *passar oltre*, and is used in that sense by Boccaccio, *Decam.* *lib. v.*, Nov. vii. "Ma Pietro, che giovane era, e la fanciulla veramente avanzavano nello andare la madre di lei e l'altre compagne assai, forse non meno da amor sospinti, che da paura di tempo ed essendo già tanto entrati innanzi (*i.e. passed on — far in front of*) alla donna e agli altri, che appena si trovavano," etc.

† *Per esser*, et seq. Lombardi tries to show that there were several trees, encountered from time to time by the penitents in every middle of the path, but Scartazzini very justly points out that *only two* trees are mentioned, and the Poets meet with the first as they enter into the *Cornice* and the second as they are about to depart from it.

‡ *là*: An antiquated form of *li*, like *lic* for *li*, *Inf.* xiv, 84; *Inf.* vii, 66; and *quis* for *qui*, *Purg.* vii, 64. We find *luc* used in the Italian bible, see 2 *Kings*, vi, 14: "Therefore sent he to her (*Luc*) horses, and chariots, and a great host."



And when he had passed so far on in front of us, that my eyes had to go in pursuit of him, as did my mind of his words, there appeared to me the laden and luxuriant boughs of another fruit tree, and not very far off, because I had only just then turned (the corner) right upon it.

Benvenuto says that the shades of the Gluttonous are punished between these two trees, but this second one seems to give more torment than the first. This may perhaps have been that the first tree tormented them as to the quantity, and the second as to the quality of the food and the water that tempted their appetites (*forte quia prima punit in quanto, secunda in quali*); or else, because the one punished the eaters, and the other the drinkers, who, being the greatest sinners, have the greater torment, as will now be seen.

The suffering spirits under the tree are compared to children begging for fruit to be given them, when some friendly hand exhibits and laughingly withholds. The Poets would approach the tree, but a mysterious voice within the branches warns them away.

Vidi gente sott' esso alzar le mani,  
E gridar, non so che, verso le fronde.  
Quasi bramosi fantolini \* e vani, †

\* *fantolini*: Compare *Purg'* xxx, 43, 44:

"Volsimi alla sinistra col rispetto  
Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma."

And *Par.* xxx, 82, 83.

"Non è fantin che si subito rua  
Col volto verso il latte."

† *vani*: On this Cesari comments. "vani: compiendo sentimento questa parola, come a dire, che invano levano braccia, e piangono a qualcheduno, che mostra loro cosa essi desiderata, ovvero *desisti* (disappointed) o *vanevanza*, che torna al medesimo.

Che pregano, e il pregato non risponde ;  
 Ma per fare esser ben la voglia acuta, 110  
 Tien alto lor disio e nol nasconde.

Poi si parti sì come ricreduta ; \*  
 E noi venimmo al grande arbore adesso, †  
 Che tanti preghi e lagrime rifiuta.

— " Trapassate oltre ‡ senza farvi presso ; 115  
 Legno è piu su che fu morso da Eva, §  
 E questa pianta si levò da esso." —

*ricreduta* : explained by Cesari as *disingannata*, i. e. dis-  
 tilled.

*adesso*. "Immediately, straightway," from the Latin *ad*  
*scilicet tempus*. Scartazzini remarks that some, being  
 ignorant of the true force of this word among old writers,  
 put it into *ad esse*. But Rosa Morando (*Dir. Com. Venez.*  
 vol. iii, Append. p. 34), shows this to be a false reading,  
 and remarks that, were it to be adopted, the word *esso* would be  
 quite as a rhyme, and adds that the same words cannot be  
 used in rhyme when bearing the same sense, except in cases  
 like that in *Purg.* vi, 65, where the repetition, three times over,  
 of the sentence *per immenda* gives much greater force and  
 eloquence to the irony. The *Gran Dizionario* says there  
 are several instances in the early writers of *adesso* in the sense  
*instantaneus*, i. e. immediately. Dante da Majano so uses it.  
*Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence,  
 vol. ii, p. 476 :

" Poi quel pensiero obbligo, e pautoso  
 D'vegno adesso, e taccio l' mio volere."  
 Again at p. 483, the same poet writes :  
 " Che ogn' altra gioja adesso n' obblia."  
 Ricci says that *adesso*, which he spells *adesso*, in this pas-  
 sage of Dante da Majano is : "Subito ; proveniale *ades* nel  
*stesso*." (Nannucci, *Manuale Lett. Lingua Ital.* vol. i,  
 footnote).

*Trapassate oltre* : Scartazzini points out that, out of each of  
 the two trees, a voice is heard inculcating temperance. The two  
 utterances are in perfect consonance with one another,  
 and his last one may remind us of God's precept to Adam  
 Gen. 3, 17, "But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil,  
 thou shalt not eat of it."

*Legno . . . più su . . . morso da Eva* : It was in the original  
 Garden of Paradise that the first law of abstinence was placed,  
 and it was broken. These examples are uttered here as checks

Si tra le frasche non so chi diceva ;  
 Per che Virgilio e Stazio ed io ristretti,  
 Oltre andavam dal lato che si leva.\*

Beneath it I saw people lifting up their hands, and crying I know not what towards the branches, and a little children who pray eagerly and in vain, and to whom they pray answers not; but to make their longing very keen, holds on high (the object of their desire, and conceals it not. Then they departed as though disappointed; and we straightway came up to the mighty tree, which sets at naught so many prayers and tears. "Pass ye on farther without drawing near, the tree that was eaten of Eve is higher up (i.e., in the Terrestrial Paradise,

upon gluttony, of which the first example is that of Eve from the desire of eating an apple, brought death to the human race. The first tree announced the example of temperance of Mary *Purg.* xvii, 142; this second tree the intemperance of Eve. Compare *Purg.* xxix, 25-27.

"onde buon zelo

Mi fe' riprender l'aiudamento d'Eva,  
 Che là dove abbina la terra e il cielo,  
 Femmina sola, e par teste turnata,  
 Non scorse di star sotto alcun velo."

Perez (*Sette Cerchi*, p. 22) after mentioning that the Fathers of the Church have ever contrasted Mary with Eve in various ways, and pointing out that, while the first of these announced the temperance of Mary, this last records the fall of Eve, goes on to say: "Dieu m'ense son geste all'imagination e al pensiero des penitens: l'une a Eden l'erbe e i noni che poco stante doveano canver in spine. L'altra in Calva, tra l'idrie del acqua interceda per tramutarsi nel vino viticoso. Vedest Eva e Adamo, Maria e Gese all'altra. La Eva, che dall'albero vien fatto e versa ne petti umani il sacco onde s'avvelena ogni beuto fetto, qui Maria, che da Calva il quare ha detto, l'acqua trae il vino, che restaura e santifica l'amore. La Eva l'ora della caduta, qui accelerata l'ora del risorgimento del genere umano."

\* *si leva*: Compare *Par.* xxvi, 139, 140.

"Nel monte che si leva più dall'onda,  
 Fu io.

and this plant was reared from it." Thus spoke, I know not who, among the branches; whereupon Virgil and Statius and I, drawing close together, went on further along the cliff-side that rises abruptly.

The three Poets passed to the left of the tree, on that side of the way where was the perpendicular side of the mountain. The voice continues to tell of further instances of Gluttony, first giving an example of the ill effects of immoderate drinking, then introducing a story from Jewish History of the men who drank moderately of water, as a lesson that moderation is to be practised even in those things that are not of themselves hurtful.

This concludes the description of the punishment of the Gluttonous.

"*Ma'ordiva, — dicea "dei maledetti\*  
 Nei navoli formati, che satolli  
 Teseo combatter coi doppi petti;  
 E degl. Ebrei ch' al ber si mostrâr molli,  
 Per che non gli ebbe Gedeon † compagni,      125  
 Quando ver Madian discese i colli."*

*dei maledetti. Nei navoli formati.* The Centaurs are said to have been the progeny of Ixion and the cloud Nephele, to whom Jupiter had given the appearance of Juno, beloved by Ixion. They were half men and half horses, for which reason the poet speaks of their double breasts. Lemg invited by their daughters, the Lapithæ, to the nuptials of Pirithous and Hippodamia, and becoming drunk, they attempted to carry off the bride, and the other women. They were opposed by Peleus and the Lapithæ, who defeated them and slew a great number of them. The battle is described by Ovid, *Met.* vii, 240-535; Virg. *Georg.* ii, 455, et seq.; Hor. *I.* vii, 1-7.

*Per che non gli ebbe Gedeon.* Others read *nd' i volle Gedeon*, but this reading is rejected by all the best commentators. Dr Moore reads *Per che non gli ebbe.* This is the reading of the four first

Si, accostati all' un de' due vivagni,\*  
 Passammo, udendo colpe de la gola,  
 Seguite già da miseri guadagni

"Bethink you," said (the voice) "of those accursed cloud begotten beings (the Centaurs), who, when over-gorged, fought against Theseus with their double breasts. And (bethink you) of those Hebrews who showed themselves over indulgent in drinking, for which reason Gideon had them not for companions when he went down the hills towards Midian." The closely skirting one of the two margins (the inner one), we passed on, hearing of the faults of gluttony which are already followed by such woeful guerdons (i.e., such fearful retribution).

Benvenuto remarks how many there are who commit thefts and robberies to indulge their appetites, yea, will change their friendships like a dog will change his name for a crust of bread

editions, and others, but I feel myself unable to follow in the case I see no way of translating it but "wherefore O Lord be no companions in that place," which, as is pointed out by Sordani, make Dante say what is not in accordance with the Biblical account. See *Judges vii*, 5, 6. "So he brought the people down unto the water and the Lord said unto him Every one that lappeth water with his tongue, save he that hath put his hand to his mouth, likewise every one that bowed down upon his knees to drink And the number of them that lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, were three hundred men but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water."

\* *vivagni*. Compare *Inf* xiv, 121-123, where *vivagni* signifies as here, to signify the margin on which the Poets are walking.

"Se il presente rigagno  
 Si deriva così dal nostro motolo,  
 Perché ci appar pare a questo vivagno."

And again in *Inf* xxii, 49, in the same way. In *Purg.* i, 135, *vivagni* signifies the margins of the books of the law.

"Per questo l'Evangeho e i Dotter magni  
 Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali  
 Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni."

*Division V.* In this concluding portion of the canto, Dante relates how an Angel purified him from the sin of Gluttony.

The three Poets are walking on side by side, but apart from each other, meditating in silence.

Poi rallargati \* per la strada sola, 130  
Ben mille passi e più ti portaro † oltre,  
Contemplando ciascun senza parola.

Then spreading out along the lonely road, a good thousand paces and more had carried us forward, each in contemplation, without a word.

Benvenuto thinks that their meditations were to prepare their minds for the profound subject they were about to discuss in Canto xxv, so that, to eluci-

\* *rallargati*: Cesari explains this: "Erano venuti fra la costa dell'albero ristretti insieme. passato l'albero, si spartirono al largo della via sola, cioè dislocata." Blanc (*Vie Dante*) says the same word, that it is only used as a participle in this one passage in the *Divina Commedia*, and it means: "One who finds himself at large on a road not restrained by any obstacle." Benvenuto explains the full force of the word by showing that, before, they had been obliged to walk close along the edge of the cliff, but, now that they had left the tree behind them, they could again walk freely in the middle of the Cornice. Fraticelli says that *rallargati* means "walking with a certain space between each part of them," and that they were no longer *stretti insieme*.

† *ti portaro*: Some read *ti portavamo*, but although *portarsi* in the *audere* may have been used in more recent times, it was generally not in use (says Scartazzini) among the writers of the *Commedia*. In favour of *ti portaro*, compare Virg. *Æneid* ix, 1

"Quo te, Moeris, pedes? an, quo via ducit in urbem?"

and Horace, III *Carm.* xi, 49:

"I, pedes quo te rapiunt et auro

Dum faveat nox et Venus."

We have the same use by Dante in *Purg.* xxviii, 22:

"Già mi avean trasportato i lenti passi

Dentro alla selva antica."

Scartazzini says, moreover, that all the early *Colucci* read: 17

*portaro*.

date it, the three worked together, Virgil representing the natural, Statius the moral, and Dante the divine intelligence. Benvenuto adds: "In the whole *Commedia* you will find but few Cantos more difficult to understand (than Canto xxv)."

Their contemplations are interrupted by a new voice. Dante looks up and sees that it is an Angel who has addressed them. They have now come to the end of the Sixth Cornice, and this is the Angel of Abstinence pointing out to them the starway leading to the Seventh. Dante is so dazzled by the radiance of the Angel, that his eyes refuse their office, and he is obliged to have recourse to his guides

— "Che andate pensando sì voi \* sol tre?" —

Subita voce disse; ond'io mi scossi,

Come fan bestie spaventate e poltre.†

135

\* *voi sol tre*. We have seen a similar kind of rhyming by Dante in *Purg.* xx, 4-6, where *fer li* is made to rhyme with *merli*, and *Inf.* v. 3, 28-30, where *pur li* rhymes with *merli*. The smallness of the group formed by the three Poets attracts the attention of the Angel, as the penitents apparently were in the habit of going round the Cornice in large bands.

† *poltre*. Benvenuto takes *poltre* to be for *poledre* and *polle*, and translates "like foals," adding that the comparison is exceedingly appropriate, for it is as though Dante would compare himself to be young and inexperienced, whereas his companions were men of years *antiqui* and of vast experience. So *antiqui* and many others, however, take *poltre* in the sense that *poltrone* the positive of the comparative *poltrone*, lazy, sleepy, torpid; the passage would imply that animals are suddenly becoming *mentre poltrone*, while in a torpid state. Compare the following two passages from *Ar.osto*. In the first (*Off. Fur.* v. 3, st. 90), he takes *poltra* in the sense of *poledra*.

"La bestia ch'era spaventosa e poltra"

In the second *Nat.* iv, ad Annibale Maleguccio, v. 49, et. he gives the sense of *poltrone*.

"E più mi piace di posar le poltre

Membra, che di vantarle . . ."

Druzzi la testa per veder chi fossi : \*

E gammai non si videro in fornace

Vetri o metalli sì lucenti e rossi, †

Com' io vidi un che dicea : — " S' a voi piace

Montate in su, qui si convien dar volta : 140

Quinci si va ‡ chi vuol andar per pace. " —

L' aspetto suo m' avea la vista tota .

Perch' io mi volsi retro § a' miei dottori,

Com' uom che va secondo ch' egli ascolta.

What go ye three alone thus thinking about ?" said  
 voice suddenly ; whereat I started, as do frightened  
 and timid beasts. I raised my head to see who it  
 might be, and never in a furnace were there seen  
 glass or metals so glittering and red, as one I saw,

In early times the third person singular of the imper-  
 subjunctive, which ends in *e* ended in *i*. Comp. *Inf.* iv, 64 :

" Non lasciavam l' andar perch' ei dicessi."

60

" Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi."

*Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, cap. xxxvii : " Vestiva panni come  
 un asino tiranno " Therefore Scartazzini maintains that  
 is not a poetical license taken by Dante to suit the rhyme,  
 regular termination of the time, now obsolete.

*lucenti e rossi* Compare Ezek. i, 7 : " And they  
 shined like the colour of burnished brass." And *Daniel* x, 6 :  
 " His eyes as lumps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in  
 colour to polished brass." (In the *Vulgate* " a vis caulentis.")

This is an Italian idiom. " *Quinci si va* — this is  
 the way," as in *Inf.* iii, 1. " Per me si va — through me is the

*volsi retro a' miei dottori* This does not mean, as some  
 have said, " I turned back to my Teachers." *Retro* and *Dietro*  
 are always followed by *a*, and *retro a' miei dottori* means " be-  
 hind " or " in the wake of " my Teachers. This passage is in  
 analogy with *Inf.* xxxiv, 7-10, where Dante in the nether-  
 Hell first catches sight of a colossal windmill in the bary-  
 centre, which he afterwards discovers to be the upper part of  
 Lucifer's body, but being unable to face the icy blast that is  
 blowing in his face he gets for shelter behind Virgil :

" Veder mi parve un tal 'difetto allotta :

Io, per lo vento mi ristrinsi retro

Al Duca mio ; chè non li era altra grotta."



who said: "If it be your pleasure to mount upward, it is here that ye must turn aside; this is the way to those who would go in quest of peace." His aspect had bereft me of my sight: wherefore I got round into the wake of my Teachers, like one who goes according as he hears, (*i.e.*, like a blind man who guides himself by sound).

Dante now describes his purification by the Angel

E quale, annunziatrice degli albori,\*  
 L'aura † di maggio movesi ed olezza .  
 Tutta impregnata dall' erba e dai fiori ;  
 Tal mi sentii un vento dar per mezza  
 La fronte, e ben senti mover la piuma.  
 Che fe sentir d' ambrosia ‡ l' orezza.  
 E senti dir . Beati cui alluma  
 Tanto di grazia, che l' amor del gusto  
 Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,  
 Esuriendo § sempre quanto è giusto. —

And as the breeze of May, a herald of the dawn,  
 moves and breathes forth fragrance: all impregnate

\* *annunziatrice degli albori*: Thus reminds one of Paradise awaking at the approach of dawn, after passing his last night in Virgil's company on the stairway leading from the Seventh Cornice to the Terrestrial Paradise. See *Purg.* xxxvii, 28 ff. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* interprets the passage we are discussing as follows: "Vuol dire che, innanzi che si tieni l'aura, comincia a trarre uno venticello, che si chiama aura, et questa aura, cioè questo venticello, che si beva da' hori et dal cielo odorifere, rende odore et soavità."

† *aura*. Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* iii, st. 1:

"Già l'aura messagera erasi desta  
 A nunniar che se ne vien l'aurora."

‡ *ambrosia*: Dante's notions of ambrosia were derived from Virgil. See *Georg.* iv, 415

"Hæc aut et liquidum ambrosiæ diffundit odorem."

And *Æn.* i, 403:

"Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem  
 Spiravere"

§ *Esuriendo*. Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vii, st. 4:

"Cibo non prende già: chi de suoi mali  
 Solo si pasce, e sol di pianto ha sete."

with the herbage and the flowers; so did I feel a wind on the middle of my forehead, and I distinctly felt the movement of the pinions that made me perceive the odour of ambrosia. And I heard (the Angel) say:

“Blessed are they whom so large a measure of grace doth illumine that the love of taste doth not excite (i. e. cause to smoke) in their breast too great a desire, hanging at all times (only) so far as is just.”

In the above passage Perez (*Sette Cerchi*, p. 237) says that in the description of the Angel that presides over the fasting of the spirits who proceed in prayer round and round this Cornice, he is much struck with the similes of the glowing furnace and of the sweet and fresh breezes of May. The two similes might, at first sight, appear to be at discord with one another, but when one thinks them over more closely, one's thoughts recur to that Angel who watched over the fasts of the young Hebrew captives in Babylon, and made their innocent countenances appear fairer and fatter in flesh than all their companions who ate sumptuously of the king's meat—an Angel of such beneficence and power, that when they were cast into the burning fiery furnace, he was able to waft away the flames and impart to them a sweet savour from Heaven, as they walked unharmed in the fire, singing praises to God. Like unto him in very truth is this Angel whose countenance glows as a furnace, and whose wing wafts ambrosial fragrance in the air: the Angel who may well be termed the Angel of Abstinence, as is evidenced by the words he speaks to Dante *Blessed are they who hunger after righteousness, and not after earthly food.*

END OF CANTO XXIV.

## CANTO XXV.

ASCENT TO THE SEVENTH CORNICE.—EXPO  
BY STATIUS OF THE MYSTERIES OF  
FIRST AND SECOND BIRTHS.—THE CORE  
SHAPES OF SOULS IN PURGATORY.

THE SEVENTH CORNICE.—PUNISHMENT OF  
SENSUAL OR INCONTINENT.—EXAMPLE  
CHASTITY.

IN the last Canto Dante completed his descrip  
the purgation of Gluttony in the sixth Corn  
this one he treats a very perplexing subject  
had arisen out of the previous conversation.\*

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four princip

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 30,  
proposes to Virgil a question of much difficu  
Virgil answers him in general terms.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 31 to v. 60,  
at the request of Virgil explains at length b  
that the soul, when separated from the body,  
to suffer physical punishment, and he descri  
generation of the embryo.

\* Dante having asked how a body that is not in ree  
can suffer from emaciation, Statius gives an expo  
nature of a sensitive body in its earthly life, as we  
nature of that body which is tormented in the spiri  
very arid exposition, says Tommaseo, but inters  
flashes of poetical light and with powerful dist  
with philosophy that in places is even more true than  
pear at first sight.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 61 to v. 108, Dante describes how the soul is developed in the embryo; it gets separated from the body; and its sensitive powers.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 109 to v. 139, he enters upon the subject of Sensuality, and describes its punishment in the seventh Cornice.

*Division I.* When the Canto opens, the three Poets still in the sixth Cornice, but are standing at the entrance to the new stairway, just where Dante had the Angel's wing erase the last P but one from the brow.

Dante first specifies the hour, to show that they have no time to lose.

Ora era onde il salir non volea storpio,\*  
Chè il sole avea lo cerchio di mengge †

*Storpio* and *stoppio* mean literally, impediment, hindrance, anxiety. In this sense we find the word in Petrarch, part iv, 7:

"S' Amore o Morte non dà qualche stoppio  
Alla tela novella ch' ora ordisco," etc.

*San Di Tomaso* quotes in illustration from Giov. Villani, p. 1: "I Fiesolani e loro seguaci . . . davano quanto poteano alla reedificazione di Firenze." But in my own copy of Villani, instead of *storpio*, the reading is *sturbo*, which explains it is the same as *disturbo*.

*Stoppio di mengge*: Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 103-104:

"E poi corrusco, e con più lenti passi,  
Teneva il sole il cerchio di mengge."

*Purg.* ii, 2:

"Una era il sole all' orizzonte giunto,  
Lo cui meridian cerchio coperchia  
Jerusalem col suo più alto punto;  
E la notte che opposita a lui cerchia,  
Usc a di Gange fuor colle bilance,  
Che le caggion di man quando soperchia."

Lasciato al Tauro e la notte allo Scorpio.\*

It was the hour in which the ascent brooked no delay, for the Sun had abandoned the meridian circle to Taurus, and Night (had abandoned it) to Scorpio.

Dr. Moore (*Time References*, 107), says: "This is one of the passages on which I think some superfluous astronomical ingenuity has been expended, the point being whether we are to make allowance for the retrocession of the Equinox and the error in the Calendar and so take the Sun's true astronomical position, or whether we are to be guided by the ordinary popular notion that the Sun is in Aries for a month from March 21st onwards. The difference of the result is absolutely immaterial, as it is only a question between about 12.30 and 2 p.m., either hour here being quite arbitrary and fictitious. Here again I think it is more probable that Dante adopts the sense in which ordinary people would be most likely to understand his words, just as we popularly refer to the indications of the compass as it stands, without allowing for the magnetic variation, though we are quite aware that in England it amounts to a no less serious difference than about 23 degrees. If this be the way to interpret the passage, the Sun being now rather backward in Aries, the time when Taurus is on the meridian of Noon, and the opposite sign of Scorpio on that of

\* *Scorpio*: "Le soleil est dans le Bélier et le Taureau est au méridien, c'est que tout le signe du Bélier en est sorti. Et le zodiaque mettant vingt-quatre heures à passer par le méridien, chaque signe y met deux heures, c'est à dire qu'il est à deux heures après midi. De même la nuit devait être dans le signe de la Balance, et la Balance ayant quitté le point du méridien, devait avoir laissé la place au Scorpion." (*Purgatoire*, p. 417.)

midnight, as here described, would be generally understood to be about 2 p.m., though, as each constellation covers many degrees of space, the indication is only an approximate one."\*

We may therefore proceed on the assumption that in Purgatory it was about 2 p.m., and in Europe about 2 a.m.

Dante now describes their progress by an appropriate simile.

Per che, come fa l' uom che non s' affigge,†  
 Ma vassi alla via sua, checchè gli appaia, 5  
 Se di bisogno stimolo il trafigge ;  
 Così entrammo noi per la callaia,‡  
 Uno innanzi altro, § prendendo la scala  
 Che per artezza i salitor dispaia.

Wherefore, as does the man who, whatever may appear to him, will not stop, but goes forward on his way, if the goad of necessity spurs him on; so did we enter through the gap, one before the other

\* See in Tommasé's Commentary the discussion on this point by Antonelli. Also Della Valle, *Il Senso Geografico dell' Inferno*, p. 71, et seq.

† *s' affigge. si ferma.* Compare *Purg xxx, 7*:  
 "Fermo si affisse."

‡ *callaia*, 106-7.

"Quando s' affisser, si come s' affigge  
 Chi va dimanzi a gente per iscorta."

See also *Inf. xii, 115*.

"Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse."

§ *callaia*. Blanc says that *callaia* is the opening in a hedge.

¶ *via di campagna*, o con cancello, o aperto, o turato  
 con piumi [stopped up with brambles].—*Gran. Dizionario.*

Compare *Inf. x, 1*.

"Ora sen va per un secreto calle."

See the footnote on *calle* in my *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. 1,  
 p. 301.

¶ *Uno innanzi altro*: These words are repeated in the first line of the next Canto.

taking the stairway, which by its narrowness unpaired the climbers (*i. e.*, obliges them to walk in single file). Benvenuto remarks that Virgil was walking first, Statius second, and Dante third, and now, by a very intelligible comparison, Dante shows what an intense desire there was in his mind to put a certain question to his leaders, but that he lacked the courage to begin speaking. He is burning to know how it is possible for aerial forms, which have no need of food, to subsist from emaciation.

E quale il cicognin che leva l'ala \*  
 Per voglia di volare, e non s'attenta  
 D'abbandonar lo nido, e giù la cala;  
 Tal era io con voglia accesa e spenta  
 Di domandar, venendo innno all'atto  
 Che fa colui ch' a dicer s'argomenta †

\* *il cicognin che leva l'ala*. On this see Venturi, *Similitudine Dantesche*, p. 263, *Sim.* 437. "Altra similitudine, non così gentile, tratta dalla cicogna. Si non la scelta delle piume ottenere maggior dolcezza di numero e levità di suono, cicognino non dibatte l'ala, ma l'alza e pensa per prima di volare; e non arrischiandosi, l'abbassa tosto. Ma Dante *leva*, che ha suono più tenue di *alza*, e *giù la cala*, che è leggero movimento di *abbassa*, e d' *avendo s'la cala*, che esprime meglio il timor e l'impotenza." There is a passage somewhat similar in Statius, *Theb.* x, 458-462:

"voluerum sic turba recentum,  
 Cum reducem longo prospexit in aethere matrem  
 Ire cupit contra, summaque e margine nidi,  
 Exstat hians: jam jamque cadat, in pectore toto  
 Obstet aperta parens, et amantibus increpet alis.

Compare also *Par.* xix, 91-93:

"Quale sopr'esso il nido si rigira,  
 Poi che ha pasciuto la cicogna i figli,  
 E come quei ch'è pasto la rimira, etc.

† *colui ch' a dicer s'argomenta*: Compare Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, act 1, sc. 2, near the end):

"Answer it made none: yet once methought  
 It lifted up its head and did address  
 Itself to motion, like as it would speak."

And like the young stork, that spreads its wing through will to fly, and yet does not venture to leave the nest, but lets it (the wing) droop again; such was I with desire to fly (at once) kindled and quenched, getting as far as the movement (of the lips) that he makes who prepares himself to speak.

Benvenuto says the comparison is appropriate in all parts; for the great tragic poets, Virgil and Statius, may be compared to storks building their nests on the eave-roofs of houses,\* and Dante, as a younger poet, may well be likened to the fledgeling. And as the fledgeling stork desires to spread its wings before the flying time, but, feeling itself powerless to fly, lets them droop again, so did Dante, after walking for a while in silence, feel keenly desirous of moving his tongue to propound a question on a very elevated subject; but, doubting whether he ought to fly before the fitting season, he repressed his desire until he had obtained the leave of his elders.

He does not have to wait long, for, just as Beatrice on a subsequent occasion (see *Par.* xvii, 7-12) saw through his thirst for information, and ordered him to kindle forth the flame of his desire, so here does Virgil intuitively divine what is in his mind, and commands him to speak it out, which Dante does in the plainest language.

Non lasciò, per l' andar che fosse ratto,  
La dolce Padre mio, ma disse:—"Scocca  
L' arco del dir che infino al ferro † hai tratto."—

\* Does not this seem as though Benvenuto credited Dante with some knowledge of northern Europe?

† *Scocca al ferro*. Speech flies as lightly and irrevocably as an arrow, and penetrates into the depth of the heart.



Allor sicuramente apru la bocca,  
 E cominciai.—“Come si può far magro?”  
 Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca:—

Not, though our pace was speedy, did my gentle Father forbear (from speaking), but said: “Let loose thy bow of speech which thou hast drawn up to the barb.” Then I opened my mouth with confidence, and began: “How can one grow lean there where the need of nourishment applies not?”

Benvenuto observes that it was high time that Dante put this question, for all that had been said in Hell and Purgatory of such wonderful varieties of nourishment, would seem to be worth nothing, unless it were in some way made clear that the soul when separated from the body, could by natural means be affected by hunger, thirst, or any other liability to suffering.

Virgil, in answer to Dante, tries to give him some sort of idea of the subject in question, by an example taken from mythology, and with a natural simile. He then turns to Statius, and begs him to solve the problem fully, and so satisfy Dante's craving for explanation.

—“Se t' ammentassi come Meleagro †

\* *Come si può far magro, etc.* . . . “Nous abordons un des sujets sages ou, sous la couronne du poëte, le philosophe se demandent ou Dante aime à traiter une de ces questions qui ont été l'école et divisèrent les docteurs. Dans le sabbat des morts, il montre comment les âmes peuvent souffrir de la faim et quelle est la condition de l'âme après la mort, le rapport du corps et de l'âme, en un mot, tout le mystère de la vie humaine, non la psychologie seulement, mais l'anthropologie.” (Oranam, *Purgatoire*, p. 416.)

† *Meleagro*: Meleager was said to have been the son of Aeneas, king of Calydon, and Althæa. At his birth the Fates

Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,\*

dicted. Clotho, that he would be brave; Lachesis, that he  
 be strong; and Atropos that his life would last as long as  
 he, thrown upon the fire at the moment of his birth, remained  
 consumed. As soon as the fates had departed, Althea  
 snatched the brand from the fire, and preserved it carefully.  
 (Ovid, *Met.* viii, 260-546.) Meleager distinguished himself  
 in the Argonautic expedition, and afterward slew the wild boar  
 of Calydon, but a dispute having arisen between himself and  
 his two uncles, Plexippus and Toxeus, Althea's brothers, for  
 the possession of it, he slew them both. Althea, enraged at  
 the slaughter of her brothers, threw the fatal log on the fire, and  
 Meleager perished as it consumed. Benvenuto says that Althea  
 is allegorically for every mother who bears a child, at whose  
 birth the planets, according to the astrologers, at once prescribe  
 a limited period of its life. The firebrand is a figure for the  
 duration of the body, and, as long as it lasts, life endures.  
 Benvenuto adds that many persons had often asked him what  
 connection there was between the history of Meleager,  
 and the proposition we are considering, and that he had  
 always replied that no history could be more to the purpose;  
 as Meleager gradually wasted away according to the wast-  
 ing of the firebrand, so here did the spirits in the Sixth Circle  
 become lean in proportion to the amount of perfume from  
 the living tree, and the water trickling over its branches. And,  
 as Meleager was consumed from an extrinsic cause, that is, the  
 violence of the planets, so here do the spirits become emaciated  
 from an extrinsic cause, namely, by the will of God. Some how-  
 ever have argued that the death of Meleager was brought about  
 by magic art, and this would be much to the purpose, for then  
 it would be a *miraculum*, as Augustine rightly does in his book *De  
 Civitate Dei*, where he says, that if necromancers are able to  
 raise the spirit in an aerial body, how much more can the  
 will of God contain the soul in corporeal fire. "And mark,"  
 says Benvenuto, "that this comparison seems to be very  
 fit to the point, for, as an image without substance moves in a  
 mirror which has substance, so the unsubstantial soul is tor-  
 mented in substantial air, and, as the reflection comes from  
 the mirror, so suffering or power of feeling comes into the soul  
 from without.

\* *stizzo* Compare *Inf.* xiii, 40-42:

"Come d' un stizzo veide, che arso sta  
 Dal un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,  
 E cigola per vento che va via."

Non fora,\* "—disse,—" questo a te sì agro †  
 E se pensassi come al vostro guizzo ‡  
 Guizza ¶ dentro allo specchio vostra image,  
 Ciò che par duro ti parrebbe vizzo §  
 Ma perchè dentro a tuo voler t' adage. ||  
 Ecco qui Stazio, ed io lui chiamo e prego,  
 Che sia or sanator delle tue piage." ¶

\* *fora*: for *sarebbe*, compare *Purg.* vi, 90:  
 "Sen' esso fora la vergogna meno."

And *Par.* iii, 73-75.

"Se dissiassimo esser più superne,  
 Foran discordi li nostri disiri  
 Dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne"

Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 475, § 14 of the chapter *Dell' uso  
 fatto dell' Ullativo*): "I Latini in vece di *esse*, *essent*,  
*essent*, dissero *forem*, *foret*, *foret*, *forent* (da *fu-rem* o  
 etc. dall' antico *fuo*). Quindi *nni*, *to foret*, *tu foret*, etc. *pe-  
 sarei*, *tu saresti*, etc. . . . Poeta si terminarono in *tu  
 tu fora*, *egli fora*, *celoro forano*, per uniformità di cadenza  
*sara*, *sarano*" Nannucci goes on to say that the use  
 this use are numberless, and that there is hardly a  
 of the *primo secolo della lingua*, with whom this term  
 a is not found.

† *agro*: "sì agro, cioè sì malagevole, che tu non vedessi  
 sia possibile" (*Bull.*). The *Lexicon Dictionario*, s. v. *agro*,  
 interprets *agro* in this very passage as *malagevole*, *difficile*.

‡ *Guizza*: "Il corpo aereo delle anime purg. veni è lo spec-  
 di esse anime. Or come lo specchio rappresenta l'immagine  
 ogni moto di chi vi si specchia, così il corpo aereo ritrae a  
 fuori i moti e le sofferenze dell' anima." (*Sartorius*).

§ *vizzo*: according to Blanc, is a word of uncertain origin  
 but implies whatever is the opposite of *hard*. Brughi "con  
 dieci dei pomi: quali, giugnendo a maturità, s'annodano  
 e innas si fanno *mezzu* i. e. over-ripe" *vizzo* is here in  
 position to *agro* (l. 24). Unripe fruit is naturally *hard*  
*agro*, as we said above, stands for *difficile*. In the same  
 ripe fruit being soft, *vizzo* stands for *facile*. Anatesi  
 ments: "vizzo, cioè molle, facile a penetrar l' intelletto."

|| *t' adage*: Early form for *ti adagi*. See Nannucci oc  
*Anal. Crit.* p. 62. et seq., and compare *Purg.* xv, 82  
 m' appaghe." *Adagiarsi* primarily means, "to make  
 comfortable, to put oneself at greater ease than before." The

"If thou wouldst call to mind," said he, "how Meleager wasted away during the wasting of a firebrand, this would not be to thee so difficult: And if thou wouldst think how, at every vibration on your part, your image also vibrates within the mirror, that which seems hard would appear to thee easy (*lit.* soft); but in order that thou mayest penetrate into this matter to thy heart's content, behold, here is Statius, and I call to him, and beg him, to be now the healer of thy wounds."

That is, "by solving thy doubts," for, as Scartazzini remarks, doubts are the wounds of the soul, which are never healed, until the truth be established.

Benvenuto says that it has puzzled many why Virgil should leave this question to be solved by Statius. He thinks it is because Virgil was a follower of Plato, and held that souls were created from eternity, and descended from the planets into mortal bodies, and after death returned to those planets; but that, as such ideas were repugnant to Christianity, Dante makes Virgil call upon Statius, who was a Christian poet, and who touches on these subjects in accordance with philosophy and faith. Besides, Statius is at this time qualified for Paradise, having completed his purgation, and may be supposed to know more of these matters than Virgil, who will soon have to return to *Limbo*.

*Division II.* Statius begins by assuring Virgil, in many words, that he is so much in the habit of taking every word of his as a precept, that he must of course do whatever Virgil asks him. He then turns

<sup>7</sup> *Dizionario* (§ 2) interprets this particular passage: "attendere nel vero, e quasi adagiarsi contentato nei desideri."

to Dante, and, with much kindness of manner, him that he will clear away his doubts, if Dante yield him his attention.

—“Se la veduta eterna \* gli dislego,”—†  
 Rispose Stazio, —“là dove tu sie,  
 Discolpi me non potet' io far nego.”—‡  
 Poi cominciò :—“Se le parole mie,  
 Figlio, § la mente tua guarda e riceve,  
 Lume ti sieno al come che tu die. ¶

\* *veduta eterna* : Trissino paraphrases this : “Se gli è dato ciò che si vede in questi luoghi eterni—è dato l'aggiungimento eterna alla veduta etiam del Purgatorio, perocchè essendovi pure dalle vicende del tempo, ed appartenente in tutto all'eterna vita” etc. The meaning of *veduta eterna* is “unseen things of God.” It is not only the mystery of generation that Statius is going to explain, but mystery of immortality, a special modification of generation, to suit the *stato* forms of the spirits in the regions of the dead. *dislego* is the reading of the large majority of MSS., but *mandetta* is an uncommon reading, and, if adopted, the passage would be : “If I unfold to him the penalty imposed by the Eternal God on the souls that are being purged.”

† *dislego* : Scartazzini says this word corresponds to Latin *explicare*.

‡ *nego* : According to the *Gran Dizionario* this is a derivative = *nigumento, nigazione, il negare*, like the Latin *negare* used by Cicero. Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 65-67 :

“Maestro, assai ten prego  
 E riprego, che ti prego vaglia mille,  
 Che non mi facci dell'attender nego.”

And *Purg.* xvii, 59 lo.

“Che quale aspetta prego, e l'uopo vede,  
 Malgiamente già si mette al nego.”

§ *Figlio* : Benvenuto remarks that Statius would be the Son, who has two fathers here present, Virgil and myself. *guarda e riceve* : Compare *Prov.* i, 15. “My Son will receive my words, and hide my commandments in his heart. . . . then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and shalt have the knowledge of God.”

¶ *die* : for *dei*, from which when the *e* was omitted came *dei*. Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 570, § 15) says that

If I reveal to him these secrets of Eternity," replied Statius, "here where thou art present, let my excultation be that I cannot say thee nay." Then he began: "My Son, if thy mind will consider as well as receive my words, they will be a light to thee for *the How* that thou sayest.

It is to say: "My words fully explain thy difficulty, and answer thy question: 'How can one grow there where the need of nourishment applies?'"

Statius now proceeds to develop the theory of generation and the formation of the body with the relative and sensitive soul. And the words, which he here puts into his mouth, may be found also in *Convito* iv, 21.\*

Sangue perfetto,† che mai non si beve

generation in *e*, which was formerly given to the second person singular of the indicative present, the word *di* was altered in *He* gives several illustrations of this from early writers.

It will be well before studying the speech of Statius, to read the whole of chapter 21 of *Convito* iv, and compare Statius's own words there with what he says here. Varchi (*Lettere a Dante*, Firenze, 1841, *Let.* 1<sup>st</sup>) admires the dissertation in *Convito* so much, that he says it is sufficient to prove Dante to have been a physician, philosopher and theologian of the highest order: "I not only confess, but I swear, that as many times as I read it, which day and night are more than a thousand, wonder and astonishment have always increased, seeming of time to find therein new beauties and new instruction, consequently new difficulties." The subject is also discussed by St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* 1, qu. c. xix, art. 2, *propositione hominis quantum ad corpus*, but Scartazzeni thinks that above all the treatise of Aristotle (*De Gen. Animal.*, ch. 19) should be studied. See also the appendix of Tommaso at the end of his commentary on this canto.

*Sangue perfetto*: "Statius incipiendo dicit, quod in nobis sanguis perfectus creatur qui non spargitur nec bibitur, ut alius sanguis rubeus, sed, ut vinum non bibitum et

Dall' assetate vene, e si rimane\*  
 Quasi alimento che di mensa leve,  
 Prende nel core a tutte membra umane  
 Virtute informativa, come quello †  
 Ch' a farsi quelle per le vene vane.

Perfect (*i.e.*, the purest essence of the) blood, which is never drunk up by the thirsty veins, and remains like (superfluous) food which thou removest from the table, acquires in the heart virtue informative (*i.e.*,

cibus non comestus a corde elevatur de mensa, idest de stomacho, sive epate. Qui perfectus sanguis est albat per majorem decoctionem, quem sanguinem, idest spermam, tenui providit propter generationem primo; secundam propter ejus humidum ad resistendum calori naturali nostro. In spermata spiritualem quamdam virtutem informativam caput nostram humanam effugiem in corde agentis, ut nunciat ad cultellum ante ejus confectionem et formam. (*Phil. à Dante*).

\* *e si rimane*: Varchi (*op. cit.* p. 39) writes: "When the veins have sucked up a sufficient quantity of nourishment to repair the waste of the body they do not suck up any more, and a modest and temperate man, after eating what is necessary, leaves the remainder of his food, and therefore the expression *rimane quasi alimento*, that is, remains over and above the food. . . . (and p. 42) Dante soggiunse qualche sentimento delle quali pare a me che sia come il sangue quale non è diventato sperma, ha virtù dal cuore di pervenire a tutte le membra, come si vede nel natamento: perché esso converte il sangue in ossa, le vene in vene, la carne in carne, e di tutti gli altri nel medesimo modo. Così posch'è fatto il sperma, ha virtù di fare tutti i membri, operando in virtù dell'anima."

† *come quello*. The meaning is not "like that." *Come* is a regular Italian idiom signifying "being such that," "being itself the thing that." It corresponds exactly to the Latin *utpote qui*. There is a passage in the *Interno* vi. 51 where we find this idiom:

"Io vidi un' ampia fossa in arco torto,

Come quella [*being such*] che tutto il piano abbeverava. The *Gran Dizionario* says that *come quello* lays stress on the thing already spoken of, and quotes the two above mentioned passages in illustration.

creative power) for all human members, as being that blood) which runs through the veins to be formed into those (members).

For the literal prose of this from *La Divina Comedia voltata in Prosa* da Mario Foresi, Florence, 1903: "Il sangue più puro che non è assorbito dalle vene comunque assorbenti elle sieno, e che resta come nutrimento superfluo che si toglie dalla mensa, prende nel cuore virtù atta ad informare tutte le membra del corpo, essendo quello che va per le vene a trasformarsi in tutte le membra."

But the poet's remark upon the appropriateness of this comparison; for as, from that food set before a king or lord, that which remains, and is carried from table, is as good as that which has been eaten, for it is of the same composition, so it is with the blood which flows to the heart; for that which remains after a meal has been eaten, and the blood distributed through the veins, is as good as that which becomes nutrition (*alimento*).

The poet then continues his physiological description.

Ancor digesto, scende ov' è più bello

Tacer che dire; e quindi poscia geme\*

Sopra altrui sangue in natural vasello † 45

Footnote: As was pointed out in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. 1, p. 3, footnote, the primary meaning of *gemere* is to drip drops. The passage in question is quoted in the footnote on *stesso* in canto 23 of the present canto.

*natural vasello*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* II, q. 90, art. 4: "Firma ad conceptionem proles masculina, ex qua naturaliter corpus proles formatur." *Summ. Theol.* part. III, q. 90, art. 1: "Ad formationem proles . . . requirebatur motus localis quo sanguines . . . ad eam generationem congruum pervenirent."



Ivi s' accoglie l' uno e l' altro insieme,  
 L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare,\*  
 Per lo perfetto loco onde si preme †  
 E giunto lui ‡ comincia ad operare,  
 Coagulando prima, e poi avviva §  
 Ciò che per sua materia fe constare. §

Digested yet again (*i.e.*, still more purified), it descends to those vessels wherof it is more seemly to be so, than to speak (*ad vasa seminalia*), and from these afterwards trickles upon another's blood in the natural vessel (*i.e.*, in the matrix). Therein the one and the other meet together, the one (the blood of the female) disposed to be passive, and the other (that of the male) to be active, by reason of the perfection of the

\* *L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare*. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxi, art. 4. "In generatione distinguuntur operatio agentis et patientis. Unde et quod tota virtus activa est ex parte maris, passio autem est ex parte feminae."

† *si preme*: The blood of the male, disposed to give life to the human members, issues as if expressed from the brain. Benvenuto thinks it is from the heart, though some contend that it is from the brain.

‡ *giunto lui*: Scartazzini has no doubt of *lui* meaning, and having the signification, the blood of the male, being joined to, mingled with, the blood of the female, etc.

§ *fe constare*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxiii, art. 1: "Formatio corporis fit per potentiam generativam non ejus qui generatur, sed ipsius generantis in semine, in quo operatur vis formativa ab anima patris derivata. And p. iii, qu. xxxii, art. 4. "Potentia generativa in femina imperfecta respectu potentie generativae quae est in mare. Ideo sicut in artibus ars inferior disponit materiam, ars autem superior inducit formam, ita etiam virtus generativa in mare preparat materiam, virtus autem activa maris format materiam preparatam." Benvenuto says of *fe constare*: "id est, re-  
*per sua materia*, scilicet sanguinem matris, quod bene dicitur, nam cum mater non fiat sanguis, sed post impregnationem, unde habent istud commune conceptivas, et non vult aliud dicere nisi quod generatio vegetativa in factu qualis est in arboribus."

pealty (the heart) from which it flowed ; and (the male blood) being conjoined to it (the female blood) begins its operation (of forming the embryo), first by degalation (*i.e.*, turning the blood into flesh), and then gives life to that which it had made to take existence as substance necessary for its operation.

Speaking of the generation of the vegetative soul, St. Thomas touches upon the generation of the sensitive soul, each of which is evolved out of the potency of substance, and is not brought in from without as is the rational soul, about which he speaks later on. He concludes this portion of his dissertation by emphasizing the assertion that the vivifying principle for the formation of the members of the embryo springs from the heart of the male parent.

Anima fatta la virtute attiva,\*

Qual d' una pianta,† in tanto differente,

Che quest' e in via e quella e già a riva.

*Virtute attiva.* Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* I, qu. cxviii, art. 1: "Quia generans est simile generato, sic est quod naturaliter tam anima sensitiva, quam anima hujusmodi proceduntur in esse ab aliquibus corporalibus agentibus transmutantibus materiam de potentia in actum per aliquam virtutem corpoream que est in eis . . . . Ex anima generantis autem quedam virtus activa ad ipsum semen animalis, vel . . . . In animalibus perfectis, que generantur ex virtute activa est in semine maris, materia autem facta est quod ministratur a femina, in qua quidem materia statim incipit anima vegetabilis, non quidem secundum actum primum, sed secundum actum primum, scilicet anima sensitiva dormiens, cum autem incipit attrahere alimentum, incipit operari. Hujusmodi igitur materia transmutatur in virtute qua est in semine maris, quousque perducatur in vitam sensitivam . . . . Postquam autem per virtutem activam quod erat in semine, producta est anima sensitiva generato que tam ad aliquam partem principalem, tunc anima sensitiva proles incipit operari, ad complementum corporis, per modum nutritionis et augmenti."

*Qual d' una pianta:* Scartazzini says that it is needless to

The active virtue (the male) having b  
that of a plant, but thus much differ

point out that Dante in this passage conf  
of St. Thomas Aquinas, and that it will be  
St. Thomas says on the succession of the  
the sensitive, and the intellectual, in the  
Sec I c p. 1, qu. cxviii, art. 2: "Anima pri  
à principio quidem nutritiva, postmodum  
tandem intellectiva. Dicunt ergo quidam,  
vegetabilem que primo morat, supervenit  
sensitiva supra illam iterum alia, que est in  
in homine tres anime quarum una est in  
quod supra improbatum est. [Compare *Pa*  
ideo alii dicunt quod illa eadem anima, q  
tiva tantum, postmodum per actionem  
semine, perdatur ad hoc ut ipsa eadem  
dem ad hoc in ipsa eadem fiat intellectiva  
tatem activam seminis, sed per virtutem  
licet Dei defensor illustrantis. . . . Sed  
. . . . Et ideo dicendum est quod cum g  
sit corruptio aliter, necesse est dicere, q  
quam in animalibus aliis, quando perfecti  
corruptio prioris, et tamen quod sequens  
habetur prima et adhuc amplius et sit  
tiones et corruptiones pervenitur ad ul  
stantialem tam in homine quam in aliis an  
sensum apparet in animalibus ex patrefa  
igitur dicendum est, quod anima intellect  
sine generationis humane, que simul est.

this one (the human life) is only on the way (*i.e.*, has only reached the first stage), and that one (the plant) has already arrived (*i.e.*, has reached perfection), it then works so much that already it moves and feels, as does a sea fungus; and after that it undertakes to organize the powers of which it is the germ. My Son, the power which is (derived) from the heart of the begetter, at one time dilates, and at another time extends itself, in which (heart) Nature is intent on (forming) all the members.

th Benvenuto and Talice de Ricaldone translate the last lines differently from the above.

"Now it is explained to thee, now it is declared or made clear to thee, my son, from what has been said before, that nature has given so much power to the heart, that it is able to give forth that blood from which all the members are formed."

*Division III.* In this next part of the Canto, Virgil explains how the embryo, from being a mere animal becomes endowed with a rational soul.

Dean Plumptre observes that, in treating this difficult subject, Dante shows that he rejected the theory of Traducianism as taught by Averrhoes, Tertullian and others, who maintained that the human soul is generated at the same time as the body. Dante evidently adopted the theory of *Creationism*, and closely followed the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas and the medieval theologians, who held that the rational soul comes directly from God, Who, as soon as the organism of the brain has reached its full development, breathes into it a divine afflatus, and this attracts to it the principle of activity, with which it in its turn is brought in contact, when it unites with the embryo,

\* *animal, i. e.* the human *fatus*: beset with a rational soul. Compare *Comito* siccome dice il Filosofo, nel secondo dell'anima stanno sopra sè, come la fi sta sopra lo triangolo, e lo pentagono sì così la sensitiva sta sopra la vegetativa, la sensitiva. Dunque, come lesando l'gono, rimane quadrangolo e non più l'ultima potenza dell'anima, cioè la *uome*, ma cusa con anima sensitiva *bruto*.<sup>2</sup> The simile is taken from Arist

"ὁ γὰρ δὴν γινεται ἄνω καὶ

† *fante*, according to Gioberti, is "il distintivo dell'uomo, come spiega Ugo (one of the authors of the *Gran Dizionario* Latin *fari*, "parlare e ragionare" *fi* *lence*, vol. ii, p. 452 is derived *infante*. He then adds, "Or il parlare è propriè il parlare umano reca in modo astratto de' particolari; la qual operazione non si ragunevole; di che veggiamo le bestie che udirono milioni di volte l'uomo a mai suo linguaggio. In *Comito* 10, 7, l' *muh*: "E da sapere, che solamente l'parla, e ha reggimenti e atti che si dà egli solo in se ha ragione, *et seq*" *l'loq.* 1, 3, and 4: "Cum igitur homo a ratione moveatur . . . oportuit genus cindum inter se conceptiones suas aliè sensuale habere . . . hoc signum et ipi

Si che, per sua dottrina, se' disgiunto  
 Dall' anima il possibile intelletto,\*  
 Perché da lui non vide organo assunto.

65

at, how from animal it becomes rational (*lit.* endowed with speech) thou canst not yet discern, for this is the point—that it has already made one (Averroes), more learned than thou, to wit so that in his teaching he separated the possible intellect

ness, who is represented by Dante in this passage as regarding the *Intellectus Possibilis* as one and indivisible, and a fully distinct entity from the soul. It was the *Intellectus* or active intellect, which Averroes so regarded. Averroes' commentary on Aristotle *De Anima*, iii, 4, 5) lays down intellectual principles (says Scartazzini, Ed<sup>n</sup> 1896), the one passive, the other active. The *Intellectus agens* is impersonal, and distinct from the individual, who nevertheless participates in it. The Passive Intellect is transitory and dependent upon the active. This latter is consequently only conjoined to the individual as regards form, but as regards essence is separated from him, and is one and indivisible for all men. The distinctive character of the *Intellectus Possibilis*, the only immortal of the two, being thus destroyed, it would follow that at death there would only be left to the souls the unity of the intellect, and eternal rewards and punishments could not take

Scartazzini adds that this theory of Averroes was mostly opposed by St. Thomas Aquinas in several passages—see Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 114, 115.

*possibile intelletto*: "Nullus intellectus intelligit, nisi *intellectus possibilis*, quia *agens* non inteligit." (Duns Scotus, in iv, dist. qu. 1. Daniello's definition of it is lucid "Chiamasi intelletto *possibile*, per esser in potenza d' infondersi in nature diverse de' gli huomeni, et operar in essi la virtù

Compare also St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* p. i, dist. art. 10. "Quandoque enim ponunt quatuor intellectus, scilicet intellectum agentem, possibilem, et in habitu, et adeptum; in quatuor intellectus agens et possibilis sunt diverse potentie, sicut et in omnibus est alia potentia activa et alia passiva, alia verò tria distinguuntur secundam tres status intellectus possibilis, qui quandoque est in potentia tantum, dicitur possibilis; quandoque autem in actu primo, qui est in habitu, et sic dicitur intellectus in habitu; quandoque in actu secundo qui est considerare, et sic dicitur intellectus in actu, sive intellectus adeptus."

senses.

Ozanam (*Le Purgatoire de Dante*)  
"Averroès en commentant Aristote  
que l'intellect qu'Aristote appelle  
substance séparée du corps quand  
est unie quant à la forme, et de  
possible est unique pour tous.  
diversité d'intellect possible qui  
s'ensuit qu'après la mort il ne  
humaines que l'unité de l'intelle  
prime les peines et les récompens  
ajoute que, distinguant l'âme sens  
lectuelle, les péripatéticiens font n  
sang du père : mais l'âme intell  
çoivent séparée et rayonnant sur  
le soleil sur le milieu transparent  
l'on ôte les objets illuminés, il ne  
du soleil, de même, les hommes  
qu'une seule intelligence perpetue  
Compare also Renan, *Averroès et*  
1861, p. 122.

In the language of the School

venuto says that, after having thus condemned opinions of Averroes about the rational soul, he goes on to give the true opinion of the Catholic Church, namely, that the soul is given by the First Mover, God, and he begs Dante to take in fully and retain the true doctrine.

Apr\* alla verità che viene il petto,  
 E sappi che, sì tosto come al feto,  
 L' articular del cerebro e perfetto,<sup>†</sup>  
 Lo Motor primo ‡ a lui si volge lieto §  
 Sopra tanta arte di natura, e spira  
 Spirto nuovo di virtù repleto,

70

Apr, et seq : Compare *Inf.* xiv, 142 :

"Aprì gli orecchi al mio annunzio."

*Par.* v, 40, 41 :

"Aprì la mente a quel ch' io ti paleso,  
 E fermalvi entro."

*Particular del cerebro è perfetto* : "Compiuti gli organi ed i capi del cerebro, e preparata la fonte viva degli spiriti, munita pel loro influsso ogni attività de' sentimenti, è accesa perfettamente la sede all' anima ragionevole." *Cesari* *De*, vol. II, pp. 452, 453.

*Motor primo*. "Gloria primi Motus, qui Deus est," etc. *De*, *Ep.* x, § 20. "Et quia in caelum totam unico motu scilicet motus, et unico motore, qui Deus est, reguletur in suis suis partibus," etc. (*De Mon.* I, ix, ll. 10-13). *And* *xxiii.* 145.

"L' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle."

Compare St. Thomas Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars I, qu. cv, art. 2, "est movens non motum. . . . Virtus primo motoris est in se finita." Scartazzini states that it is from this passage Dante took the expression *Motor primo*.

Compare *Purg.* xvi, 88-90 :

"L' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,  
 Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,  
 Volontier torna a ciò che la trastulla,"

*Psalm* cxi, 31 : "The Lord shall rejoice in His works."

*Partito nuovo di virtù repleto* : Some translate *virtù* "power," some "potencies," some "virtues." I do not pretend to say which is best. On this passage, Landino writes. "Adun-



perfecti, ancora tutto inonde  
la quale Dante chiama *spirito nuovo*,  
spetie spirito che truova nel corpo; il  
perfezione di virtù, avendo la ragione  
\* *sola*: Cesari cannot restrain his  
sage: "Magnifica particularizzazione,  
L'anima trae a sè quelle due vite, e q  
ne torna un' anima che ha vita, senti  
St. Thomas Aquinas on this *Summ.*  
art. 3) "Sic ergo dicendum quod ead  
homine, sensitiva et intellectiva et nutri  
habet animam quæ est sensitiva tanti  
perfectione anima, quæ est simul sensiti  
also *Purg* iv, 5, 6:

"E questo è contra quello err  
Che un' anima sopr' altra in

+ *sè in sè rigira*. Cesari goes on f  
preceding line "Questo credo essere  
che padrone, già sè medesima per virtù  
gnora e coscienza de' suoi atti, onde in  
e da propri concetti ne trae degl' al  
desimi, e ritorna in sè medesima, gie  
l' opera sua." Compare Boethius *Phil.*  
*et seq.*)

"Quæ anima cum secta duos motu  
*In semel reditura meat mentemque*

Circuit et simul convertit imagine  
Scartazzini says that, although Boethius  
universal soul—the soul of the world  
*semel reditura meat* might equally app  
tional soul, inasmuch as the latter ha  
sive a double conversion to itself

Open thy breast to the truth which comes next, and know that, as soon as the articulation of the brain (perfected in the embryo, the primal Mover turns it, rejoicing at such a masterpiece of Nature, and breathes into it a new-born spirit replete with virtue, which absorbs into its own substance whatever it finds active in it (the embryo), and forms itself into the single soul, which lives, and feels, and reflects within itself.

The new-born rational soul draws in the vegetative and sensitive souls, and identifies them with its own substance and with itself, and then forms one single being having three powers, the vegetative, the sensitive, the intellectual.

Benvenuto remarks on *sè in sè rigira*, that perhaps the meaning is that the movement of reason proceeds from the Creator, to the created thing, and thence from the created thing to the Creator as it were in a circle (*circulariter*).

In a choice simile, Statius shows the purity of the new-born soul.

E perchè meno ammiri la parola,\*  
Guarda il calor + del sol che si fa vino,  
Giunto all' umor che dalla vite cola.

Benvenuto says, to unite both beginning and end. The *Gran Dizionario* interprets the passage *sè in sè rigira* as being equivalent to *rotatorio*, and expressing the same idea as a passage in Plato (which reference is omitted). "*αὐτὴ ἀνακυκλομεση πρὸς αὐτὴν*" (p. 11) and the *Ottimo*'s comments on the whole of the above ten lines are especially valuable; and Pietro di Dante's on the whole speech of Statius should be studied.

*Parola*: Statius is here referring to what he stated before, that the new-born spirit breathed into the fetus by God absorbs to itself whatever in it is of an active nature, and forms a single soul which is gifted with vigour, feeling and intelli-

*Footnote*: On this, Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, pp. 9, 10, *simil.* 14)

makes the wine, whose results are  
the worst, and to such an extent  
the nature of wine to the power  
manner the Sun Eternal, in His  
the rational soul, whose deeds were  
or the worst. So that the nature  
divine, for it is as the result of this  
is indeed, as Themistius says, not  
Stattius, having established the

remarks: "Come il calor del sole di-  
lando della generazione del corpo um-  
queo della vite lo trasmuta in vino, così  
e spirato nell'anima sensitiva, la transmuta  
Mirabile e la proprietà di questa somiglia  
il valore scientifico. Il germe di stat-  
poeti greci" e anche Cicerone disse dell'  
'qua et succo terra et calore solis au-  
ceba gustatu, deinde maturata dulce  
Magalotti che il gran Galileo pensò e  
di amore e di luce (*Ist. Scient. v*),  
*Ditrambe, Bacco in Tommaso*, s. 15-18

Si bel sangue è un raggio

Di quel Sol, che in cielo

È rimase avvinto e preso

Di pia grappoli alla rete.

Antonelli: in Tommaso's Comment  
qui contempla il sole sotto l'aspetto  
influisce grandemente alla vita de'  
de' fiori, alla maturazione de' frutti: e

rational soul, now explains its mode of existence after the death of the body, and how it is that aerial bodies can suffer from leanness. He first describes by another poetical figure the separation of the soul from the body.

E quando Lachesis\* non ha più lino,  
Solvesi † dalla carne, ed in virtute ‡ 80  
Ne porta seco e l' umano e il divino.

And when Lachesis has (on her distaff) no more thread (*i.e.*, when Man's life is run out), it (the soul) loosens itself from the flesh, and virtually bears away with itself both the human (corporeal) and the divine (*i.e.*, the intellectual faculties).

Tommaséo explains this last line by saying that whereas the soul retains these corporeal and sensitive, as well as the spiritual or intellectual, faculties, virtually or potentially, the former will be actually re-assumed when the soul is endued with its aerial body, as we shall presently see, by Statius showing what the separated soul casts off and what it retains.

\* *Lachesis*. "E quando Lachesis non ha più lino, e come dice *Virgilio* (*Purg.*, *xx*, *26*, gli ha tratta tutta la consuetudine, cioè consumata sua vita, *Solvesi* dalla carne, ed in virtute *Seo* ne porta e l' umano e l' divino. Efficace e vivo parlare! L'anima si toglie dal corpo: ma porta seco virtualmente, cioè, in una viva potenza e pronta, le due vite suddette colla ragione, dal poeta marabilmente chiamate l' umano e l' divino. L' umano si toglie, mancandogli gli organi." (*Cesari*).

† *Solvesi*: Compare *Virg. Æn.* iv, 693-695:

"Cum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem  
Daficlesque obitas, Irum demisit Olympe,  
Que luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus."

‡ *In virtute*: Scattarini says this is a scholastic expression, *potentially*, "virtually, potentially," in direct opposition to "formalmente, attualmente." Tommaséo explains that the human part of the soul will return actually (*fernerd in atto*), when it comes to assume its aerial body. As we have seen in note (\*) *Cesari* defines *in virtute* as "in una viva potenza e pronta.

than before.

Benvenuto says that, just as a sail destroyed by the destruction of ship, so the soul, liberated from the powers, and, although it may not ally, it still retains its intellectual perfection than before.

\* *L'altre potenze*. It must be noticed contrast between this line and the next. In the preceding *terzina* that the soul, ad from the body, retains in its potentiality the spiritual ones imparted by God, an assumed when it became united to the body that the soul not only brings into operation spiritual faculties, but is able to turn them than before, for, being inorganic, they are without the impediment of the body. \* faculties of sight, hearing, etc., but does who cannot make use of his gift of a organ.

† *Memoria*, et seq. Compare St. An. cap. 18) "Hac igitur tria, memoria, quoniam non sunt tres vite, sed una vita una mens, consequenter utique nec tria substantia." And St. Thomas Aquinas qu. lxxv, art. 8) "Omnes potentie anime voluntatem sicut ad principium."

atius next tells Dante that the soul, immediately at the death of the body, in obedience to divine will, instinctively wings its way to the bank of the river, if doomed to Hell, or to the bank of the other, if to be transported to Purgatory; and not until it reaches one of these shores does it know on which of the two roads it will have to travel, but, on its arrival at its appointed shore, it is at once turned to its allotted punishment.

Senz' arrestarsi, per sè stessa cade \* 85  
 Mirabilmente all' una delle rive,  
 Quivi conosce prima le sue strade.†  
 Tosto che loco li 'z la circonscrive,  
 La virtù formativa raggia intorno,  
 Così e quanto nelle membra vive; 90

*Senz' arrestarsi . . . . cade . . . all' una delle rive: Com Purg. li, 100-105:*

" Ond' io che era ora alla marina volto,  
 Dove l'acqua di Tevere s' insala,  
 Benignamente fu da lui raccolto.  
 A quelle foce, ha egli or dritta l'ala:  
 Però, hè sempre quivi si ricoglie,  
 Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala.

In Luke xvi, 22-3, we read "the rich man also died, and was buried, and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, seeing Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom."

*Quivi conosce prima le sue strade:* Scartazzini points out that no one seems to have noticed that Dante here contradicts what he has said elsewhere, that a Devil took possession of the body of Guido da Montefeltro as soon as ever it was loosed from the body (*Inf. xxvii, 112 et seq.*), and an Angel of that of Cante da Montefeltro, likewise at the instant of his death (*Par. vi, 104, et seq.*), in both cases there being a contest between the messenger of Heaven and the messenger of Hell, and these souls knew their allotted paths before falling on one of the two shores.

Dante means that the soul puts on an aerial body as has ever it has lighted on one of the shores. Compare Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol. pars iii, Suppl. qu. lxx.*

the formative virtue beams  
shape and with the same in  
in the living members.

Scarlazzini prefers referring  
tures, and *quanto* to the mea  
would mean that the soul, s  
power into the air, forms itse  
in form and features, and in t  
of the human body that it an

Status next shows the ne  
soul acquires.

E. come l' aer, quand' è be

art. 1. " Quamvis substantiae spiri  
corpore non dependeant, corporalis  
spiritualibus gubernantur, ut dicit A  
et deo est quaedam convenien  
rum ad corporales substantias per  
sicut dicitur in substantiis di  
. . . . Quamvis autem animabus pe  
aliqua corpora, quorum sint forma  
determinata tamen ets quaedam ex  
tam quaedam secundum gradum  
sint quasi in loco, eo modo quo in  
loco . . . Incorporales non sunt  
noto, et consueto, secundum

Per l' altrui raggio che in sè si riflette,\*  
 Di diversi color diventa adorno,  
 Così l' aer vicin quivi si mette  
 In quella forma che in lui suggella  
 Virtualmente l' alma che ristette :†

95

as the atmosphere, when it is full charged with  
 in, shows itself bedecked in many a hue, by reason  
 the rays of another (the Sun), so in this place does  
 e neighbouring air shape itself into that form upon  
 which the soul that has lighted upon it virtually gives  
 impress.

tenuto translates *virtualmente*: "quæ habet po-  
 tum imprimendi talem formam." Scartazzini  
 joins it "unprime in esso per propria virtù opera-  
 " or "per effetto della conservata *virtu informata*."

"Nè dopo la pioggia vidi l' celeste arco  
 Per l' aere in color tanto variarsi," etc.

Dante, *Ger. Liber. ix.*, 62, speaking of Michael the Arch-

"Tale il Sol nelle nubi ha per costume  
 Spiegat dopo pioggia i bei colori."

Dante, *Metam. vi.*, 13 (7)

"Qualis ab imbre solet percussus solibus arcus  
 Inficere ingenti longam curvamine cælum,  
 In quo diversi nitent cum mille colores,  
 Transitus ipse tamen spectantia lumina fallit.  
 Usque adeo quod tangit idem est tamen ultima distant."

*Riflette*. Antonelli (in Tommaseo's Commentary) remarks  
 although *riflette* now means "reflect," in the time of Dante  
 meant "reflect," and thus one may see that Dante was  
 his way towards understanding the nature of the rainbow.

*Stette*: The soul having the power of operating on matter,  
 impressing upon the surrounding air the shape which it  
 had in life, forms for itself an aerial vestime. Ozanam  
 p. 423 says: "Dante se fit une opinion moyenne,  
 d'après la notion de St. Thomas la notion de l'âme séparée qui  
 est de ses puissances intellectuelles plus actives que jamais,  
 mais elle comme endormie." à St. Augustin, à Origène, la  
 notion de l'ombre ou du corps subtil."



Che segue il foco là 've  
Segue alo spirito sua li  
Perocche quindi ha poscia  
E chiamata ombra, e q  
Ciascun sentire infino

And then like unto a little fl  
fire whithersoever it shifts, so  
accompany the spirit. And si  
this (its new shape) has its powe  
it is called a shade, and from  
each of the senses, even the sig

Benvenuto says that some per  
the passions and feelings of th  
in the soul after its separatio  
rather something else that res  
mechanic, who lacks both too

\* *simigliante* . . . *alla prima*  
corpo aereo, onde immagina il Poeta  
morte la qua forma egli dice segu  
nella il fuoco. Sua latine tanto  
(Venturi, p. 51, *simil.* 72)

\* [*aur*] *parata* is interpreted in  
*acquistare i subile aspecti*. The soul  
of its arial body (says Scartazzini w  
it were, the shade of the soul (*l'ombra*

as their shapes and forms before him. For, since the soul is naturally the perfection of the body, there remains in it, and in its powers of action, habits and passions which follow the movements of the body, just as in the mind of the sailor there remain the thoughts and imaginations of his ship, after he has been separated from it.

And now at last Statius brings his long discourse to a conclusion by establishing his principal proposition, namely, that by these arguments the soul is shown to be able to suffer in different ways, as though had been seated in a body.

Quindi parliamo,\* e quindi ridiam noi,

Quindi facciam le lagrime e i sospiri

Che per lo monte aver sentiti puoi.

105

Secondo che ci affiggono † i disiri

E gli altri affetti, l'ombra si figura :

E questa è la cagion di che tu ammiri."

By means of this (aerial body) we speak, and by this laugh, by this we produce the tears and the sighs which thou mayest have heard all over the mountain. According as the desires and the other passions make an impression upon us, so does the spirit take its shape, and this is the cause of what thou wonderest."

This is the reason why the soul, when separated from the body, can endure suffering, about which Dante

\* *Quindi parliamo*. Dante has evidently in these lines closely followed Virgil, whose own ideas on the subject are very clearly expressed in *Æn.* vi, 723, *et seq.*

† *Affiggono*. The *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *affigere*, § 13, specially notes that in this passage alone the word is equivalent to *impressio*, *modificatio*, *et c.* give an impress to, regulate. But in § 11, a number of other passages are quoted from the *Divine Commedia* where *affiggere* has the sense of *firmare*, *certare*, such as *Inf.* xii, 115; *Purg.* xi, 135; *Purg.* xiii, 33; *Par.* xxx, 4; *Purg.* xxxiii, 106; and *Par.* xxx, 26.

case from the sixth Cornice to the  
Staius uttered the concluding  
course, they seem to have stepped  
Cornice, the last one of all in the  
sins of Sensuality, or Incontinence.

A short explanation of what scene  
of place. As in the other Cornice  
pathway, from about 12 to 15 feet  
round the mountain with the high  
above, and the edge of the precipice  
who are being punished for Sensuality  
the rock, from which issue flames  
but a wind, blowing from the east  
is, from the edge of the precipice  
flames, and keeps them against the  
narrow pathway remains between  
flames and the edge of the precipice  
alone can the Poets walk without

E già venuto all'ultima tortura

\* *tortura*. This word is interpreted  
*Anonimo Fiorentino*, Benvenuto, &c.  
others of the older Commentators in

S' era per noi,\* e volto alla man destra,† 110

Ed eravamo attenti ad altra cura.‡

Quivi la ripa namma in fuor balestra.§

E la cornice spira fiato in suso,

Che la riflette, e via da lei sequestra ;

\* *per noi*. the expression *venuto s' era per noi* is the rendering of the Latin : *ventum erat ad* = we had come to ; compare *De F. n. vi. 45* : "Ventum erat ad limen." And *Georg. iii. 98* : "Ad prahia ventum est."

† *alla man destra* : as usual they turned to the right on entering a new cornice. Compare *Purg. x's. 80-81* :

"E volete trovar la via piu tosto,  
Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi."

‡ *altra cura*. They had been in deep speculation as to how the flames can grow thin, but now they will have to turn to the more practical question of how to avoid the flames on this new cornice.

§ *ripa namma in fuor balestra* : "Siamo ormai non lontani dal Paradiso terrestre, e la divina giustizia, o il Cherubino dall'una spada che fu posto a guardia di esso, lo circondo, si può dire, di una siepe di fiamme, che a nessuno consentono entrarlo prima d'aver cancellata col fuoco ogni reliquia di affetto carnale. Le fiamme vengono saettate dalla ripa o sia dal fianco del monte, o riempiono tutto il settimo ed ultimo girone, lasciando sgombro soltanto un sentieruzzo sul lembo del ripano ; e dal sesto girone che sovrasta a questo, e dove le anime stanno in orazione e digiuno, spira un vento in alto e tutto intorno premendo in addietro le fiamme, apre quella viuzza non più ai passi del poeta, e forse per entro alle stesse fiamme sua aure benefiche ad alleviare e confortar quel' incendio." *Perez, Sette Cor. in. pp. 238, 239.*

¶ *la cornice spira fiato* : "E questo finge per convenienza, come li beni terreni hanno a muovere la lussuria et incitano la carne, e la carne muove lo incendio onde viene la concupiscenza e l'atto carnale ; così la ripa gitta la fiamma che tale è il peccato purghi ; et allegoricamente, da l'astinenza e da la macerazione de la carne risurga in quelli del mondo uno fante d'aria, che purghi ogni carnalita' (Buti Scartazzini agrees here with an opinion of Perez, which would attribute the blast to the fanning of the air by the wings of the Angel of the Sixth Cornice. Were this so, there would only be the blast from the opening of the stairway, but it is evident from the text, that the wind in question was emitted from the margin all round the cornice equally.

And now we had arrived at the last turning, and had bent to the right hand, and were intent upon another care. Here the cliff darts like a flame outwards, and from the Cornice is sent forth an upward blast, which turns the flame back, and drives it away from there.

Benvenuto interprets *sequestra* as separating the flame in two, so as to leave a narrow footway, as it were between two walls of fire, but the interpretation we have followed, which is that of Fraticelli and Scartazzini, seems preferable, for the next three lines show very distinctly that the fire is on one side and the unprotected edge of the precipice on the other.

Onde ir ne convenia dal lato schiuso

Ad uno ad uno, ed io temeva il foco

Quinci, e quindi \* temea cadere in giuoco.

For which reason we were obliged to walk one by one on the open side, and I was in fear of the fire on the left hand, and of falling headlong down on the right.

Virgil now warns Dante not to turn aside his eyes either to the right or left, but to look well to his footing. Benvenuto thinks this means allegorically that the eyes ought to be curbed, for otherwise they may easily fall into the sin of Concupiscence.

Lo Duca mio dicea :—" per questo loco

Si vuol tenere agli occhi stretto il freno, †

Perocch' errar potrestessi per poco." —

\* *Quinci, e quindi* : When the Poets emerged from the way into the Seventh and last Cornice, they turned as the right hand. They have therefore the fire on their left (*quinci*), and the precipice on their right (*quindi*).

† *agli occhi stretto il freno* : Compare Propertius (II, xv, 11) "Oculi sunt in amore duces," and Psalm cxix, 37 : "Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity ; and quicken thou me in thy way."

My Leader said : "Along this place one will have to keep a tight rein on the eyes, for a very little might cause us to go astray."

Dante now relates how they hear the spirits of the sensual chanting a hymn in praise of Chastity, just as in the other Cornices they have heard the voices of the penitents singing the praise of the virtue opposed to the particular sin they are purging. He then directs his attention to the penitents, whom up till now he has not remarked.

*Summa Deus clementiæ* \* nel seno  
Al grande ardore allora udi. cantando,  
Che di volger mi fe' caler non meno : †  
E vidi spirti per la fiamma andando ;

\* *Summa Deus clementiæ* : The opening words of the hymn which the spirits in the flames were singing. There is only one hymn in the *Breviarium Romanum* that begins with these words, and that is the service of Lauds on the Festival of our Lady of the Seven Sorrows ; but the words of that hymn have nothing to do with the sins purged in the Seventh Cornice. The principal Commentators explain, however, that Dante was quoting the hymn sung at the service of Matins on Saturday, which we are told was in Dante's time somewhat differently worded, and was remodelled at a later period. It commences as follows :

"*Summa Parens clementiæ,  
Mandi regis qui machinam,  
Unius et substantiæ,  
Ternusque personis Deus :  
Nostros pius cum canticis  
Fletus benigne suscipe.*"

*Chè di volger mi fe' caler non meno*, etc. : Cesari remarks how naturally the whole action is described. Dante heard the sweet music chant, and would turn at once, or would wish to do so, to see from whom the voices came, but the excessive caution he had need of, to take heed to his footsteps, compelled him to divide his attention, casting alternate glances, first in one direction, then in the other. Benvenuto explains it as though Dante would say : "I had at first turned my eyes to look after my footing, as Virgil had enjoined me, but now I turned them with less care towards the fire, when I heard the sacred chant."

Perch' io guardava loro, ed a' miei passi,  
Compartendo la vista a quando a quando.

*Summa Deus clementer* I then heard being sung in the bosom of that great burning, which made me anxious to turn (to see who was singing) no less (anxiously than to mind my footing). And I saw spirits going through the flame, whereupon I looked at them and at my footsteps from time to time with divided attention.

Dante next tells how he heard the spirits cry aloud the words of the Blessed Virgin to the Archangel Gabriel, "I know not a man" (*St. Luke*, i, 34). As we have seen in the other Cornices, so we find here first an example from the life of the Virgin contrasted with the sin being purged, the next example is that of Helice.

The spirits are recording examples of the virtue of chastity, the opposite to sins of lust.

Appresso il fine ch' a quell' inno fassi,  
Gridavano alto \* : *Virum non agnosco*,  
Indi ricominciasan l' inno bassi.  
Finitolo, anco gridavano : "Al bosco  
Si tenne Diana, ed Elice † caccionne  
Che di Venere avea sentito il toso." †

\* *Gridavano alto* : The examples that are cited seem to have been always proclaimed in a loud voice. The prayers always uttered softly.

† *Elice* : Helice, sometimes called Callisto, was supposed to have been the daughter of Lycoun, King of Armenia. She was one of the attendant nymphs of Diana, who discovered her at account of an amour with Jupiter, and Juno turned her and her child Arcas into bears. Jupiter then harped them into the constellations of the Great and Little Bear. After Callisto had been changed into a bear, her son, not yet transformed, finds her. The tale is told in Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 401-532, more especially in ll. 453-465. In *Purg.* xxxi, 31-33, Dante speaks of the Constellation of the Great Bear by the name of Helice.

After the conclusion that is made to that hymn, they cried aloud: *Virum non cognosco*, then they recommenced the hymn in low tones. When that was done, they cried out anew: "Dana abode in the wood, and drove from it Helice, who had felt the poison of Venus."

Benvenuto says that Diana, the moon, whose influence was thought to be favourable to maidenhood, is supposed to go forth with her virgin nymphs to the chase for the purpose of destroying wild beasts, that is, to promote the mortification of the lusts of concupiscence, which lacerate and wound the soul and body worse than any wild beast.

In conclusion Dante describes another song in praise of chaste men and women.

Indi al cantar tornavano ; indi donne  
Gridavano, e mariti che far casti,\*  
Come virtute e matrimonio imponne.† 135  
E que to modo credo che lor basti:  
Per tutto il tempo che il foco gh abbrucia ;  
Con tal cura ‡ conven, con cotai pasti

"Se i Barbari, venendo da tal plaga  
Che ciascun giorno a Elce si copra,  
Rotante vol suo teglio ond'ell e vaga," etc.

<sup>135</sup> *Indi*: Benvenuto and Buti read "indi donne gridavano e mariti che far casti," which would be translated "after this, women took up the cry, and proclaimed the virtues of husbands who were chaste." But if this were the correct reading we should not have been told what the men were proclaiming. We may therefore be sure that all the spirits in the Circle of either sex must have been guilty of sins of sensuality, and would have sought to do in purgation their own sins, without thinking of what was profitable for the souls of the other sex.

\* *imponne, i e ne imponne, e impone, impone a noi, impone a noi uomini*: Boccaccio (*Decim. Giorn. ii. Nov. v.*) uses *sonne* for *ne sono io* in the same way. "e sonne qual tu mi vedi."

‡ *con* must not be understood here as "care" but as "cure," i. e. medical treatment like the French word *cure*, e. g. "la cure



Che la piaga dassrezzo \* si ricucia.

Then they returned to their singing: then they proclaimed wives and husbands who were chaste, according as virtue and wedlock ordain. And this fashion I believe suffices them for the whole of the time that the fire burns them; with such a cure (*i.e.*, remedial treatment), and with such a diet is it necessary that the last wound of all (*i.e.*, the last of the seven P's) should be healed (*lit.* sewn up).

Benvenuto says this is a beautiful and appropriate metaphor; for, as the physician sews up an extensive wound, and sometimes burns it with fire that it may not putrefy, so does the Eternal Physician here put away the sin of Sensuality by fire, that it may not introduce poisonous matter into the soul.

aux raisins, the grape cure." *Cura, fatti*, and *piaga*, must be taken together. The wound, the cure, and the diet:

\* *dassrezzo*: Blanc interprets *Da sesso* or *dassrezzo* as "La fine, finalmente, da ult mo." Compare *Inf* vii, 130

"Venimmo al piè d' una torre al dassrezzo."

END OF CANTO XXV.

## CANTO XXVI.

THE SEVENTH CORNICE.—SENSUALITY (*continued*).  
 — THE PENITENTS IN TWO BANDS THAT  
 MOVE IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS.—EXAMPLES  
 OF SENSUALITY. — GUIDO GUINIZELLI (OR  
 GUINICELLI).<sup>\*</sup>—ARNAUD DANIEL.

THIS Canto is so altogether exceptional as regards the subjects treated in it, that I think it desirable to abstain from the close explanation that I have endeavoured to give elsewhere.

In the concluding portion of the last Canto, the penance of those who had yielded to the sins of Sensuality was described. In this Canto Dante continues the subject.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In the *First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 51, Dante describes his encountering two bands of penitents moving in opposite directions, and the question that is put to him by the shade of Guido Guinicelli.

In the *Second Division*, from v. 52 to v. 102, he answers Guido's question, tells the spirits who he is, and desires those in both bands to tell him their

<sup>\*</sup> As this poet is far better known by the latter of these modes of spelling his name, I shall adopt this instead of the former, except when copying the text.

names. Upon Guido Guinicelli naming himself Dante addresses him with affectionate devotion as the father of those who, like himself, have woven the sweet rhymes of love.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 103 to v. 146, Guido modestly disavows his own pre-eminence, and yields the palm to Arnaut Daniel, a Provençal poet and troubadour.

*Division I.* The three Poets are stepping cautiously along in single file in the very narrow space that is vacant between the edge of the Cornice and the flames under the cliff-wall in which the spirits are moving along. We shall learn from ll. 16 and 17 that Dante is walking behind Virgil and Statius. The flames are on their left hand and the precipice on their right. Virgil again warns Dante to beware how he walks.

Mentre che si per l'orlo, uno innanzi altro,  
Ce n'andavamo, e spesso il buon Maestro  
Diceva:—"Guarda; giovè ch'io ti scaltro."

While we thus were going along the edge of the Cornice, one before the other, the good Master kept saying: "Take heed; let it avail that I warn thee."

\* *ti scaltro* "ti fo cauto a scansare e il precipicio e la natura." See the *Gran Dizionario*, which interprets *scaltro* "cauto, astuto, sagace," as sozzo e inesperto fare altrui astuto e sagace." Compare Petrarca, part 1, *Canz.* x, st. 2.

"L' un a me note, e l' altro

Altro, ch'io non lo scaltro."

Varch. *Er. olano*, Vinet 3, 1580, p. 36) defines the word "Dante antica . . . con voce piú gentile, e usata da compagnie nobili, e dicitur, onde viene scaltro, e scaltro, cioè cauto e sagace." Blanc (*Vie. Dante*) says the word is derived from the Latin *callere*, to instruct, to draw attention to anything.

Benvenuto thinks that Virgil was allegorically warning Dante against the danger of falling into the sin of Sensuality.

We have said that the flames were on Dante's left hand. We now hear that the Sun was shining on his right. The effect of this is that his shadow is cast upon the flames. The only way that Dante could be seen to have a shadow was that, where it was projected on the flames, they showed redder, as fire always does when seen in the shade. This phenomenon is at once noticed by the spirits, who ponder over it for awhile, and then, remarking to each other that they are in presence of a living man, they all flock towards Dante in astonishment.

Feriam il Sole \* in sull' omero destro,

\* *Feriam il Sole, et seq.* : In Tommasèo's commentary may be read a dissertation by Antonelli as to the position of the Poets, as well as that of the S. N. and the probable hour of the day which he thinks was about 4 p. m. "Al principio del Canto precedente, quando i Poeti cominciavano a salir la scala, erano a l'ora seconda pomeridiana. Lunga doveva esser la notte, e anche c'è da credere con qualche fermata, se Stazio compie il suo lungo ragionamento. Poi erano venati cominciando per la settima con esse, e adendo e scelerdo an me to grande ardore. Tutto considerato si può tenere per probabile che nel momento in cui avverte il Poeta di essere ferito dal sole sull' omero destro, fosse a un bel circa [25 nearly 25] dopo il mezzo di l'ora quarta. Ciò si accorda col due conseguenti, per lo che il sole distando circa un'ora e mezzo dal suo corso, l'occidente doveva mettere in bianco il cielo [25] naturale colore del cielo. Poste dunque le quattro, il sole stava alla spalla destra il Poeta, questi si trovava da destra di questa per l'appunto nel piano del verticale, in cui era il sole stesso in quell'ora, e perciò aveva camminato da tramontana verso ponente per un numero di grad. eguale all'angolo naturale del sole; chiamandosi dagli astronomi *azimut* di un punto, l'angolo che in un dato punto viene formato dalla meridiana di quel punto e l'intersezione del piano orizzontale su cui la meridiana col piano verticale ov'è l'astro. Ma il sole con

Che giù raggiando tutto l'occidente  
Mutava in bianco aspetto di cilestro ; \*  
Ed io facea con l'ombra più rovente  
Parei la fiamma , e pure a tanto indizio †

una declinazione boreale di undici gradi, con un angolo ora di quattro ore e ad una latitudine australe di gradi trentacinque e minuti quaranta, aveva un azimut di gradi sessantasette e minuti quarantadue, contato da settentrione, dunque a tanto aveva girato da quel punto il Poeta, e gli restavano quindi poco più che ventisei gradi di giro per giungere al vero punto di ponente della montagna. "Some of my readers (says Moore, *Time References*, p. 109) may remember that these lines are quoted by Mr Ruskin (*Med. Painters*, ii, p. 157), probably the finest description in literature of intense beauty. He maintains that in these few very simple, and in some sense commonplace, touches, Dante with no help from science or modern chemistry has produced a more vivid effect than Milton has secured in ten lines of elaborate description and varied images. Dante's few words suggest, as Ruskin says, 'luminous intensity.' I wish I had space to illustrate further this unequalled power in Dante, of piercing at once to the heart of things, and revealing, as it were, a whole world of scenery, or of emotion, or of passion at a flash, and as often not by a flash of silence, that is more eloquent than any words."

\* *cilestro* is, according to the *Gran Dizionario*, the "cilestro del cielo puro," whereas *azzurro* is said to be "quanto più pieno del cilestro, e che anche si dice *Turchese*," so that we may take *cilestro* to be a paler blue than azure. The two colours are defined by Boccaccio, in the opening of the *Giornata* ix. of the *Decamerone*. "La luce, il cui splendore a notte fugge, aveva già l'ottavo cielo d'azzurro, il cui cilestro mutato tutto." The *Anonimo Fiorentino* comments: "il Sole facea la plaga occidentale tutta bianca, impetuosi di il suo colore è l'aere cilestro, e quando il Sole è scesa pareva sì lo biancheggia per la luce de' suoi razzi (i. e. 2222)."

† *pure a tanto indizio*. Scartazzini points out that Dante's shadow, falling on the flame, is far less visible than when noticed by the spirits on other occasions. Dante does not even say that *l'ombra si vede*, but that it *facea* . . . *più rovente pari* *la fiamma*. The *indizio* therefore was exceedingly small in the spirits enveloped in the flames, but Dante evidently wishes to emphasize their quick observation, for he says that *mentre pure*, at that small indication they detected the probable cogitancy of a living being.

Vid' io molt' ombre andando poner mente.  
 Questa fu la cagion che diede inizio 10  
 Loro a parlar di me ; e cominciarsi  
 A dir : " Colui non par corpo fittizio."\*  
 Poi verso me, † quanto potevan farsi,  
 Certi si feron, sempre con riguardo  
 Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi. 15

Striking me on the right shoulder was the Sun, who, darting forth his rays, was already changing the whole West from its azure hue into white ; and with my shadow I was making the flame appear more ruddy ; and merely to that indication (of my being alive), I perceived many of the shades, as they passed, giving heed. This was the occasion that gave them an opening to speak about me : and they began to say one to another : "That does not seem a fictitious body (like ours)." Then certain of them came towards me, as near as they could, always giving heed not to come out where they could not be burned.

They would not for one single instant interrupt their purgance. It must be noticed that, in Purgatory, the spirits not only submit willingly to the chastisement imposed upon them, but they actually love it. In *Purg.* xi, 73, Oderisi begs Dante to walk stooping

\* *inizio* (according to the *Gran Dizionario*) is that which is not what it seems. The bodies of the spirits in Purgatory and Hell were aerial bodies, and not what they seemed, as may be seen in *Purg.* ii, 79, where Dante, after failing to embrace the impassable form of Casella, exclaims :

"O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto"

*Colui non par corpo fittizio*, means then, "Colui (Dante) ha corpo di vera carne, non composto, finto, d'aria, come i nostri"

† *Verso me* . . . *Certi si feron*: Compare *Purg.* ii, 67-75 : where the newly arrived spirits in the *Ante-Purgatorio* duck and Dante when they notice his respiration. *Par e avanti* is well known Tuscan idiom, meaning to step forward. *Farsi verso uno* - to approach any one. Compare *Purg.* viii, 52 :

"Ver me si fece, ed io ver lui mi fer :

beside him ; in xiv, 124, Guido del Duca prays h  
to depart, as he is more desirous of weeping than  
talking ; in xvi, 142, Marco Lombardo will not list  
any more to him for fear of leaving the pitchy smok  
in xviii, 115, the penitents entreat him not to ascer  
it to any discourtesy if they leave him, but only  
their wish to move on ; in xix, 139, Pope Adrian b  
him pass on, and not retard his penitent weep  
in xxiv, 91, Forese parts from him, giving as a rea  
that, in that kingdom, the time is too precious,  
here the penitents take heed to keep within  
flames.

One of the spirits now addresses Dante. We sh  
learn from v. 92 \* that the speaker is Guido Guinicelli,  
of whom Benvenuto relates that he was a knight  
of a very illustrious family of Bologna, banished  
for their imperialist sympathies by a civil sect  
Benvenuto expresses his regret to think of how many  
men, like Guido, virtuous in other ways, have be  
marred by a disposition to licentiousness. Gu  
now invites Dante's attention, telling him that he  
and all his companions in suffering are burnt, a  
thirsting with eagerness to know the reason of th  
shadow, cast by Dante on the flames which are t  
menting him.

— " O tu, che vai, non per esser più tardo, †

\* " Son Guido Guinizelli, e già mi purgo  
Per ben d'olermi prima ch' all' estremo."

† *non per esser più tardo*. The Commentators mostly pointed  
that Dante had been getting lighter and lighter as ea  
sive burden of sin, symbolized by the several P's, had been  
moved by the successive Angels of the Cornices. He ha  
but one to be erased on leaving the present Cornice, and ha

Ma forse reverente, agli altri dopo,  
 Ri-pondi a me che in sete ed in foco ardo : \*  
 Nè solo a me la tua risposta è uopo ;  
 Chè tutti questi n' ha no maggior sete 20  
 Che d' acqua fredda Indo o Etiopa.  
 Dinne com' è che fai di te parete †  
 Al sol, come se tu non fossi ancora  
 Di morte entrato dentro dalla rete. † —

"O thou, who goest behind the others, not from being slower, but perchance out of reverence, reply to me, who am burning in thirst and fire: not is it by me alone that thine answer is needed; for all these here have a thirst for it greater than has Indian or Æthiop for cold water. Tell us how it is that thou makest thyself a wall to the Sun, as though thou hadst not yet passed into the toils of death."

Benvenuto says the simile is very appropriate, for

movements consequently are but little less speedy than those of the other two Poets, to whom out of deference he yields the precedence.

\* *in sete ed in foco ardo*. Daniello seems to give the best Latin translation of this passage. He writes: "*Ardo in fuoco, sete, et in foco ardo*, e ardo *in sete*, e in *in des derio* ardo, como d' intendere chi tu sei, etc. The explanation is given, since thirst was not one of the punishments of this Circle, but of the previous one. Hunger and Thirst are the punishments for Gluttony, and Burning for Incontinence. Compare *Purg. xxv.*, 22-24, where Guido da Montefeltro says to Dante:

"Perch' io sia gainto forse alquanto tanto,  
 Non t' inaresca restare a parlar meco.  
 Vedi che non inaresce a me, ed ardo."

† *parete* usually means the wall of a room, a partition wall, as distinguished from *muro*, the outer wall. It is, however, sometimes used to signify *outer wall*, sometimes as the terraced wall of the vine-clad hills in South Italy, in which sense we find it in *Purg.* iii, 95. "*saper-hat questa parete*, i. e. the outer wall of the Cornice. Here it has the signification of *ostacolo, riparo* compare *Purg.* xxvii, 4, 5:

"Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete  
 Di non caler."



Death casts its net into the great sea of mortal  
and lays hold of every species of living being.

Dante would at once have complied with the  
appeal, and have named himself, but his attention  
is diverted by the arrival of a fresh band of spirits.

Si mi parlava un d' essi,\* ed io mi fora  
Già manifesto, † s' io non fossi atteso ‡  
Ad altra novità ch' apparse allora ;  
Chè per lo mezzo del camm no acceso  
Venìa gente col viso incontro a questa,  
La qual mi fece a rimirar sospeso.  
Lì veggio d' ogni parte farsi presta  
Ciascun' ombra, e haciarsi una con una,  
Senza restar, contente a breve festa. §

Thus spoke one of them to me, and I should ha

\* *un d' essi* · This is Guido Guinicelli ; see note on l. 572

† *mi fora Già manifesto* · i. e. "mi sarei già manifestato." *Manifesto* is a syncope for *manifestato*, which Nanni *l. 1. 4. 2. Crit.* p. 403, vi) says was very frequent, e. g. *tronco* for *troncato*, *mozzo* for *mozzato*, etc.

‡ *fossi atteso*. Scartazzini says that the early writers used generally to employ the auxiliary verb *essere* with the verb *tendere*, in preference to *avere*. Compare *Giorn. V. 1. 1. 1. cap. 7*. "Lo re Manfredi veggendo apparire l'oste di Carlo, avuto suo consiglio, prese partito del combattere in ciò prese mal partito, che se fosse atteso [for *se avesse aspettato*] uno o due giorni, lo re Carlo e sua oste erano morti e presi senza colpo di spada, etc."

§ *festa*. Among the many significations of *festa* given in *Gr. in Dictionario*, we find in § 32 · "Di liete accoglienze, e di feste, e quindi in forma di riflessivo." Compare *Fortig. Il Riccardetto*, xvi, st. 31 :

"E si abbracciano insieme e si fan festa.

E la tardanza solo è lor molestia."

And Boccaccio, *Decim. Giorn. 1, Nov. 11* · "Al quale, come Carlo non seppe che venuto se n'era, niuna cosa menò speranza del suo farsi cristiano, se ne venne, e gran festa insieme fecero." And *Giorn. 14, Nov. 1* · "dove trovato Guisano insieme maravighiosa festa si fecero."

straightway made myself known, had I not turned my attention to another new sight, which then appeared; for in the middle of the fiery path there came a crowd of people with their faces turned the opposite way to those who had made me stop to gaze at them in wonder. There (where they met) I saw all the shades advance in haste and kiss one another without stopping, content with a brief greeting.

ante compares this encounter of the two companies of spirits to that of two troops of ant.

**Cost per entro loro schiera bruna \***

S'ammusa l'una con l'altra formica,

35

Forse ad espiar † lor via e lor fortuna.

Thus in the midst of their dusky phalanx will one ant meet another head to head, perchance to get

\* *schiera bruna*. This passage was probably suggested to Dante from parallel ones in Virgil and Ovid. Compare Virg. *En. iv.* 402-405

"Ac, veluti ingentem formica fattis acervum  
Cum populant, hiemis memores, tectoque reponunt;  
It nigrum canis agmen, præclanque per herbas  
Convectant calle angusto."

And Ovid, *Metam. vi.* 624-626:

"Hic nos frugilegas aspeximus agmine longo  
Grande enus ex quo formicas ore gerentes,  
Rugosoque suum servantes cortice callem."

*espiar*. Others read *spiar*. See *Gr in Dizionario* s. v. *spiare*. To search, to investigate, to explore." Varchi (J. Hercolano, 1926, pp. 48, 50) defines the word thus: "*Origine è, quando due o più miratisi in alcun luogo favellano di segreto, uno di nascoso all'uscio, e porgere l'orecchie per sentire l'altro dicono il verbo generale è *spiare*, verbo non meno comune, che *originare*, sebbene si piglia alcuni volti in buona parte [as in the text], dove *farla spia*: si piglia sempre in cattiva, dove si dice volgarmente essere referendario." Compare also Petrarch, Part 1, *Canz. xv.* st. 6:*

"Tu sai in me il tutto, Amor; s'ella ne spia,

Dinne quel che dir de."

ante says that *spiare* is akin to the German *spähen*, "to investigate." Compare also Psalm cxxxix, 2. (*Prayer Book Version*). "And spiest out all my ways."

(mutual) information of their road, and of their luck.

The ants give each other information, as to the path to be pursued, and as to the good or bad fortune they have had in finding food.

At this point Dante notices that the spirits, after exchanging greetings that are merely friendly, innocent, and devoid of any unworthy feelings, with one another in simultaneous denunciations of Incontinence in its blackest forms. With one hand and voice they loudly shout out different examples of this sin in its hideous varieties.

Tosto che parton l' accoglienza amica,  
Prima che il primo passo li trascorra,  
Sopragnar\* ciascuna s' affatica;

La nuova gente: "Soddoma e Gomorra;"—†  
E l' altra: "Nella vacca entra Pasife,‡  
Perchè il torello a sua lussuria corra."

As soon as they terminate their friendly greetings, before even the first footstep passes away from that spot, each (spirit) strives to out-cry the other, the

\* *Sopragnar*, of which Tommasèo remarks: "Voce puerissima, nella forma di quelle de' Salti. *supergradat* inf. xiv, 19; *superasperita* (*Psalms* cxviii, 23)." (*Uniglot*.)

† *Soddoma e Gomorra*: "Due nomi, che umiliano l' orgoglio, ricordando come un popolo intero, giovane e può scender sì basso, e in appetiti peggio che brutali e matamente contempersi, da trovare argomento a solleffiare la stessa bellezza degli Angeli. Due nomi, che scono colta memoria del fuoco prodigioso, che a punire d' infami libidini distrugge fertillissima terra e le toglie la virtù di fruttificare, simboleggiando la sterilità infernale, a cui il poeta bene assegna nell' Inferno la larva come librica arena, e le larghe falde di fuoco pioventi alpe senza vento." *Perez, Sette Cerchi*, pp. 251, 252.

‡ *Pasife*: See Virg. *Buol. Ecl* vi, 45-55.

newcomers (exclaim) · "Sodom and Gomorrah";  
and the others · "Into the cow enters Pasiphae, in  
order that the bull may run to her lust."

It is well to explain here that the spirits that shouted *Sodom and Gomorrah* were those that arrived last, and at whom Dante had stopped to gaze in wonder. We are to infer that their crime had been the same detestable one as that of Brunetto Latini, and his companions, described in *Inf.* xv and xvi. As this band went off to the left, we are to infer that they had been the more guilty of the two. The company, whose cry was the monstrous episode of Pasiphae, are those spirits with whom Dante had been conversing when the new comers entered upon the scene. These, on the separation of the two bands, continue to go in the same direction as that pursued by the Poets, which is, of course, to the right; and according to the usual laws of Dante's Hell and Purgatory, where two companies move, the one to the right, and the other to the left, it is assumed that those to the right have incurred guilt of a less heinous description than those to the left. Whatever may be our conclusion, in a matter so repulsive, it is undesirable to go closely into detail.

After likening the separation of these two companies of spirits to a flight of cranes, which parts into two flocks that fly off in opposite directions, Dante relates that the newly arrived spirits go their way, while those whom he had first met, draw close to him as they can without issuing from the flames, and await his answer to their previous question.

Poi come gru,\* ch' alle montagne Rife†  
 Volasser parte, e parte inver l' arene,  
 Queste del ciel, quelle del sole schife,  
 L' una gente sen va, l' altra sen viene,  
 E tornan lagrimando ai primi canti‡  
 Ed al gridar che più a lor si conviene;§  
 E raccostarsi a me, come davanti,  
 Essi medesimi che m' avean pregato,  
 Attenti ad ascoltar nei lor sembianti

Then like cranes, which should fly part to the Rhi-  
 phæan mountains, and part towards the sands  
 (Labya), the latter shunning the ice, the former  
 Sun; so one crowd (of spirits) goes, the other come  
 and weeping they return to their first songs, and  
 the cry which suits them best, and those same  
 had lately entreated me (to speak) pressed close

\* *gru*: It is remarkable that the word "*gru*" only occurs  
 twice in the *Divina Commedia*, and both times as a  
 connected with those punished for Sensuality. The other  
 is in *Inf.* v, 46-49. Compare also *Verg. Æn.* x, 262, 267.

† *Strymonie dant sua greges, atque arhera*  
 Come sonni, *lang. antique Notos clamore secundo*

See also *Purg.* xxiv, 64-66.

‡ *Rife*: The Rhiphaean mountains were supposed  
 situated in the North of Scythia, but the name was  
 any cold mountain in a northern country. Compare  
*Georg.* i, 240-241.

§ *Mundas ut ad Scythiam Rhipæasque ar-*  
*Consurgit; premitur Labyæ devexus in Austros*

And *Georg.* iv, 518:

"*Arva Rhipæis nunquam viduata pruinis.*"

‡ *primi canti*. Compare *Inf.* xvi, 19-20:

"*Ricominciar, come noi ristemma, ei*  
*L' antico verso.*"

In, *La Giotta*, lib. i, st. 60, Poliziano expresses the same

"*E l'usignuol sotto le amate stonde*  
*Cantando ripetea l' antico pianto.*"

§ *gridar che più a lor si conviene*: This, thinks S  
 refers to the examples of chastity quoted in the  
 (ll 128-135, of which each company selected the one  
 contrasted with their own particular form of Incontin-

to me, as before (the others arrived they had been doing), showing in their countenances great attention to listen.

Their chant was *Summæ Deus clementiæ*, their cry one of the examples of chastity which best conveyed the lesson of the contrary to their special sin. Benvenuto says that it is more honourable to chant and cry out the names of the All Merciful God and Virgin Mary, than to cry out Sodom and Gomorrah and the like.

*Division II.* Dante now, in answer to the question put to him, admits that he is a living man, and gets from the spirits information as to themselves, and as the other band that have gone off the other way. He begins by telling them that he had neither died in young nor when old, but that his body is present well as his soul. Benvenuto explains this to mean that Dante is not only alive, but of middle age.

And now because, with the petition the spirits had made to Dante, they had at the same time assured him that they did not think that it was from any foolish lack of zeal that he was walking last of the three poets, he therefore, who, as Benvenuto points out, sought not praise, but purgation of his sins, answers humbly, confessing his negligence and ignorance.

Io, che due volte avea visto lor grato,\*  
 Incominciai: "O anime sicure  
 D'aver, quando che sia, di pace stato,

*lor grato, i.e. lor gradimento, lor piacere.* Grato here is a substantive, much used by the early poets. Let one instance

Non son rimase acerbe nè mature  
 Le membra mie di là, ma son qui meco\*  
 Col sangue suo e con le sue giunture.  
 Quindi su vo per non esser più cieco  
 Donna è di sopra che n' acquista grazia,†  
 Per che il mortal pel vostro mondo reco

suffice. Compare Dante da Majano, in *Poeti del Primo*  
*della Lingua Italiana*, Firenze, 1816, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. 1, p.

"È non son meritato  
 Già d' alcun bene, che di gio' sentisse  
 Da quella, in cui s' affesse  
 Lo meo volere, e l' agitato."

Mr. Haseltoot remarks on *due volte* in this line, that this is the  
 second time the shades had come as close up to Beatrice as  
 could without leaving the fire (ll. 13-15), in that *due volte*  
 know how he could be alive. He has therefore twice seen her  
 they would be pleased with the information.

\* *Le membra mie . . . son qui meco* Aristotele tenet  
 Man was the body unformed by the soul. Plotinus held that  
 be the soul alone disjoined from the body. Dante here follows  
 the doctrine of his master, St. Thomas Aquinas, that there  
 neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but the two together.  
 See *Summ. Theol.* pars 1, q. lxxv, art. 4. "Natura  
 species pertinet ad quod significat definitio. Definitio  
 rebus naturalibus non significat formam tantam, sed  
 materiam. Unde materia est pars speciei in rebus naturalibus  
 non quidem materia signata, quae est pars speciei, ne  
 sed materia communis. Si autem enim de ratione huius  
 est quod sit ex anima, et carnibus, et ossibus, oportet  
 substantiam speciei esse quicquid est communiter de  
 omnium individuum sub specie contentorum."

† *Donna è di sopra che n' acquista grazia* Some com-  
 tators pass over this passage, others take it for granted that  
 Beatrice is the lady meant, but Scartazzini is more  
 reasonably that it refers to the lady in Heaven, i. e. the  
 Virgin, who sent Lucia to Virg.; see *Inf.* 1, 92-96.

"Donna è gentil nel ciel, che si compange  
 Di questo impedimento ov' io ti v'ando,  
 Sì che duro iudizio lassò frange"

He lays great stress on *n' acquista grazia*, who wins grace  
 us men, and says that, even conceding that it was Beatrice  
 won grace for Dante, no one can make out that Dante  
 mean that she acquires grace for all men.

who had twice perceived what they desired, began :  
 O souls, secure of attaining a state of peace, when-  
 ver it may be, (know that) my limbs have not  
 remained on yon earth either unripe or ripened (*i.e.*,  
 either in childhood or old age), but are here with me,  
 with their blood and with their articulations. Up  
 this mountain am I going so as to be no longer blind  
 to God's grace: up above (in Heaven) there is a  
 Lady (the Blessed Virgin) who wins grace for us, in  
 virtue of which (grace) I bear the mortal part of me  
 through your world.

He, having now satisfied the eager curiosity of the  
 spirits as to his being a living man, asks them to  
 tell him their own names, as well as those of  
 spirits in the other company.

Ma se la vostra maggior voglia sazia  
 Tosto divenga, sì che il ciel ° v alberghi,  
 Ch'è pien d' amore e più ampio si spazia,

*Il ciel . . . CR 2 . . . . . più ampio si spazia: i.e. the  
 Empyrean. Compare Inf. ii, 82-84, where Virgil asks Beatrice  
 she has brought herself to quit the Empyrean to visit him.*

"Ma dimmi la cagion che non ti guardi  
 Dello scender quaggiuso in questo centro  
 Dall' ampio loco ove tornar tu ardi."

*Il Cantato ii, 4. "L'ordine del sito (Paradiso) è questo,  
 primo (cielo) ch'è numerato è quello dov'è la Luna: lo  
 secondo è quello dov'è Mercurio. lo terzo è quello dov'è Venere.  
 lo quarto è quello dov'è il Sole. lo quinto è quello dov'è Marte.  
 lo sesto è quello dov'è Giove. lo settimo è quello dov'è Saturno.  
 lo ottavo è quello delle Stelle fisse: lo nono è quello che non  
 si muove, se non per questo movimento che è detto di sopra,  
 che chiamano molti cielo Cristallino, cioè diafano, ovvero  
 trasparente. Veramente fuori di tutti questi, li Cattolici  
 hanno lo cielo Empireo, che tanto vuol dire, quanto cielo di  
 Dio, ovvero luminoso; e pongono esso essere immobile, per  
 che in se, secondo ciascuna parte, ciò che la sua materia  
 ha. E questo è pacifico è lo luogo . . . degli spiriti beati,  
 dove che la santa Chiesa vuole, che non può dire menzogna.  
 Questo è il sovrano edificio del mondo, nel quale tutto il*



Ditemi, acciocchè ancor carte ne verghi,<sup>o</sup>  
 Chi siete voi, e chi è quella turba  
 Che se ne va dietro ai vostri terghi? — †

But, so may your supreme aspiration be soon fulfilled, in such wise that your abode may be that Heaven (the Elysian) which is filled with love and is the widest in extent, tell me, that I may hereafter refer it on my pages, who are ye, and who are that multitude that behind your backs are going away (in the opposite direction)?

Dante describes the effect of his answer, and relates how the spirits, when they heard of his being alone, were struck dumb with astonishment.

Non altrimenti stupido si turba †

mondo s'inchioda, e di fuori dal quale nulla è.<sup>o</sup> See Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars 1, qu. lxxvi, art. 3; and 7<sup>o</sup> art. 1.

† *carte ne verghi*. Compare *Petr. R.*, part 1, son. xv

"O d'ardente virtute ornata e c'orda  
 Alma gentil, cui tante carte vergo."

And Ariosto, *Orlando Fur.* xxxvii, st. xv.

"Baryera, ch'io verghi pria d'un foglio,  
 E ch'ora il Canto mio d'altro non parlo."

And Segneri, *Quaresimale* (Turin, 1876), Pred. a v. 10, p. 221: "Iate ora voi ragione . . . quanto è probabile fosse sempre rimasto a guardar l'aratro, in cambio di esser la penna? e a veder le campagne, in cambio di vergar carte?" And Foscolo, *La Corsica*, 1, 91, 8.

"Ma volle sol di noi vergar le carte."

† *dietro ai vostri terghi*: "perchè in fatti, voltando dopo il baciarsi, ciascuna delle due torme, si videro in spalla." (*Civari*.)

† *stupido si turba*. *Lo montanaro*: Venturi *Simil. Dante* sim. 27; contrasts this scene with the preceding (p. 61), where Sordelli and Nino dei Visconti start back, in that Dante is alive in Purgatory. There is but the wonder of intelligent minds, whereas the rustic from the all agape and tongue-tied in the bewilderment of st. Compare Dante's *Epistle* vi for all and for each. (*Italy*, etc. § 7. "Nec tantum ut assatis, sed exhorrens ilius obstupescatis aspectum." In *Convito* iv, 23,

Lo montanaro, e rimirando ammuta,  
 Quando rozzo e salvatico s' murba,\*  
 Che crasean' ombra fece in sua paruta ; 70  
 Ma poichè furon di stupore scarche,  
 Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s' attuta,†

and defines this condition of the mind : " Lo *Stupore* è uno  
 memento d' animo, per grandi o maravigliose cose vedere, o  
 per alcun modo sentire ; che in quanto paiono grandi,  
 reverente a se quello che le sente ; in quanto paiono  
 alla fantasia *magliore* le cose di quelle quello che le sente,  
 per gli antichi regi ne le loro magioni faceano magnifici  
 d' oro e di pietre e d' artancio, acciocchè quelli che le  
 videro, divenessero *stupidi*, e però *reverenti* e domandatori  
 di nomi onorevoli dei regi."

*inmuta* : Buti interprets *inmutarsi* as coming into town  
 (see *Il Tasso*, *in mutata*, così mette se prima nella città). We  
 find the word used by Pico, *Mercurio Maggiore*, xiv, st. 299 :  
 " Egli era il dì di *inmuta* in capo entrato  
 Nella città per mezzo della turba,  
 E fa per male agano interpretato,  
 Chè non senza *capo* non capo s' murba."

*attuta*. This word, which is of frequent use, is derived  
 from the Latin *tutari*, "to ward off, to seek to avert," etc.  
 (see *Il Boccaccio*, Venice, 1569, p. 77 thus defines it :  
 " *Attuta*, quanto è della prima conjugazione, non viene da  
 un' *attuta* *attuturum* come hanno scritto alcuni, ma è  
 di *attuta*, e bellissimo verbo, il cui significato non può  
 esser con un verbo solo, perchè è questo che i latini dicono  
*attuta*, or *attuturum*, or *attuturum*, e tal volta *attuturum* e  
 il Boccaccio : " se ben mi ricordo non solo or a novena  
 bech due volte, ma ancora nell' ottava della *Teside* di-  
 ce :

' Onde attutata s' era veramente  
 La polvere, e .. fan s' etc.

che, la cui proprietà è maravigliosa, disse nel 26 del *Tur-  
 co*, etc. Consultare also D. de Compagni *Cronica*, lib. 10,  
 cap. 1879, vol. II, p. 327. " E Ugolino della Faggiuola  
 agitato e con molti nobili, seravano tanta discordia in  
 Firenze, che come nimici stavano i potenti Ghibellini, ma pare  
 di ritorno." And Tasso, *Ger. Liber* xx, st. 121 :

" O : pon fine alle morti ; e in lui quel caldo  
 D' *attuta* mutò al par che s' attutò."

And V. Biondi, *op. cit.* 21 : " E in questo modo s' attutò  
 il furore e furioso popolo disposti a rubare e a malfare."

—“Beato te, che delle nostre marche,”—

Ritornarò colei che pria in inchiese,

—“Per morir meglio \* esperienza imbarche: †

\* I am here following Dr. Moore in his new edition of *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, (Oxford, 1874) in which he reads *Per morir meglio*, instead of *morir* which, Dr. Moore writes to me, was the reading of the vast majority of his editions and commentaries, and the one he personally preferred then, though he mentioned that he had at that time found *morir* in forty one Codices against *morir* in seven. In his *Testi e Commenti*, pp. 422, 423, Dr. Moore says that on critical grounds from MS. evidence, *morir* appears to him preferable, and is urged by Scartazzon, that it suits better than *morir* the sense of l. 58 just above, *suo per non aver più vita*. “While *ben morir* is a common phrase, the same ear has a sense of *miglio morir*. *Morir* has a sort of *prima facie* appropriateness in the mouths of the spirits in Purgatory, which would lead to its substitution, if such be the case. The only commentators who notice the passage are divided. Benvenuto reading *morir*, adds: “*Non dubit quod postea melius melius mortuus est, per comparationem huius per.*” I doubt that the poet did live a better life, and would lead to a better death by the completion of this work. Benvenuto may have known both readings, and, while preferring the one, may have made his remarks deal with both. Landino and Vellutello explain *morir meglio* as natural, saying “in maggior gloria di Dio. *Ma* rather than “*he non vorrà morto se non vorrà subito l’esperienza nostra purgazione*,” which Dr. Moore thinks looks understood *morir* in a spiritual sense as “dead to sin.” Of the four editions examined by Dr. Moore previous to 1874, more than twenty two had *morir*, and only two (viz. W. 16 and 17) had *morir*. *Per contra* the last four editions all have *morir*. Of the MSS. which he has now (1875) examined, Dr. Moore tells me, seventy-seven have *morir* and only fourteen have *morir*. It is a difficult question to decide positively either way, but in each case the large majority of MSS. may, perhaps, be taken to turn the scale. Possibly *Purg.* vii, 60, might be taken in support of *morir*.

† *imbarche* for *imbarchi*. See Nannucci, *Analisi*, p. 58 viii, where it is clearly shown that this was a reading of the persons of the verb in Dante’s time *lo imbarchi, egli imbarche*, and distinctly not, as some would have it, an alteration to suit the rhyme.

Not otherwise is the mountaineer stupidly bewildered, and is speechless as he stares about him, when rough and rustic he enters a town, than each shade became in its appearance, but when they had put off the burden of that amazement, which in elevated minds is quickly subdued, "Happy thou," began again he who had questioned me before, "who the better to die art lading (*i.e.*, gathering in a store of) experience of our borders.

Guido Guinicelli now gives Dante the information he asked for respecting both bands of spirits, and with much plainness of speech tells him about the sin of the company that have parted from them.

La gente, che non vien con noi, offese  
 Di ciò per che già Cesar,\* trionfando  
 'Regina' contra sè chiamar s'intese;  
 Pero si parton 'Soddoma' gridando,  
 Rimproverando a sè, com' hai udito, 80  
 Ed autan l'arsura vergognando.

Those people who come not with us, were guilty of that, on account of which in former days (Julius) Cesar, at one of his triumphs, heard himself called 'Regina' as an insult; that is why they depart (from us) crying 'Sodom,' in self-vituperation, as thou hast heard, and by (the glow of) their shame they assist the burning.

Guido then speaks of the special sin of the band in which he himself is.

Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito; †  
 Ma perchè non servammo umana legge,  
 Seguendo come bestie l'appetito,

\* *Cesar*, etc.: This refers to an episode related by Suetonius.

† *Peccato . . . ermafrodito*: I do not, as I said, wish to closely discuss Dante's meaning as to this strange epithet. The whole question is most exhaustively treated by Scartazzini in his *Leipziger Commentar* (1875). Whatever Dante intended to signify the sin of this company, it seems to me, after studying Scar-

In obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge.\*  
 Quando partiamci, il nome di colei  
 Che s' imbestiò† neil imbestiate schegge

Our sin was hermaphrodite (i.e., we were guilty of perfectly unbridled depravity), but because we

tauti's note, as well as those of other Commentators, Dante considered it of a less heinous degree than that of the company whose cry was "Soddoma." Besides, on this point only does Dante place the penitents who had been guilty of *Lussuria* or sensuality. As all kinds of Incontinence were chastised on this Terrace, and as the more guilty were drawn to the conclusion that the company, among whom Guido had been generally guilty of all kinds of excesses of the female sex, for, if ordinary Sensuality is not had in mind, we might well enquire where else in Purgatory would be placed by Dante to undergo their purgation.

\* *Id. e.* In the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *leggere*, § 11. the word has sometimes the signification of "to be read." The present passage is quoted in illustration and interpreted thus: "Per proverare a noi i nostri peccati disiam cantando il nome della regina Pasife." *Ibid.* c. 12. also quoted:

"Le sue parole e il modo della pena

M'avevan di costui detto il nome,

and is thus explained: "A vederlo tra le maniere de' peccati, e vederlo provare a me di suo figlio, quest' uomo ch' egli era Guido Cavalcanti, mi fecero quasi leggere di lui." See also *Pur.* xxvi, 16-18.

"Lo ben che fa contenta questa corte,

Alfa ed O è di quanta scrittura

Mi legge amore.

† *s' imbestiò*: This word signifies (1) "Discentia a bestia" (2) "Acri costumi e ferocità di bestia." The first sense is taken from one of the *Italogia* of Tasso, quoted in the *Lexicon*, bears a curious resemblance to the name we are examining: "Furia divina, la quale il difende dal mondo, sì ch' egli non s' imbesti coll' imbestiate gente." The last illustration means the actual transformation into a beast, but the *Gran Dizionario* quote another passage (which is here) exactly reproducing the signification of the word as given by Dante.

not observe the human law, following our appetites like brute beasts, (therefore) to our own shame, when we part asunder, we pronounce the name of her (Pasiphaë) who made herself bestial inside the beast of wicker-work.

Guido now names himself, but excuses himself for not naming anyone else.

Or sai nostri atti, e di che fummo rei :  
 Se forse a nome vuoi saper chi semo,  
 Tempo non è da dire,\* e non saprei. 90  
 Farotti ben di me volere scemo :  
 Son Guido Guinizelli,† e già mi purgo  
 Per ben dolerim prima ch' all' estremo." —

\* *Tempo non è da dire* : We may remember that at the beginning of this canto (il. 46) the Sun was getting low in the West, when once it set, we know that all action would cease in the Purgatory.

† *Guido Guinizelli* : Better known as Guinicelli. Of him *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della lingua Italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 31, 32 says that he was the father of Italian literature, and was the most important of the poets who, before the time of Dante, wrote in the *lingua volgare*. The information concerning his life is extremely scanty and obscure, and we know little more of him than that he came from a very illustrious family in Bologna, named *dei Principi*, who were adherents of the Imperial Party. Traboschi thinks he must have been the son of Guinicello de' Principi, who is recorded (Ghirardacci, *Storia di Bologna*) to have executed a legal document in 1249. He married a lady of the name of *Barbara*, descended from the highly illustrious family *della Ruffa*, a member of which was at one time Bishop of Ferrara. The year 1274 was one of great misfortune to the Guinicelli party, as in that year the Lambertazzi party, to which they belonged, were banished from Bologna. It is not known to what part of Italy Guido betook himself, but he did not long survive his exile, and died in the flower of his age in 1276. *Benvenuto* says of Guido : "Fuit iste ipse) Guido vir prudens, quens inveniens egregie pulchra dicta materna, sicut astem et ardentis ingenii et lingue, ita ardentis luxuria, quales multi erantur sapere." In *Comito* iv, 20, Dante calls him *quel* *de Guido Guinizelli*, in the *De Vulg. Eloquio*, 1, 15, *Maxi*

Now thou knowest our deeds, and of what we were guilty : if perchance thou desirest to know by name who we are, there is no time to tell thee now, nor should I know (them all). As regards myself I will indeed satisfy thy wish (*lit.* will make thee devoid of desiring : I am Guido Guinicelli, and am already admitted to begin) purging myself, because I decry, or repented before my last hour."

This last line means that, although Guido had only been dead 24 years, his repentance previous to his death had been sufficient to ensure his salvation, and to entitle him to such an early admittance into Purgatory, instead of being relegated, like Manfred, Beldacqua, and Buonconte, to a long period of suspense upon the dreary slopes of the base of the mountain of Ante-Purgatory.

Dante's delight on finding that the speaker was Guido Guinicelli is so great, that he compares it to that of the twin brothers, Thoas and Eumelus, on recognizing their mother Hypsipyle.

Quali nella tristizia di Licurgo \*

*mus Guido*; and Nannucci says that Guido was by no means unworthy of these encomiums, for he raised himself above the other poets of his time, and of him Lorenzo di Medici says as *di più alta e rarissima grave e sentenziosa lingua, ornato . . . e certamente fu il primo, da cui la bella prosa nostro idioma fu dolcemente colorita, quale appena è il grosso Arcino (i. e. Guittone d'Arezzo) con stizza sconsigliata.* For although Guido's poetry was of nothing but love, as the custom of his times, he did not compose his songs for the foolish poetasters, but that which he wrote contained lofty moral opinions after the fashion of the Platonists.

\* *tristizia di Licurgo.* Andreoli explains the sense of the word in this passage as equivalent to *impetuosa ira*, fury, rage. The word evidently implies a combination of grief and rage, grief at the loss of the son, and rage against the women whom the son's death was imputed. The *Gran Dizionario* says of the passage: "Parla de' figli d' Iside, che coner-

Si fer du figli a riveder la madre,

95

Tal mi fec' io, ma non a tanto insurgo.\*

Quand' i' odo nomar sè stesso il padre †

parla nell' atto che Licurgo, re di Nemea, angosciato di aver la voleva far morire. Lycurgus, King of Nemea, had committed his son to the care of Hypsipyle a former queen of Thebes, who had been sold to him as a slave by some pirates. The child died of the bite of a serpent, and Lycurgus ordered to be put to death. As she was being led to execution she was rescued by her twin sons, whom she had borne to him, but from whom she had long been parted. These rushed forward and prevailed on Lycurgus to spare her life. See *Thucyd.* v. 720. et seq., where the scene is beautifully described, and would seem to have made a great impression on Dante, for before this he speaks of Hypsipyle (*Purg.* xxx. 112) as " quella che mostrò Lancia."

In *Inf.* xviii, 53-96, the whole episode is related of her royal and subsequent abandonment by Jason, for which he is punished in the first *Bozza* of the Eighth Circle.

Non a tanto insurgo. Landino on this " Non un malco intendendo a tanto quanto si distesono i figliol d' Isipyle. Imbecchi essi corsono ad abbracciar la madre. Ma io non li ho abbracciar (guard), perchè era nel fuoco." Daniello mentions in very similar language.

Landino. On this Tommasèo observes that Dante in the same often styles Virgil padre, and that here he implies that he was his father in style, but not in language, and, by the same praise that Dante bestows upon the Provençal poet, we see the proof that he puts the Provençal poets before the Italian ones, though he by no means puts the Provençal them before his own native idiom, as we may read in *Inf.* ii, ll. 74-80. " Mossim, ancora per difendere lui the *Provençal* da molti suoi accusator, li quali dispregiano e mormorano gli altri, massimamente quello di lingua Provençal, dicendo ch' è più bello e migliore quello che questo. partencosi in ciò dalla veritè." Scarabelli points out that, here and there, Dante distinctly has the word, as may be seen by comparing Guido's *Canzone*, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore*, with Dante's *Convito* w. *La dolce rime d' amor, ch' io solia celebrare* line, *Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s' apprehende*, taken from Guido's *Canzone* mentioned above, in which is set in, the line *Foco d' amore in gentil core s' apprehende al padre mio*, compare *Inf.* xv, 82, 83



Mio, e degli altri miei miglior,\* che mai  
Rime d' amore usar dolo, e leggiadre : †  
E senza ud re e dir pensoso ‡ andai,  
Lunga fiata rimirando lui,  
Nè per lo foco in là piu m' appressai.

Such as the two sons became, when during the raging grief of Lycurgus they again saw their mother even such became I — but rose not to so lofty a point (of love and courage as to rush forward as they did) — when I heard him name himself (Guido Guinigi) the father in poetry to me, and to the others far better, (all) who ever used the sweet and graceful rhymes of love: and I walked on for some time without listening or speaking, full of thought, gazing in wonder at him, and yet by reason of the fire I did not approach nearer to him.

Dante's devotion and attachment to the great master of his love sonnets would have led him to throw himself into his arms, had it not been for the dread of the flames, as in *Inf.* xvi. 46-55, he describes himself for the same reason, unable to embrace the three great Florentines undergoing similar punishment for the same offence.

“Chè in la mente m'è fitta, e l'or mi accora  
La cara e buona imago paterna.”

These words were addressed to Brunetto Latini, Dante's master in science, as Guido Guinigi was in poetry. Both are undergoing punishment for the same offence.

\* *miu miglior*. Contrast with *l'ung.* xi. 97-99.

“Così ha tolto l'uno all'altro Guido

La prima della lingua, e forse è nato

Chi l'uno e l'altro caccerà di nido.”

† *dol e leggiadre*. Compare Horace, *Ars. Poet.* 96.

“Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcis sibi

‡ *pensoso*. Compare *Inf.* v. 109-111.

“Da che tu intesi quello amore offese,

Ch'era l'viso, e tanto il tenni basso,

Finchè il poeta mi disse: ‘Che pense?’”

*Division III.* Dante has not up to now addressed himself to Guido personally, except as the spokesman of the band among whom he is undergoing punishment, but he now does so, and testifies his profound respect for him (according to the mode used *at that time*) by addressing him with *voi* (*you*) instead of the customary *tu*.<sup>\*</sup> He invokes God to witness his promise that he will speak up for Guido's good name, and will have prayers offered up for him. Guido, in reply, tells Dante that he has already done him service in perpetuating his fame, and that, as long as Dante's works are renowned, so will be Guido's. He further tells him the reason of his great affection for him.

Poichè di riguardar pascuto fui,  
 Tutto m' offerì pronto al suo servizio,  
 Con l' affermar t' che fa credere altrui. 105  
 Ed egli a me : — " Tu lasci tal vestigio,  
 Per quel ch' i' odo, in me e tanto chiaro,  
 Che Lete t' nol può tor, nè farlo bigio.  
 Ma se le tue parole or ver giuraro,  
 Dimmi che è cagion per che dimostri 110  
 Nel due e del guardare avermi caro? —"

\* On this subject see *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. 1, pp. 331-332, as to *tu* being a style of address which in Dante's time denoted respect, and being used by him to only three shades in particular, Farnata degli Uberti, Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, and Gherardo Lottini. In *Purg.* xix, 94, et seq., we find Dante addressing the shade of Pope Adrian V, with *tu*, and on learning that he had been Pope (l. 131), at once changing to *voi*. That *tu* was however only in Dante's time. Respect in Italy is to the present day denoted by using the third person, with *ella* or *lei*, excepting when addressing Royalty, when "Vostra Altezza" is the form used.

*P. affermar* Line 109 shows distinctly that this means an *affirmation* and nothing else.

We shall see in *Purg.* xxxi, 91-104, that souls, before passing the Purgatory into Paradise, are immersed in Lethe.

As soon as I had fed enough on gazing (upon him), I offered myself as wholly ready for his service, with that affirmation (a solemn vow) which makes others believe. And he to me: "From what I hear, thou leavest in me such and so evident a sign (of thy affection for me) as Lethe (*i.e.*, oblivion) can neither efface nor make obscure. But if thy words were truly just now, tell me what is the reason that makes thee show in thy speech and in thy looks that thou holdest me dear?"

Dante's answer to Guido shows that his admiration was far more for his great literary attainments as a poet, than for any personal regard for the man.

Ed io a lui:—"La dola detti vostri

Che, quanto durerà l'uso moderno,\*

Faranno cari † ancora i loro inchiostrî."—

And I to him: "Those sweet ditties of yours, which as long as the modern use (of writing poetry in the vulgar tongue) shall endure, will even make dear to me their very ink."

It will be well here to digress somewhat, and discuss the two personages whose names are next brought

\* *l'uso moderno*. Scartazzini draws attention to a curious passage in the *Vita Nuova*, § 25: "A cotai cosa de amor secondo ch'è buono al presente, prima è da intendere, historicamente non erano dicituri d'Amore in lingua volgare, ma erano dicituri d'Amore certi poeti in lingua latina. E un' è molto numero d'anni passato, che apparirono prima questi poeti volgari; ch'è dire per rima in volgare tanto è quanto per verso in latino, secondo alcuna proporzione. E questo sia picciol tempo è, che, se volemo cercare in lingua d'Amore in lingua di Sì, noi non troviamo cose dette anzi lo presente tempo per centocinquanta anni."

† *Faranno cari, etc.*: Contrast this with *Purg.* 13, 137, where Dante makes Odessa d'Agobbio say that, although Cavalcanti and Guido Guinicelli had hitherto taken the glory of the language, yet there was one already born whose chance would soon drive them from their pre-eminence, probably meaning himself. Scartazzini thinks that, in the present passage, Dante is wishing somewhat to modify the above

the scene. These are Arnaut Daniel, and Arnaut de Borneil, two poets of the school of Provence, of great celebrity in their time. Arnaut, Arnald, or Arnaut Daniel, was one of the most famous troubadours of the 12th century, and is reported to have flourished between 1180 and 1200. Little is recorded of him by the earlier Commentaries, but Petrarch speaks of him as having been one of the foremost poets of that time. He lived in Provence in the time of Raymond Berenger (Good) Count of Provence, and is said to have died about 1189. From *The Troubadours, a History of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages*, by Francis Hueffer, London, 1878, pp. 4-51, I extract the following: "It is well known that the works of the Troubadours were in the early period read and admired in the neighboring country of Italy, and that the poets in the *lingua volgare* recognized in them at once their friends and allies in the struggle against the pre-eminence of Latin scholarship. Students of the *Commedia*, or of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, are aware of the prominent position assigned to the Provençal school among the poets of the world, and they may remember that of the Troubadours themselves Arnaut Daniel is mentioned with higher praise than Arnaut Arnald. Petrarch\* speaks of him as the *Gran maestro* of the school, and Dante, in his philological and metrical

\* Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv, 40-44 :

"Fra tutti il primo Arnaldo Dan.ello,  
Gran maestro d' amor ; ch' alla sua terra  
Ancor fa onor col suo dir novo e bello."

treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, declares himself indebted to Arnaut for the structure of several of his stanzas. The *Sestina*, for instance, a poem of six verses in which the final words of the first stanza appear in inverted order in all the others, is an invention of this troubadour adopted by Dante and Petrarch. But a far more lasting monument has been erected to Arnaut in the immortal lines of the *Purgatorio*, where Guido Guinicelli, in answer to Dante's enthusiastic praise of his poetry, points to another shade as the artful smith of his mother tongue. . . . This . . . is our troubadour, who, when addressed, replies in pure Provençal, a language evidently quite familiar to Dante. The above cited passage is generally considered to be the clue to the apparently excessive admiration lavished on Arnaut by the Italian poets. . . . The further question arises, what were the works on which Arnaut's reputation as an epical poet was founded, and for the answer to this question we must again look in the works of the Italian poets. First the humorous author of the *Morgante Maggior* mentions our troubadour twice amongst the writers of the Carolingian epics . . . (and adds) that Angelo Poliziano called his (Pulci's) attention to Arnaut's work. But a still later and in one sense still more important testimonial to Arnaut is found in Torquato Tasso, who, it appears, mentions him as the author of a poem on 'Lancelot.' For this enables us to connect our troubadour with a second and perhaps the same passage in Dante's divine poem. The reader need scarcely be reminded that the story which kindles the open and conscious flame the silent passion of Fra

cesca da Polenta and Paolo Malatesta is a romance of Lancelot . . . and nothing is more probable than that Dante should have thought of Arnaut Daniel's lost epic when he wrote the inspired lines that are in everybody's memory. Many poets might wish to rest their posthumous fame on such lines rather than on their own works; but it may be inferred on the other hand, that Arnaut Daniel—if he really be the author referred to—must have been a mighty mover of the heart to gain such a tribute from the lips of Francesca da Rimini." After describing Arnaut as delighting in "motz obscurs" (*dark words*) and "rims cars" (*dear or scarce rhymes*), and equally far fetched smiles, the author adds: "His intentional obscurity and his mannerism were largely imitated, but no less frequently attacked and travestied by contemporary poets and satirists. Petrarch's allusions to his 'novel speech' (*dir novo*), and Dante's expression 'smith of his mother-tongue,' evidently allude to Arnaut's peculiarities of style. We can also quite imagine how the great Florentine could admire a dark shade of melancholy, a bold originality of thought, and a hankering after scholastic depth, but too nearly akin to his own mental attitude."

Gerault, Girault, Guiraut, or Giraud de Borneil, or Borneil, "a celebrated troubadour of the spring-time of Provençal literature," flourished between 1175 and about 1220, and attained such repute, that among his contemporaries he was spoken of as the master of the Troubadours. He was born in the Limousin, at a village near Excideul, not far from Perigueux, but a considerable distance from Limoges, and Scartazzini

thinks his being styled by Dante *quel di Lensa*, refers to the Province of *Limousin* rather than to the city of *Limoges*. Dante speaks of him (*De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, cap. 2) as "the poet of righteousness," but, although Dante puts him on a lower scale than *Arnaut Daniel*, the very comparison would rather show that, in the opinion of the public, the question was an open one, and *Scartazzini* observes that there would be few at the present day who would agree with Dante's judgment in this matter, for there can be little doubt that, as a poet, *Girault de Bornes* was greater than *Arnaut Daniel*. *Girault* is said to have left eighty-two poetical compositions of genuine authenticity.

We will now return to our subject, recollecting that Dante has just been telling *Guido Guinicelli* that his love and affection for him are wholly due to the enthusiastic admiration he feels for *Guido's* sweet lyrics.

Like *Oderisi d'Agobbio* (see *Purg.* xi, 82-84) *Guido* at once gives greater honour to another, and pointing out the shade of *Arnaut Daniel*, goes on to say that although some fools attempt to set *Girault de Bornes* on a higher pinnacle of fame than *Arnaut*, it is only from the acclamations of the vulgar, that there could be any question of comparing *Girault de Bornes* to *Arnaut Daniel*.

— "O frate,"—disse,— "questi ch' io ti scerno" 115

Col dito,"—ed additò un spiro innanzi,

— "Fu mghior fabbro del parlar materno."\*

\* *parlar materno*: *Arnaut's* mother tongue was of course Provençal, and Dante shows this by making *Guido* compare him to *Girault de Bornes*, another Provençal poet, although born in the *Limousin*, he was of the school of the

Versi d' amore \* e prose di romanzi †  
 Soperchiò tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti  
 Che quel di Lemosi credon ch' avanzi. 120  
 A voce più ch' al ver drizzan li volti,  
 E così ferman sua opinione  
 Prima ch' arte o ragion per lor s' ascolti.

"O my brother," said he, "this one that I point out to thee with my finger," and he pointed to a spirit in front, "was a better artificer of his mother-tongue than I in mine). In verses of love and in prose romances he surpassed all; and let the fools talk on who think that he of Limousin excels him. They give heed to rumour rather than to truth, and thus they form their opinions before they listen to art or reason.

Benvenuto remarks on the above: "And note well the most true opinion of our Poet, who so fully satirises the insane vulgar herd. For in every session we have seen it occur that many men make bold and vain assertions: and when examined by persons of experience, as to whether they be acquainted with such an art, or if they really have any skill at all on the subject about which they speak

\* "E veramente a tempo del Gunicelli l' arte del dire in verso era assai più oltre in Provenza che in Italia; e con Dante cominciò ad essere altramente." (*Andreola*).

† *Versi d' amore*. It is probable that, as "the poet of love," he would be of higher merit, in the estimation of Dante, than "the poet of righteousness," as he styled Girault de Barri.

*Prose di romanzi*: "There can indeed be no doubt that, in addition to his (Arnaut's) fame as a lyrical singer or troubadour, his equal excellence as a narrative poet is here referred to, the word *prose* being used, not in our modern sense, but for rhymed couplets of the epic in contradistinction to the stanzas or *versi* of the love-song." (*The Troubadours*,

See also a letter by Mr. Paget Toynbee in *The Asiatologist*, April 13th, 1889.



had a great popular reputation, an instance of misplaced praise. What is that, just as public opinion is fallacious in the matter of Giraud's public opinion at Florence goes against the tone d' Arezzo, until, through the the real truth was arrived at. beautiful thoughts, but his style

Così ser molti antichi di Guittone  
Di grido in grido per lui d  
Fin che l' ha vinto il ver d

\* *Guittone*. Of him Nannucci (*Manuscripts*). "Guittone, che fiorì dopo la [1260-1300], nacque di nobile stirpe in Salsomaggiore di Arezzo; . . . Egli è chiamato Guittone, non già perchè fosse Frate, ma religioso e militare de' Cavalieri Gaudiferi era Guido; ma poscia, non si sa per quale Guittone dalla voce *guitto* (i.e. uomo). È voce napoletana, ma usata anche trovando un sonetto a Messer Onesto Bolognese di tutti e due, dicendo:

Vostro nome Messere, è c  
Lo meo assai ontoso e vil.

Nannucci adds that Guittone was a most and a most elegant scholar being at the

Thus, in old time, did many with Guittone, their  
 amour giving the pre-eminence to him alone from  
 outh to mouth, until the truth prevailed with the  
 st majonty.

Now Guido Guinicelli, after gratefully declining  
 ail himself of Dante's offer to re-habilitate his  
 , and after begging that Dante will mercyly utter a  
 prayer on his behalf, draws back, and disappears  
 e flames.

Or se tu hai sì ampio privilegio,  
 Che licito ti sia l' andare al chioostro\*  
 Nel quale è Cristo abate del collegio,  
 Fagli per me un dir di un paternostro, 130  
 Quanto bisogna a noi di questo mondo,  
 Dove poter peccar non è più nostro.\*—†

Florentine State. Being despoiled of his possessions by  
 just sentence, he left Arezzo and died at Florence in 1294.  
 Poems are chiefly love sonnets. Petrarch, who frequently  
 led him, classes him with Dante, and Cino da Pistoja  
 art 2, son. xix :

"Ma ben ti prego che 'n la terza spera  
 Guitton saluti e messer Cino e Dante,  
 Franceschin nostro, e tutta quella schiera."

*Rionso d' Amore*, iv, 31 33, while fancifully depicting a  
 a e verde puggia,' on which are assembled the Tuscan  
 who sang of love before himself. Petrarch writes .

"Ecco Dante e Beatrice ; ecco Selvaggia ;  
 Ecco Ciu-da Pistoia ; Guitton d' Arezzo,  
 Che di non esser primo par ch' ira aggia."

*Costro* : "Ciò è a la chiusura lieta de' beati ; cioè in para-  
 quale è chiusura de' beati, come lo chiostro è de' re-  
 chiusura consolatoria e refrigeratoria, *Nel quale*, cioè  
 ro, è Cristo abate del collegio, imperò che come l' abate  
 re e signore dei monaci ; così Cristo via maggiormente è  
 il signore de' beati " (But - Scartazzini remarks that, in  
 rly days of the Italian language, *abate* was a title of the  
 ly dignity, being frequently used for *padre* or *duce*, and  
 assumed by princes. Hugh Capet taking the title of *Abate*  
 rigi.

*Dove poter peccar non è più nostro* : The penitents in Pur-  
 are no longer liable to fall into sin. We may remember

repeat to Him a Paternoster often  
as is needful for us in this world  
power to sin is no longer ours  
to give place to some one else  
nearest to him, he vanished through  
a fish going to the bottom through

Dante's attention has natural  
Guido's enthusiastic praise of  
Guido is out of sight, he draws  
will permit of his doing, and  
his identity, about which Guido  
dark.

Io mi feci al mostrato innanzi  
E dissi ch' al suo nome  
Apparecchiava grazioso

in Canto xi, 23, the shades of the pre-  
omitting from the Lord's Prayer the  
into temptation, but explaining that  
those who remain behind them in the

\* *per dar loco altrui, secondo* Che  
departed from Dr. Moore's text &  
quotes Fanfani in putting a comma at  
the passage as I have translated it.  
into the sentence. The more general  
the comma after *secondo*, and to insert  
*secondo luogo, i.e. il luogo dopo*  
(Arnaldo Daniello) che avea presso-  
tion of *altrui* Fanfani very decidedly

I advanced a little towards him who had been pointed out, and said that my desire was preparing an honourable place for his name.

That is to say: "I told him that my desire to know him was so great, that I should receive his name with especial affection."

Arnaut replies in the Provençal tongue, tells Dante who he is, speaks with much contrition of his past life, and with bright hope of the joys of the life to come, and concludes, before vanishing in his turn, with a prayer to Dante, that he will in due time (by which he probably means when the time shall have come for repeating a Paternoster for Guido Guinicelli) remember him in his pious intercessions.

Et cominciò liberamente a dire :

*Tan m' abelis \* vostre cortes deman,*

140

\* *Tan m' abelis*: Compare *Inf.* xix, 37: "Tanto m' è bel, quanto a te piace," and see my note on this passage in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. II, p. 79. On this and other similar passages where the word is introduced, compare Benedetto Varchi (*Il Hercolano*, Venice, 1580, pp. 51, 52: [*Question*] "Come ditate voi nella vostra lingua quello, che Terenzio disse nella latina . . . *munus nostrum ornato verbis?* [*Answer*] *Abbellit il dono, o il presente nostro colle parole. Ma Dante, che vede dirlo altramente, formò un verbo da sè d' un nome aggettivo, e d' una preposizione latina, e disse:*

'Mal dare, e mal tener lo mondo pulcro

Ha tolto loro, e posti a questa zuffa:

Quale ella sia, parole non ci appulcro.'

—(*Inf.* vii, 58-60.)

[*Question*] Dite il vero, piacevi egli, o parvi bello cotesto verbo *appulcro*? . . . Voi pigiate qui *abbellisce* in significazione attiva, cioè per far bello, e di sopra quando allegaste que' versi di Dante (p. 30):

'Opera naturale è ch' uom favella;

Ma così o così, natura lascia

Poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbellà.'

—(*Par.* xxvi, 130-132.)

pare che sia posta in significazione neutra, cioè per piacere, e

cells innanzi, e questo ha sempre daval  
secondo le persone che favellano, o  
Questo è il modo di dire Toscano, come  
inducendo nella fine del XXVI Canto d  
Daniello a dire Provenzalmente .

'Tan (tu) m' abelis votre cortois,  
e gli altri versi, che seguitano, benchè  
scritti scortettamente: Dicesi euandio,  
nell *Ameto*.

'De' quai la terra via più s' abbel  
I cannot refrain from quoting Mr. Cal  
words: "Arnaut is here made to speak  
Provençal. According to Dante *De l'as*  
Provençal was one language with the Sp  
on this subject is so curious that the reader  
if I give an abstract of it. Dante first m  
sions of the European languages. 'One  
the mouth of the Danube, or the lake of  
limits of England, and is bounded by the  
and Italians, and by the ocean. One idi  
whole of this space. but was afterward  
Sclavonian, Hungarian, Teutonic, Sax  
vernacular tongues of several other peop  
to ab, that they use the affirmative  
whole of Europe beginning from the  
stretching towards the east, has a second  
still further than the end of Europe, is  
Greek. In all that remains of Europe,  
subdivided into three dialects, which  
tinguished by the use of the affirmative  
first spoken by the Spaniards, the next b  
by the Latins (or Italians). The first o  
of southern Europe, beginning from the  
The third occupy the eastern part from

*Consiros vei\* la passada folor,*  
*E vei iauzen la toi e qu' esper, deman.*  
*Ara vos prec per aquella valor,*  
*Que vos guida al som de l' escalina †*  
*Sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor.*  
 Poi s' ascosse nel foco che gh' affina.

145

Each of these three, he observes, 'has its own claims to distinction. The excellency of the French language consists in its being best adapted, on account of its facility and agreeableness, to prose narration (*quicquid redactum, sine inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est*,' and he instances the books composed on the deeds of the Trojans and Romans, and the delightful Adventure of King Arthur, with many other histories and works of instruction. The Spanish (or Provençal) may boast of its having produced such as first cultivated in this, as in a more perfect and sweet language, the vernacular poetry: among whom are Pierre d' Auvergne, and others more ancient. The privileges of the Latin, or Italian, are two; first, that it may reckon for its own those writers who have adopted a more sweet and subtle style of poetry, in the number of whom are Cano da Pastoja and his friend: and the next, that its writers seem to adhere to certain general rules of grammar, and in so doing give it, in the opinion of the intelligent, a very weighty pretension to preference."

\* *Consiros vei*: Scartazzini (*Ediz. Min.*) says he has followed the version of Fr. Diez (*Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 347, n° 1), whom he considers "il più profondo conoscitore de la letteratura provençale." In the version of Diez, instead of *Consiros vei*, etc., the reading is *Car, s'ist vei*, etc., i. e. "For when I see my past folly, etc. I find *consiroso* in the *Gran Diccionario*, as signifying "Chi è in pensero molesto," i. e. "troubled in one's mind." Dante da Majano uses the word, in the *Canzone* beginning *Tuttoch co poco voglia*, in *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lang. It.* vol. ii, p. 449, at st. 4:

"E visto aggio di core  
 Irato e consiroso  
 Veni gajo e gajoso  
 In no poggare, e 'n tutta beninanza."

† *la toi*. Diez reads *lo jorn*, "the day."

† *guida al som de l' escalina*: As will be seen on the next page, Kaysser reads: *guida al som sens frach e sens calura*, i. e. "who guides you to the summit without cold and without heat:" but, as Scartazzini points out, in all the mountain of

ture. Now I cannot  
guides you to the summit of the si  
in due time of my sufferings." H  
in the fire that is refining them.

Ozanam who gives almost identic  
as that in Dr. Moore's edition, of  
lines, translates them as follows  
votre courtoise demande, que je  
me cacher à vous. Je suis Arnau  
chantant ; je vois avec chagrin ma  
je vois joyeux devant moi la joie  
je vous prie par cette vertu qui vo  
de l'escalier, souvenez-vous en f  
douleur."

Nearly every edition gives a  
these lines. Scartazzini, in his I  
pp. 546-548, quotes eight differen  
that of Diez, which he adopts.

Raynouard was of opinion tha  
as follows :

" Tan m'abellis vostre cortes  
Ch' ieu non me puese ni m  
Ieu qui Arnautz che plor e

E vei jauzen lo joi qu' esper denan ;  
Aras vos prec, per aquela valor  
Que us guida al som sens freich e sens calina,  
Sovegna vos atenprar ma dolor."

"Il n'est pas un des nombreux manuscrits de la *Divina Commedia*, pas une des éditions multipliées qui en ont été données, qui ne présente dans les vers de Dante prête au troubadour Arnaud Daniel, un texte défiguré et devenu, de copie en copie, presque intelligible. Cependant j'ai pensé qu'il n'était pas impossible de rétablir le texte de ces vers, en comparant avec soin, dans les manuscrits de Dante que possèdent les dépôts publics de Paris, toutes les variantes qu'ils pouvaient fournir, et en les choisissant après les règles grammaticales et les notions lexicographiques de la langue des troubadours. Mon espoir n'a point été trompé, et sans aucun secours conjectural, sans aucun déplacement ni changement de mots, je suis parvenu, par le simple choix des variantes, à retrouver le texte primitif, tel qu'il a dû être produit par Dante." (Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, Paris, 1830, 8vo, tom. i, p. xlii).

END OF CANTO XXVI.



THE SEVENTH CORNICE.—SEE  
—THE ANGEL OF PURGATORY  
THROUGH THE FLAMES.—  
LAST STAIRWAY.—ARRIVAL  
TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.—VIRGIL

FROM the ninth Canto, until the  
last described, Dante has been  
proper, divided into seven Canto  
seven capital sins are purged in  
now to the end of the *Cantica*  
description of the *Post Purgatorio*  
the Paradise of Delights, figure  
Militant.

Benvenuto divides the Canto

*In the First Division*, from  
describes the appearance of  
him from Sensuality, the seven  
invites him, with the assistance  
through the fire into the Terrestrial

*In the Second Division*, from  
of his passage through the fire.

*Division I.* Before speaking of the Angel, Dante describes the hour of the day by the position of the Sun. According to the Cosmography of the time, when the Sun is first dawning on Mount Sion, it is mid-day (the beginning of the Nones) at the Ganges; and consequently at Purgatory, which is the Antipodes to Jerusalem, the Sun is about to set. If the Sun is at the Ganges in Aries at mid-day, the night would naturally be at the Ebro in Libra at midnight.

The Angel of God appears to Dante, rejoicing that he had accomplished his last purification, that is, from the vice of Sensuality.

Si come quando i primi raggi vibra  
Là dove il suo Fattore \* il sangue sparse,  
Cadendo Ibero † sotto l'alta Libra,  
E l'onde in Gange da nona riarse, ‡

\* *Là dove il suo Fattore, etc.*: This of course means Jerusalem, where Christ, without Whom was not anything made that was made *St. John*, v, 3, shed His precious Blood on Calvary.

† *Ibero, etc.* In the time of Dante, to use the expression "from the Ebro to the Ganges," was equivalent to saying "from one end to the other of the inhabited world." Compare Juvenal (*Sat.* x, 1).

"Omnibus in terris, quæ sunt a Gadibus usque  
Auroram et Gangem"

Compare also a passage, nearly identically similar to these opening lines of the Canto, in *Purg.* II, 1-6.

‡ *in Gange da nona riarse.* Dr. Moore (*Time References*, pp. 72, 73, see also p. 109) says that this passage "is interesting from the completeness with which Dante goes through these calculations of synchronism, but still more from the variations of reading *nona*, *nuova*, and *nuovo* in l. 4. These are instructive, because it is clear that the comparatively unusual word *nona* was not understood by the copyists, or at any rate they were all adrift in regard to its meaning, as here employed. Consequently some read *noia*. This, being quite unintelligible, led to a further alteration *noia*, and then once more *da* was altered into *di*. This gave a grammatical sense at any rate, but when we come to attach a meaning to the words, the result is a

stood the Sun; and therefore the  
when God's Angel, full of gladne

In the words of the Beatitude (specially appropriate to the occasion) announces an Absolution, not alas Dante and Statius alone. They now been purged from the seven, qualified themselves to ascend Paradise, where they will have a thence ascend still higher.

statement false and nonsensical, since the sun is at the Ganges at the same time (11-1 and 2), which is manifestly absurd. here (as is often the case) have a larger than side, in somewhat the following in 65, *Nota* in 77, *nota* in 64 MSS. *non*, the interpretation proceeds quite was sunrise in Jerusalem, consequently note how *Libra* is used here (exactly at the middle point of night while the *Solar Equinox*). It was therefore not consequently *cond*, as Dante concludes the day was departing, in *Purgatory*."

\* *l'Angel di Dio*. On this Cornice also one on each side of the flames; this of

The Angel now invites them to pass on, but says they must first go through the flames.

Fuor della fiamma stava in sulla riva,\*

E cantava: *Besti mundo corde,*

In voce assai più che la nostra viva.†

POSCIA. — "Piu non si va, se pria non morde,‡ 10

Anime sante, il foco: entrate in esso,

Ed al cantar di là non siate sorde,"=

Ci disse, come noi gli fummo presso:

Perch' io divenni tal, quando lo intesi,

Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo.§ 15

*in sulla riva*: Of the three lines in this *terzina*, Petrus (*op. cit.* 28, *et seq.*) observes that the first states the completeness of Purgatory, which has no hostile flame can in, are, and its secure position in spots that are inaccessible to the wicked. Line 8, referring to the Beatitude: "*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*," also alludes to the abode in which Purity is attained. Line 9, is full of love and eloquence. Some have taken the voice as the best part of human life, and certainly the perfection of human life consists in its purity.

*in voce assai più che la nostra viva*. We are to understand that the voice of the Angel of Purity was clear, distinct, harmonious, and sweet. Petrus remarks that we have here a direct contrast with the stammering woman in *Purg.* xix, 7, who is the Angel of Concupiscence:

"Mi venne in sogno una femmina balba."

It may not be too that, in ll. 43-45 of that canto, the purity of the voice of the Angel of the Love of God is mentioned as distinct: "tal, that of the *femmina balba*."

"Quando io udi: 'Venite, qui si varca,'

Parlare in modo soave e benigno,

Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca."

It adds that the difference in the types of voice noted by Dante is a very important one, and that the most interesting observations he had an opportunity to make, and one of the most touching scenes in his poem, is the scene of the friends he meets with in his

Let it suffice to remember what he relates about Casella (*Purg.* vi, 85-86, and 112-114; and about Forese, xxiii, 43-45.

*in voce assai più che la nostra viva*. . . *Il foco*: Scartazzini quotes the *Proverbia*: "Si per cordis munditiam libet nos flamma non exuratur, incensum quolibet virtutes orantur." (Greg. Magn. *Serm.* Lib. xvi, cap. 12).

*Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo* Some have tried to

chant beyond it," said he to us,  
him: whereat I became, when I  
is placed in the execution-pit.

Dante is paralysed with fear:  
scenes he has witnessed, of suffe  
stake, recur to his mind with hor

In sulle man commesse mi p  
Guardando il foco, e imm  
I'mani corpi già veduti a

I bowed my body forward abov  
together, looking at the fire, at  
human bodies that in past times  
(at the stake).

explain this simply to mean that Dante  
corpse when placed in the grave, but  
that Dante is describing himself as a  
immediate death by the form of execu  
*propaginare*, which consisted of  
assassin head downwards like a vine  
and then choking him to death by  
*Inf. vii, 49-51*. On which see the com  
says this mode of punishment was mo  
treacherous assassins. The old de  
*Assassinus plantatur capite deorsum*;  
*Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 82.

\* *In sulle man commesse mi protest*  
clasped his hands convulsively and h



My kind Conductors turned to  
 said to me. "My Son, here I  
 but not death. ~~Bethink thee,~~

*T'is just, is it not?*

danger from which he extricated him  
 85-88, where Dante's terror is vividly

"Qual e colui, ch' ha si prest  
 Della quartana, ch' ha  
 E trema tutto pur guar  
 Tal divenn io."

Tommaséo paraphrases Virgil's words  
 Frode, pessimo de mostri, che cond  
 e per l'aria nuotando; come non og

\* *capel calvo* Compare *St. Luke*  
 not an hair of your head perish."

+ *fatti far credenza*: See *Voc. d*  
 § 27: "Saggio, prova. Lat. *experiri*  
 says that *far la credenza* was an  
 days about one who tasted the victu  
 to insure their not being poisoned.

*guere*, vii, st. 24:

"E sempre di sua man servì  
 Massime Antea, con molta  
 Di coppa, di coltello, e di c

And *Ibid.* vii, st. 129:

"E d'ogni cosa, che 'n tavolo  
 Sempre faceva la credenza,

Buti comments thus upon the text:  
 la quale fa credere." *Credenza* is now

\* *capel calvo* - *Compare St. Luke*

I was able to guide thee safely upon the very (back of) Geryon, what will I not do now when so much nearer to God? Believe for certain that, wert thou even to remain within the bosom of this flame for full a thousand years, it could not make thee bald of a single hair. And if perchance thou thinkest that I am deceiving thee, step forward towards it, and make the experiment with thine own hands upon the hem of thy garments. Lay aside, from this moment, lay aside all fear, turn this way, and come onward in all security." Yet still I stood motionless in spite of conscience (which admonished me to obey).

His conscience was telling him to perform what his *Veracious Leader* (*verace guida*) prescribed for him.

Virgil now, with knowledge of the soft side of Dante's nature, has recourse to an artifice to get round him and urge him forward.

Quando mi vide star pur fermo e duro,\*

Turbato un poco, disse:—"Or vedi, figlio, 35

Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro." -

When he saw me still stand fast and stubborn, with some vexation he said: "Now look, my Son, between Beatrice and thee is this wall."

Virgil's reasoning, which concludes with the sort of persuasive banter that a parent or a nurse uses to a reluctant child, is successful in overcoming Dante's fears.

Come al nome di Tisbe † aperse il ciglio

Pyramo in sulla morte, e riguardolla,

\* *duro*: Compare St Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, *quæst.* i, art. 1—"Ille qui in suo sensu perseverat, rigidus, durus per similitudinem vocatur; sicut *durum* in materiis dicitur quod non cedit tactui; unde et frangi dicitur aliquis quando a suo sensu divellitur.")

† *Tisbe*: This alludes to the well known story of Pyramus and Thisbe, two lovers in Babylon, whose tragic death at the foot of the mulberry tree, which up to that time had borne



As, at the name of Thisbe, P  
point of death, opened his eye  
her, at the time when the mulbe

white fruit, caused it thereafter for  
fruit. See Ovid, *Met.* iv, 145-6:

"Ad nomen Thisbes oculos juxta  
Pyramus exivit, visaque rece  
Benvenuto sees close analogy betwe  
and Thisbe, and those of Dante and B

\* *il gelato diventò vermiglio*: The  
*Metam.* iv, 55-106. Thisbe, before kill  
which is answered by the gods (ll. 16

"Vota tamen tetigere deos, tot  
Nam color in pomo est, ubi j

+ *sella*, the same as *colerole* (yield  
ible, supple. Compare *Inf.* xvi, 1  
yielding sandy spot. And *Purg.* v, 1

"Perchè la foga l'un dell'alt

‡ *rampolla*: Compare *Purg.* v, 16

"Che sempre l'uomo in cui p  
Sopra pensier, da sè dil

Buti interprets the passage in the te  
mia si rinnova; pero che quanto  
maggiore des dero di lei mi cresce."  
nuovi rampolli di amorosi ed alti pe

§ *crollò la fronte*: The Vatican  
*testa*, but the Sta. Croce, Caetani, Cas  
*editions* read *fronte*.

|| *pome*: As we have before notice  
any fruit growing on a tree, not nec  
Analato is. The name used for

purple ; so did I, all my stubbornness being softened, turn to my sage Conductor, when I heard the name (of Beatrice) which is ever sprouting up in my mind. Whereupon he shook his head, and said : " Well ! are we going to remain on this side ? " Then he smiled, as one does to a child that has been conquered by the (promise of) fruit.

*I want some grace*

*Division II.* Dante now relates his successful passage through the dreaded flames. He first tells how Virgil, to obviate the possibility of any further want of decision on his part, walked into the fire in front of him, and begged Statius to bring up the rear. Up to that moment Virgil had been walking first, Statius second, and Dante third. As soon however as they enter the Terrestrial Paradise, it is Dante who leads the way. Dante describes his terror and sufferings by a somewhat extreme hyperbole.

Virgil endeavours to distract his attention from the flames by speaking to him of Beatrice.

Poi dentro al foco innanzi mi si mise,  
 Pregando Stazio che venisse retro,  
 Che pria per lunga strada ci divise.  
 Come fui dentro, in un bogliente vetro \*  
 Gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi,  
 Tant' era ivi lo incendio senza metro.  
 Lo dolce Padre mio per confortarmi

50

\* *bogliente vetro.* Benvenuto says that Dante has well imagined so intense a fire being necessary to purge out so much wickedness. Glass at white heat was supposed to be the greatest heat imaginable, and that was in Dante's estimation as hot water compared to that of the fire in Purgatory. Ariosto has imitated this passage in *Orl. Fur.* viii, st. 20, where he says of the burning sands on a certain shore

" In modo l'aria e l'arena ne bolle,  
 Che saria troppo a far liquido il vetro."

Pur di Beatrice ragionando andava,  
 Dicendo:—"Gh'occhi suoi" già veder parma

He then entered into the fire in front of me, begging Statius, who for a long way before that had been between us (*lit.* divided us), to come on behind. As soon as I was in it (the fire), I would willingly have cast myself into molten glass to cool me, so unmeasurable was the burning there. My beloved Father (Virgil), to encourage me, spoke of nothing but Beatrice as we walked along, saying: "Already I almost fancy I see her eyes."

As Beatrice represents Theology, the observation may remind one of the supplication in the Book of Common Prayer, that "in all our sufferings here upon earth, we may steadfastly look up to Heaven." Virgil, symbol of human science, tacitly acknowledges the insufficiency of earthly means to combat and sustain Man in times of great sorrow and suffering.

The Poets are now so enveloped in flames that they cannot see their way, but an angelic song guides their steps.

The Angel had enjoined them in v. 12, *al diavol*

\* *Gh'occhi suoi*: Buti says: "Li occhi di Beatrice son raggioni sottilissime et efficacissime e l' intellettu suo che anno avuto li Teologi in considerare e contemplare et insegnare a considerarle e contemplare. In Canto xxv the four Maidens who represent the Cardinal Virtues Dante."

"Mententi agli occhi suoi."

In *Convito*, tr. ii, cap. 16, Dante writes: "Gh'occhi di donna sono le sue dimostrazioni, le quali dritte ne gli occhi intelletto, manovrano l'anima." On the power of the Beatrice, see *Par.* xv, 34-36:

"... dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso  
 Tal, ch'io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo  
 Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso."

*la non siate sorde*, meaning that, when in the fire, they were to listen to the chant on the far side of it. The voice is, as we shall gather from v. 58-63, that of another Angel, who is doubtless the Guardian of the Terrestrial Paradise. Unlike the two with flaming swords placed there by God to drive away whoever should approach, this one, the Angel of Purity, invites the pure in heart to enter, addressing himself to the Poets.

Guidavaci \* una voce che cantava 55  
 Di là : e noi, attenti pure a lei,  
 Venimmo fuor là dove si montava.  
*Venite, \* benedicti patris mei,*  
 Sònd dentro ad un lume che li era, I  
 Tal che mi vinse, e guardar nol potei. 60

\* *Guidavaci*. Cesari (p. 488) compares this distant chant, guiding the penitents through the flames, to boats on the Lago di Garda, which, during the fogs that are prevalent there, have bells on their prows, to help them to avoid collisions. Scartazzini observes that, whereas in the other Cornices it had always been an Angel who effaced one of the seven P's from Dante's brow, in this Cornice there is no such mention, and we are left to infer that the last P, signifying the sin of Lust, is burnt out while he is in the fire. This is commented on by Pietro di Dante: "Et nota auctorem in hoc vitio fuisse multum implicatum, ut nunc quatenus sit de incendio quod habuit in dicta flamma in reminiscenda conscientia." In none of the Cornices of Purgatory, not even in Hell, has Dante had to suffer so much as in the Cornice of the Lustful. In *Purg.* xiii, 133-138, he says that he fears he will have *after death* to do penance among the Proud and Envious, but he now finds that, for a few moments, he has to suffer the torments of the lustful even before his death.

\* *Venite*: Scartazzini points out that, as the Angel Warder of the entrance of Purgatory takes the functions of St Peter, so does the Angel at the exit from Purgatory take the functions of Jesus Christ, pronouncing the great sentence that will be repeated on the Day of Judgment.

*Un lume che li era*. The light was the radiant form of the Angel, far exceeding in brightness those whom Dante had pre-

Readings on the Purgatorio. Canto XXVI

— "Lo sol sen va,"—soggiunse,— "e vien la sera ;  
Non v' arrestate, ma studiate il passo,  
Mentre che l' occidente non s' annera."

A voice that was singing on the far side (of the fire) guided us on ; and we, giving our attention to it alone, issued forth where the ascent began. *Come, ye blessed of my Father,\** sounded from the interior of a light that was there, so (brilliant) that it overcame me, and I could not gaze upon it. "The Sun is sinking fast," added (the voice), "and the night cometh ; tarry not, but press on your steps, before that the West shall become darkened by night."

We know from Canto vii, 52, that, as soon as the night falls in Purgatory, all progress is arrested. And therefore the Angel advises their not delaying on the very threshold of the Terrestrial Paradise, although he would say, "Life is short, Death is a hand."

Benvenuto draws attention to the fact that, at this point, the road had been winding round the crown of the mount ; but here, as in the *Anti-Purgatorio*, it diverges and ascends through a hollow way straight up to the summit. This path Dante now describes Benvenuto thinks he wishes, by an allegory, to be of the path of virtue.

Hardly have the three Poets commenced the law of Purgatory further progress is not previously seen. As the Poets issued from the flames just opposite the stairway leading up to the Terrestrial and the Angel stood at the foot of the staircase.

\* See *St. Matt.* xxi, 34. "Then shall the King, on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, sit ye down prepared for you from the foundation of the world."  
† This reminds one of *St. John* ix, 4: "The light when no man can work."

night, they lie down upon the steps of the staircase and Dante falls into a deep sleep.

Dritta sala la via per entro il sasso,  
 Verso tal parte, ch' io toglieva i raggi 65  
 Dinanzi a me \* del sol ch' era giù basso.†  
 E di pochi scaglion levammo i saggi ‡  
 Che il sol corear, per l' ombra che si spense,  
 Sentimmo retro ed io e li miei saggi.  
 E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense § 70  
 Fosse orizzonte ¶ fatto d' un aspetto,  
 E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,

\* *Dinanzi a me*: Benvenuto interprets *dinanzi a me* as *reversantem in faciem meam*, and *verso tal parte* towards the west; but Jacopo della Lana, Buti, Scartazzini, Fratelloni and others, are very positive that it means towards the east. Antonelli and Tommaséo express the opinion that this last stairway was lighted by the rays of the Sun just setting, and that the Poet, as he ascended it, would have before him the shadow of his own body. The stairway then was seen from the west, and led towards the east. Buti adds to this that it is an appropriate and allegorical fiction, to describe the ascending to Paradise as ascending towards the east, whence the Sun is first manifested to the world, the Sun, which signifies the Salvation of God.

† *era giù basso*: Some read *liso*, "weary of his long course."

‡ *levammo i saggi*: Buti explains this: "di pochi scaglion levammo esperienza."

§ *immense*: On this Antonelli writes: "Richiama l'attenzione del lettore all'ampiezza dell'orizzonte, che a quel luogo come si conveniva, somministrandogli l'idea dell'immensità. Prima, dunque, che tutto l'immenso spazio, che di lì dominava, o dovevasi dominare, fosse fatto d'un medesimo aspetto, era da uno, e perciò prima che la notte avesse dappertutto d'esso il suo vevo; ciascuno dei tre Poeti si fece letto di un gradino della scala, adagandovisi."

¶ *orizzonte*: Tommaséo thinks that the omission of the definite article before *orizzonte* almost implies the personification of the horizon. Dr. Moore (*Time-References*, p. 110) says that in this passage ll. 70-72 we have the coming on of darkness, and, in ll. 80-82, the shining out of the stars clearer and larger than their wont. This brings us to the end of the third day,

Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto ;  
 Chè la natura del monte ci affranse  
 La possa del salir più che il diletto.\*

The passage ascended straight up through the rock, in such direction, that before me I impeded the rays of the Sun, which was already low. And but of few steps had we essayed the proof, when both I and my Sages, by reason of the disappearance of my shadow, perceived that the Sun had set behind us. And ere the horizon in all its boundless expanse had assumed one unvaried hue (of gloom), and ere night had diffused its darkness equally all over it (it had made all its distributions), each of us made a bed of a staff, forasmuch as the nature of the mountain had taken away from us the power of ascending even more than the desire (to do so).

Benvenuto says that Dante probably means that he gave himself up to nocturnal meditation with Statius a poet of moral science, and with Virgil, a poet of natural science.

Tuesday, April 12th, and the Poets have now reached the top of Purgatory proper. The dawn of the fourth day is beautifully described in ll. 109, etc.; the Earthly Paradise is entered and Virgil takes his leave in the splendid passage which this canto ends, in the course of which in line 133 he points to the now fully risen Sun.

\* *il diletto*. Gubiani is quoted by Scartazzini as saying that Virgil had to enter the fire of purification to render himself worthy of passing the threshold of the Terrestrial Paradise and Statius because he would naturally do so before ascending to God. Dante had to go through that trial and torment though to mortify the spirit of the flesh as a holocaust. Scartazzini thinks that Virgil and Statius had to pass through the flames for the simple reason that there was no other way to ascend. They lay themselves down on a step to obey the law of the holy mountain, which cannot be ascended by night. They do not sleep, not being subject to the importunities of the flesh, but, like the shepherds, watch all night, while Dante is free from having the flesh of Adam (*quel d' Adamo*) was overcome by sleep.

Quali si fanno ruminando manse \*

Le capre, state rapide e proterve

Sopra le cime, avanti che sien pranse,

Tacite ad ombra, mentre che il sol serve,

Guardate dal pastor che in sulla verga

80

Poggiato s'è, e lor poggiato serve : †

E quale il mandriano ‡ che fuori alberga,

Lungo il peculo § suo queto pernotta,

Guardando perchè nera non lo sperga :

Tali eravamo tutti e tre allotta,

85

Io come capra, ed ei come pastori,

Fasciati quinci e quindi d'alta grotta. ||

Even as the goats become quiet while ruminating,  
which had been agile and impetuous upon the moan-

\* *ruminando manse* *Le capre* : Boccaccio in his *Vita di Dante*, relates that Dante wrote two very beautiful Eclogues, in answer to some verses sent to him by his friend Maestro Giovanni del Virgilio, a distinguished poet of Bologna who himself wrote an Epiphonema on Dante after his death. In the second of these Eclogues of Dante (ll. 7-15) there is a passage resembling this part of the goats.

† *lor poggiato serve* : Others read "*e lor di fora serve*" "and while they rest causes them to rest also, but the former reading has an overwhelming weight of MS. authority. Benvenuto says : Like as the goats ascend the high hill tops, and when satiated, are led by the shepherd to ruminant in the shade, Dante's spirit soars to more lofty themes, to feed on more elevated thoughts, which he can think out and discuss with his friends, at a time well fitted for the contemplation of the new and sublime matter of which he will now have to treat.

‡ *mandriano* is a herdsman rather than a shepherd, *pastore*, and has charge rather of large animals than of sheep.

§ *peculo* is said to be a mixed flock of sheep and goats. Compare Virg. *Georg.* iv, 433-436 :

"Ipse velut stabuli custos in montibus olim,  
Vesper ubi e pasto vitulos ad tecta reducit,  
Audit que lupos acunt balatibus agni,  
Considat scopulo medius, numerumque recenset.

|| *d'alta grotta*. Some read *dalla grotta*.



tain tops before they took their meal, resting hurried  
 in the shade, as long as the sun is hot, watched by  
 their shepherd who leans upon his staff, and the  
 leaning watches them; and as the herdsman  
 lives in the open, watches by night beside his  
 flock, keeping guard that no wild beast scatters  
 even so at that hour were we all three, I like a  
 and they like shepherds, hedged in on either side  
 lofty rock.

Benvenuto explains that while ascending the winding  
 road, like those striving after virtue, they might have  
 slipped over the edge of the cornice, but, having  
 arrived at an abode of bliss, there is no more falling  
 away.

*Division III.* Dante now relates how he fell into  
 a deep sleep and had a dream, which Benvenuto calls  
*nobile somnium*. He indicates the hour at which he  
 fell asleep.

Poco potea parer li del di fuori,  
 Ma per quel poco vedev' io le stelle,  
 Di lor solere e piu chiare e maggiori.\*  
 Sì ruminando, e al mirando in quelle,  
 Mi prese il sonno: il sonno che sovente,  
 Anzi che il fatto sia sa le novelle. †

\* *le stelle . . . piu chiare e maggiori* : Antonelli says: "The  
 increased brilliancy of the stars would be due to the  
 pure and rarefied air of that elevated region; and, as  
 their appearing larger, it is probable that Dante wished  
 to say to his readers that he had reached such an altitude,  
 he appreciably nearer to the starry sphere, so that the stars  
 would actually seem larger. Benvenuto confirms this  
 notion: "Stella videbantur clariores sibi et majores so-  
 erat vicinior celo et in loco puro a nubibus distantia enim  
 facit stellas videri minutas, que sunt in se maximæ."

† *il sonno che sovente, Anzi che il fatto sia sa le novelle*  
 Dreams prophetic of things really about to happen were

Of the sky) outside but little could be seen; but in that little I beheld the stars more brilliant and larger than their wont. Thus musing, and thus gazing upon them (the stars), sleep came upon me, the sleep that oftentimes has intelligence of a thing before the act has occurred.

Three Poets were reposing on the steps in a deep narrow way or cutting, and consequently could see little on either side of them, as one in a well can see a small portion of the sky.

The ideas which passed through Dante's mind while he fell asleep, developed into a prophetic vision, which he now relates, and which we may suppose took place a couple of hours before the dawn

Nell' ora, credo, che dell' oriente  
Prima raggio nel monte Citerea,\* 95  
Che di foco d' amor par sempre ardente,

(to be those dreamt in the morning before waking Com-  
In) xxxi, 7

"Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna."

*Purg.* ix, 13:

"Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai  
La rondinella presso a la mattina,  
Forse a memoria di suoi primi guai,  
E che la mente nostra peregrina  
Poi dalla carne, e men da pensier presa,  
Alle cose visse quasi è divina;  
In sogno mi pareva," etc.

*Citerea*: Venus was called Cytherea after the island of Cyprus, the modern name of which is Ceygo, where, according to the heathen mythology, the goddess was born in the bosom of the sea. From this circumstance the island was held peculiarly sacred to Venus, and here she had a celebrated temple. The planet Venus has a peculiarly lustrous splendour, and was popularly supposed to be the throbbing of the fire.

Compare *Purg.* i, 19.

"Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta,  
Faceva tutto rider l' oriente.

Giovane \* e bella in sogno mi pareo  
 Donna vedere andar per una landa  
 Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea :  
 — “ Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda,  
 Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno  
 Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.  
 Per piacermi allo specchio qui m' adorno ;  
 Ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga  
 Dal suo miraglio,† e siede tutto giorno.  
 Ell' è de' suoi begli occhi veder vaga,  
 Com' io dell' adornarmi con le mani ;  
 Lei lo vedere, e me l' oprate appaga. ” —

About the hour, I think, when Venus, who ever seems to burn with the fire of love, first beamed upon the mountain (of Purgatory) from the East, methought I saw in a dream a young and beautiful Lady walking over a plain, culling flowers, and in her song she was saying : “ Let whoever may demand my name know that I am Leah, and I go moving about my hat

\* *Giovane* . Leah did not die young, but St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii. *Suppl.* qu. lxxxi. art. 1. scilicet 2. “ Natura humana perfectissima statim habet in state sua. Ergo in illa etate resurgunt omnes. ” And she then rises again by Dante, as it were in the prime of life, in the form in which she would be supposed to rise again. Benvenuto has a very long note upon Leah, and says that this noble fiction is used to expose all wrong, and that Dante here wishes to speak of the Countess Matelda of Canossa, in the State of Reggio. I cannot follow his views of the matter, and prefer to take those of Scartazzini, to which I will refer in the next canto, when we are brought into contact with the real Matelda, of whom Leah is but the symbol seen in a dream.

† *miraglio* . Several important texts, including the Vatican and the Berlin MSS, read *ammiraglio*, which is never used in the sense of “ mirror ” in the Italian language. On the other hand Fra Guttone (*lett.* 13) does use *miraglio* in the sense “ Carissimi, del mondo mirag'li siete voi tutti nel mondo, e non a cui s' affidan tutti i minori vostri. ” *Miraglio* is the reading of the Santa Croce, Caetan., Cassinese, and Vienna, MSS. Any of the first four editions, Witte, Benvenuto, Cesari, Lombardi, Scartazzini, and others.

hands, to make for myself a garland. To please me at the mirror (*i.e.*, God) here I adorn myself, but my sister Rachel never departs from her looking glass, and sits at it all day. She is as eager to gaze at her lovely eyes, as I to adorn myself with my hands; contemplation is her delight, and work is mine."

artazzini says that, to understand better the difficulties in the lines from 94 to 108, it will be well to consult passages from St. Thomas Aquinas.

In *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. clxxix, art. 1, "Quidam homines precipue intendunt contemplatione statis, quidam vero intendunt principaliter exterioribus actionibus, inde est quod vita hominis convenienter dividitur per activam et contemplativam." Again, *Ibid.* art. 2: "Istæ duæ vitæ significantur per duas uxores Jacob: activa quidem per Leah, contemplativa vero per Rachelem; et per eas mulieres quæ Dominum hospitio receperunt: contemplativa quidem per Mariam, activa vero per Martha . . . Divisio ista datur de vita humana; una quidem attenditur secundum intellectum. Intellectus autem dividitur per activum et contemplativum, quia finis intellectivæ cognitionis vel est cognitio veritatis, quod pertinet ad intellectum contemplativum: vel est aliqua exterior actio, quod pertinet ad intellectum practicum sive activum." Again, *Ibid.* qu. clxxxii, art. 2: "Deum diligere secundum se est magis meritorium quam diligere proximum . . . Vita autem contemplativa directe immediate pertinet ad dilectionem Dei; vita autem activa directius ordinatur ad dilectionem proximi. Ideo ex suo genere contemplativa vita est majoris pretii quam activa." In *Convito*, tr. ii, cap. 5, ll. 80-85,

Dante, in accordance with the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, contends that the contemplative life is the one which most resembles God, and is more loved by Him. The Terrestrial Paradise, into which Dante is just entering, is a figure of the happiness of this contemplative life; the Celestial Paradise symbolizes the blessedness of Life Eternal. At the entrance of the Terrestrial Paradise, Dante in a dream sees Leah who represents the perfection of the active life, the first step to follow after expiation of sins, and is but a step to the contemplative life, a link between Purgatory and Heaven, between politics and religion, between Virgil and Beatrice. Leah speaks to Dante of herself as Rachel, who forecasts to him the sight of Beatrice. The two latter both symbolizing the contemplative life.

Dante's dream therefore is intended to show us the double life of Man when purified, and at the same time shows him by anticipation what he will see when in Paradise. His vision is a foreshadowing of Matelda and Beatrice in the Terrestrial Paradise. In the Old Testament Leah is the symbol of the Active Life, and Rachel of the Contemplative. In the New Testament, Martha and Mary are in the same relation. In the Divine Comedy, Matelda and Beatrice in the same relation.

Ruskin (*Mod. Painters*, iii, 222) says, "This interpretation appears at first straightforward and certain; but it has missed count of exactly the most important fact in the two passages which we have to explain. Observe: Leah gathers the flowers to decorate herself, and delights in *Her Own* Labour. Rachel sits silent, contemplating herself, and delights in *Her Own* Image. These are the types of the two

Glorified Active and Contemplative powers of Man. But Beatrice and Matelda are the same powers, Glorified. And how are they Glorified? Leah took delight in her own Labour; but Matelda, in operibus *manuum suarum*—in *God's Labour*: Rachel, in the sight of her own face; Beatrice in the sight of *God's face*." [These italics are Ruskin's own].

*Division IV.* In this concluding portion of the canto, we learn how Dante awakes from his dream, how Virgil in noble language takes leave of him, giving him much comfort and wholesome advice.

The dawn of the fourth day in Purgatory, Wednesday, April 13th, 1300, is beautifully described.

È già, per gli splendori antelucani,  
Che tanto ai peregrin surgon più grati,      110  
Quanto tornando albergan men lontani,\*  
Le tenebre fuggian † da tutti i lati,

\* *non lontani* or *più lontani*: Of these two much disputed readings, the one most commonly adopted is *men lontani*, which that found in the early editions of Jesi and Mantua, and is followed by Benvenuto, Buti, and all succeeding commentators. Even Scartazzini, who accepts the reading *più* on account of its MS. authority, says he prefers *men*, besides which he says the idea of *men lontani* is to be found elsewhere in Dante's own works. In *Comento*, tr. iii, c. 10, ll. 17-19, Dante writes: "Quanto la cosa desiderata più s'appropinqua al desiderante, tanto il desiderio è maggiore." And *De Mon.* lib. 1. c. 11 ll. 113, 114: "Omne diuturne tanto magis diuturno quanto propinquas est diligenti." Dante is comparing himself to a retainer, a wayfarer who beholds the dawn with increasing light, as day by day he gets nearer and nearer to his longed-for home. The sense of the reading *più lontani* is that, the further off one is from the desired object the more easily does he give oneself to the daily task of diminishing the distance.

Le tenebre fuggian—Compare *Purg.* ii, 55-57:

"Da tutte parti saettava il giorno  
L'asol, ch'avea colle saette conte  
Di mezzo il ciel cacciato Capricorno."

E il sonno mio con esse ; ond' io leva mi,  
Veggendo i gran maestri già levati.

And now through the brightness that precedes the dawn, which to wayfarers arises all the sweeter on their homeward way, the less distant from home they pass the night, the darkness was flying away on every side, and my slumber with it ; whereupon I awoke, seeing the great Masters already risen.

Dante now relates how Virgil kindles his desire to get forward by showing him that he is very soon to reap the reward he has been seeking through so many toils. In effect Virgil says: "Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness." Dante's eyes are that very day to look upon Beatrice herself in company with the whole Church Militant, and on the morrow Dante will ascend into Paradise. These words of Virgil make a profound impression upon Dante.

— "Quel dolce pome,\* che per tanti rami  
Cercando va la cura dei mortali,  
Oggi potrà in pace le tue fama." —

\* *dolce pome*. Compare *Inf.* xvi, 61, 63:

"Lascio lo fele, e vo per dolci pomi  
Promessi a me per lo verace Duca"

And *Deut.* xxxii, 14: "And for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon." And *Rev.* xvii, 14: "And the fruits that are lusted after are departed from thee." Scartazzini thinks that Dante drew not only his opinions, but also much of the words of the present passage from one in Boethius. *Philosophia* (ii, pr. 11): "Omnis mortalium cura, quam multos dierum labor exercet, diverso quidem cable processit, sed ad unum tamen beatitudinis nomen natus pervenire. Id vult bonum, quo quis adeptus nihil ulterius desiderare queat. Quod quidem est omnium summum bonum, cunctaque alia bona continens. cui si quid abfuerit, summum esse non possit, quoniam relinqueretur extrinsecus quod posset optari. Id est, vultur, beatitudinem esse statum bonorum omnium congrega-

Virgilio inverso me queste cotali  
 Parole usò, e mai non furo strenne \*  
 Che fosser di piacere a queste eguali. 120  
 Tanto voler sopra voler mi venne  
 Dell' esser su, ch' ad ogni passo poi  
 Al volo mi sentia crescer le penne. †

*That sweet fruit (i.e. The Supreme Good), which  
 in anxious care of mortals goes in quest of upon so  
 many branches, will this day appease thy hungerings.*  
 Such words did Virgil use to me, and never were  
 here guerdons that were for pleasure equal to these.  
 Within me longing so grew upon longing to be above,  
 that at every step thereafter I felt my wings growing  
 longer for flight.

perfectam Hunc, uti diximus, diverso tramite mortales  
 conantur adire. Est enim mentibus hominum veri  
 naturaliter inserta cupiditas sed ad falsa devius error  
 tit. Quorum quædam alii summum esse bonum nihilo indi  
 credentes, ut divinis affluat, elaborant. alii vero bonum,  
 sit dignissimum veneratone, judicantes, adeptus honoribus,  
 totis viribus suis esse nituntur. Sunt qui summum bonum  
 omnia potentia esse constituent: hi vel regnare ipsi volunt,  
 ignam his adhaerere conantur. Plurimi vero boni fructum  
 in latitudine inveniuntur hi felicissimum putant voluptate  
 ere. . . . Sed summum bonum beatitudinem esse  
 mus. Quare beatum esse judicat statum quem præ ceteris  
 he desiderat.

*Strenne* *Strenna* is derived from the Latin *strenna*, a gra  
 The French word is *strennes plur.* and both mean a  
 gift given on a special day, such as a Christmas, a New  
 Year, or an Easter present. The *Postillatore Casinese* ex  
 plains the passage. "*Strenne* qui primum donum quod datur  
 pendarum dicuntur, ut in deservis habetur." And Pietro  
 della Porta "dicuntur strenna mancia, qua datur in principio  
 daturum."

*over le penne*: From the intensity of his joy, Dante felt so  
 that he could almost fly. See *Par.* xv, 71-72:

"... ed arrosemi [or arrosemi] un cenno  
 Che fece crescer l' ali al voler mio."

lines 77-81.

"Ma voglia ed argomento nei mortali,  
 Per la ragion ch' a voi è manifesta,  
 Diversamente son pennuti in ali."



We now reach the time when Virgil, knowing that Dante is about to enter into the presence of Beatrice, Divine Science, and that the companionship of himself, Human Science, will no longer be necessary, addresses his last farewell to Dante, in noble and touching words. We may infer that these are spoken on the very threshold of the Terrestrial Paradise, although we see Virgil continue to be Dante's true companion over the Debateable Land, yet as soon as Beatrice appears he vanishes for ever.\*

Implying that purer eyes than his are required to guide Dante through the Terrestrial Paradise, Virgil sadly points out the way to his beloved pupil, telling him he must henceforth consider himself emancipated from human teachers and governors, and, until he passes under the tutelage of Beatrice, he must walk on under the sole guidance of his own free will.

Come la scala tutta sotto noi

Fu corsa, e fummo in su il grado superno, †

In me ficco Virgilio gli occhi suoi,

E disse — " Il temporal foco e l' eterno

Veduto hai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte

Dov' io per me piu oltre non discerno. †

\* Benvenuto thinks that Virgil vanished after concluding his address, but that is manifestly an error, for Virgil is twice espoken of afterwards. See *Purg.* xxvii, 145-7.

† Io mi volsi dietro allora tutto

A miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso

Udito avevan l' ultimo costruito."

And again *Purg.* xxix, 55-57 :

" Io mi rivolsi d' ammirazion pieno

Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose

Con vista carca di stupor non meno."

† non discerno. Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 48.

" Ed egli a me : " Quanto ragion qui vede

Darti poss' io ; da indi in là t' aspetta

Pure a Beatrice ; ch' opera è di lede."

Tratto t' ho qui con ingegno e con arte : \*

130

Lo tuo piacere † omai prendi per duce :

Fuor sei dell' arte vie, fuor sei dell' arte.

Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce ; ‡

\* *con ingegno e con arte* : Martini (*La Div. Com. dichiarata secondo i principii della filosofia*, Torino, 1840) explains this well. "L. in *ingegno* è naturale, ma si può perfezionare colla cultura. Perciò suol divideri in *nativo* ed *acquisito*. Non è tal interamente acquisito ; ma con tal nome s' intende il nativo perfezionato con l' esercizio. Virgilio per *ingegno* intende il *talento*, e per *arte* l' *acquisito*." Scartazzini, who quotes the above, understands the words to mean, "I have brought thee thus far, making use of the gifts that have been vouchsafed me by Nature, as well as of the arts which I have studied."

† *Lo tuo piacere*. Comparing this passage with *Eclut.* xv, 14 (*Psal.*), "Deus ab initio constituit hominem, et reliquit illum in manu consilii sui." Scartazzini explains that *piacere* sometimes signifies *instinct*, and at others *proprio consiglio*. When Virgil tells Dante that, from that time forth, he is to take his pleasure (*piacere*) for his guide, he certainly does not in the least mean that Dante is to act without prudence, but that he considers Dante capable of guiding himself. Therefore *piacere* is to be taken here rather with the signification of *consiglio* than of *instinct*, and Scartazzini interprets the words, "Let your own good sense guide you." But *piacere* must not be taken in the sense of *will*, for the will is not here looked upon as a leader, but as a follower after wisdom. The Commentators mostly have it that Dante was now completely purified, and could therefore follow his own free-will without fear of transgressing. But it is only at the last line of the *Purgatorio* that we learn that he felt himself.

"Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."

Before he becomes so, although cleansed from the seven capital sins, he will have to undergo a heavy act of contrition on the appearance of Beatrice. He has still then got to disencumber himself of a sin, not a capital offence, but still a sin. What is the sin? asks Scartazzini. It is, as we shall see, the sin of doubts and vacillations concerning the Faith.

‡ *Il sol . . . in fronte ti riluce* : "Se i Poeti avevano il Sole alle spalle quando la sera precedente cominciarono a salire la scala, giunti in cima ad essa poco dopo il sorgere di quell' astro, doveva questo esser loro in prospetto, sebbene un poco a sinistra." (Antonelli, in *Tommaso's Commentary*). Dante's brow is now healed from the seven wounds traced on it by the

Vedi l'erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli,  
 Che qui la terra sol da sè produ e \*  
 Mentre che vegnan lieti gli occhi belli, †  
 Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,  
 Seder ti puoi e puoi andar tra elli.  
 Non aspettar mio dir più, né mio cenno.  
 Libero, ‡ dritto § e sano è tuo arbitrio,  
 E fallo fora non fare a suo senno ;  
 Perch' io te sopra te corono e matrio.

140

Angels sword, and is therefore fitted more worthly to  
 convey the light of God, which Virgil implies will now sh  
 upon Dante and be his guide.  
 \* la terra sol da sè pr. ditta. : Compare *Purg.* xxvii. 67 69  
 "Ella ridea dal altra riva ditta,  
 Traendo più color con le sue mani,  
 Che l'alta terra senza seme gitta."

And Ovid, *Metam.* i, 131, 132 :  
 "Ipsa quoque immensis, rastroque intacta, nec ulli  
 Sacra vomeribus, per se dabat omnia terras"

And 107, 108 :  
 "Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris  
 Mu'ebant Zephyri natus sine semine florē."  
 † *gli occhi belli.* Compare l. 54 of the pre ent *Can'to*, where  
 Virgil encourages Dante when passing through the *barba* in  
 saying "Gli occhi suoi già veder parmi."

And *Inf.* ii, 115-117 :  
 "Posi a che m'ebbe ragionato questo,  
 Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse,  
 Perche mi fece del venir più prelo."

‡ *Libero.* Dante writes in the *De Monarchia* li. i. lib. 1, c. 12, l. 100  
 "Primum principatum in statu libertatis est libertas ad sui pr  
 mult. habent in ore, in intellectu vero pacis. Venit : ad  
 usque ad hoc, ut dicant libertatem arbitriam esse, et  
 voluntate judicium. Et veram dicunt  
 moveat omnino appetitum, et nullo modo prætenti  
 libertatem est. si vero ab appetitu, quæcumque  
 veniente, judicium moveatur, liberum esse non potest."

§ *dritto.* Dante would be in part, & uprightness by  
 himself in conformity with " *Giustitia*, la quale ordina  
 amare ed operare dirittura in tutte le cose." (*Conv.* ii. c.  
 li. 62-64).  
 ¶ *corono e matrio.* Scartazzini explains this : "I plac

When the whole of the stairway, now left below us, had been surmounted, and we were on the topmost step, Virgil fastened his eyes upon me, and said: "My Son, thou hast seen the temporal fire (of Purgatory), and the eternal (fire of Hell), and art come to a place where of myself I can see no further. I have led thee thus far with skill and with art; henceforth take for thy guide thine own good sense: Thou art (now) beyond the steep paths, beyond the narrow ones. Behold there the Sun which is shining on thy brow; behold the soft grass, the flowers, and the shrubs, which in this region (the Terrestrial Paradise) the soil spontaneously brings forth. Until in joy come to thee those beauteous eyes (of Beatrice), which when they wept made me come to thy succour, thou mayest sit down (on the grass), and mayest walk among them (the flowers and shrubs). Expect no further speech or sign from me, thy will is released, upright, and sound, and thou wouldst err greatly not to act upon its impulses; I therefore crown and mitre thee (as sovereign) over thyself."

Dean Plumtre says: "The most natural interpretation is, that Dante now takes his place among those who are kings and priests unto God (1 Pet. ii, 9; Rev. i, 6; Rev. v, 10). Difficulties have been raised on the ground that the mitre was used in the Roman ritual for the coronation of an emperor. Otho is said to have worn the mitred crown of the Emperors." In early times it was usual to place on the head of the Emperor, first the mitre, and upon the mitre the Imperial crown. The ecclesiastical mitre is quite out of the question here, for two reasons. In the first place Virgil would have no power to confer it; and secondly, Dante was not to become from this moment bishop and pastor to himself, but was to be under the direction of his spiritual guide, Beatrice. Scartazzini sums up Virgil's last words thus: "I pronounce thee to be Emperor of thyself, that is, director of thine own reason in the practice of moral and intellectual virtues—thou needest no longer a rider to bestride thee to direct thy will, to hold thee in check with bit and bridle, and to turn thy steps into the direct road."

described as both *coronatus et mitratus*, and hence Scartazzini urges that both words refer to civil and not to ecclesiastical functions. On the other hand this may be traversed by the fact that the word *corona* was used as an equivalent to *mitra*, so that both words might refer to the same thing.

Benvenuto does not give any sense to the words *regem et dominum*

each any ecclesiastical sense: "Facio te super te"

END OF CANTO XXVII

## CANTO XXVIII.

THE EARTHLY PARADISE.—THE RIVER LETHE  
—MATELDA.—THE WIND AND THE WATER  
IN THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.

In the last Canto Dante described how he and his companions had at length reached the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory, where they find the Terrestrial Paradise, of which the present Canto is a description.

Benvenuto divides it into four principal parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante describes the freshness and luxuriance of the herbs and trees; the wind, the water, and the birds.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 84, he speaks of meeting a beautiful and illustrious lady.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 85 to v. 120, Dante asks a question to the beautiful lady as to the reason of water and wind existing in a region placed higher than the Gate of Purgatory, and she answers him respecting the wind.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 121 to v. 148, the beautiful lady completes her answer to Dante's question, by explaining to him whence comes the water which irrigates this holy spot.

Benvenuto adds that the whole of this Canto is

figurative and allegorical. Were we not to look at it under this aspect, it would lack any real meaning or import.

*Division I.* Dante wishes to describe the happy condition of Man, so far as is compatible with the misfortunes of human life, in a state of perfect virtue. He accordingly figures him to be in an extremely elevated spot, secure from all changes, where no evil can befall him, and living in the midst of bliss.\*

Faticelli says that, in order to understand the description that follows, the reader should recollect in his mind a few leading particulars about the Mountain of Purgatory. Dante has pictured it at a great altitude above the Earth. The lower part above which the Commentators have styled the *Antipurgatorio*, rose so high above it, that it was supposed to reach up to the highest level of the atmosphere, and

\* St. Thomas Aquinas teaches that the Terrestrial Paradise is situated in the Eastern and more noble parts of the earth. "Cum autem Oriens sit dextera cœli . . . dextera autem nobilior quam sinistra. conveniens fuit ut in orientis partibus paradus terrenus insitueretur a Deo . . . Quodam autem dicunt, quod paradus pertingebat usque ad lunarem regionem . . ." "locus ille seclusus est a nostra habitatione dispendio impedimentis vel montium, vel marium, vel alicujus regionis regionis, quæ pertinere non potest." *Summ. Theol. part. quæ cœ, art. 1.* St. Isidore, *Etym. lib. xviii. c. 3.* writes. "Paradus est locus in Orientis partibus constitutus, cuius vocabulum ex Græco in Latium venit *hortus*. porro Hebræice *Eden* dicitur, quæ in nostra lingua delicia interpretatur. Quod utrumque unum fuit *hortum deliciarum*, est enim genere ligni et pomiferarum arborum constitus, habens etiam lignum vite; non ibi frigus, non ariditas, sed perpetua temperies."

is at this point that Dante places the Gate of Purgatory, which he supposes to be placed on the very west edge of the Sphere of Fire. The *Ante-Purgatorio* was subject to rain, heat and cold, earthquakes and other convulsions of nature; not so the *Purgatorio* proper. Landino calls the Terrestrial Paradise the *Post-Purgatorio*. It was situated, according to Dante, above the uppermost Cornice or circle of Purgatory proper; and no spirit could enter therein until purged of all its sins.

Dante paints the Paradise of Delights in the most glowing colours.\*

We must remember that it is now the early morning of Wednesday in Easter week; the seventh and last day of Dante's journey. We know, from l. 133 of the last Canto, that the Sun has risen, and is shining all in Dante's face.

Vago già di cercar dentro e dintorno  
La divina foresta spessa e viva,  
Ch'ogn'occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,†  
Senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,‡

\* Among the best known descriptions of ideal landscapes may be mentioned the following: Homer, *Odyssey*, v, description of the visit of Mercury to the Island of Calypso. Sophocles, *Electra*, descriptions of the wood of Celonos. Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xvii, Garden of Armida. Spenser, *Fairie Queene*, vi, x, 6, Mount Acidale. Milton, *Par. Lost*, ii, 214-270, the Terrestrial Paradise.

† *il nuovo giorno*: We are to understand *giorno* to mean the blinding light of the full-risen Sun.

‡ *la riva*: Dante and his guides have just surmounted the last step of the stairway, and are standing on the edge of the plain or table land at the summit. Dante now quits this edge, and walks across the table land. Scartazzini explains *riva*, *Estremità di quel piano*.\*



Prendendo la campagna \* lento lento †  
Su per lo suol che d'ogni parte oliva.‡

Already eager to explore within and around the heavenly forest, which, luxuriant and evergreen, made the new-born day tempered to my eyes, without waiting longer I left the mountain's edge, very slowly roaming across the plain, over the soil that on every side breathed fragrance.

Dante's delight in this beautiful region is such, that he cannot hurry over any part of it. He describes the soft wind wafted through the forest.

Benvenuto says that the moral Dante wishes us to deduce from the passage that now follows is that

\* *Prendendo la campagna*. Compare *Inf* viii, 17

"Pigliando più della dolente ripa

And *Inf* xii, 28, 29 :

"Così prendemmo via giù per lo scarco  
Di quelle pietre."

And *Purg* i, 107, 108 :

"Lo sol vi mostrerà, che surge omai,  
Prender lo monte a più breve scia."

† *lento lento* : "Fra quelle debzic non poteva aver i piedi correre." (*Cesari*) Benvenuto says of *lento lento* that Dante is entering upon a sacred and, to him, unknown country with awe and trembling ; and he also wished to show the delicate and new and lofty matter upon which he was entering.

‡ *Oliva* is equivalent to the Latin *olea* and the *videtur* imperfect tense of *olere*. We find the word twice used by *Virg* in *Eclog*. See *Deum Giorn* ii, No. 5 "Nella sua carretta n'entrò, la quale di rose, di fiori d'aranci, e d'altre cose era oliva." See also, *Deum Giorn* iii, p. 4 "Mescolate, mescolate con quello odore di molte altre cose, che per lo più si olivano." In *Purg* xxxv, ll. 134, 135, *Virg* points out to Dante the soft grass, the flowers, and the shrubs from which are to suppose this universal fragrance is exhaled.

"Vedi l'erbetta, i fiori e gli arbaszelli,  
Che qui la terra sol da sé produce."

Contrast the enchanting surround-ings, and the aromatic perfume of the soil as related here, with the ghastly description of the City of Dis, and its fetid atmosphere. See *Inf* x, 133-138.

However much Man, in a state of virtue, may find light winds, *i. e.* slight troubles, come upon him, yet they do not hinder him from performing his allotted duties any more than, in the Terrestrial Paradise, they crush or overthrow the trees that are in it. Although the branches bend where the wind strikes upon them, yet he tells us that the little birds are not prevented from resting upon them, and filling the wood with their songs.

Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento \*  
 Avere in sè, mi fer a per la fronte  
 Non di piu colpo, che soave vento .  
 Per cui le fronde, tremolando pronte, 10  
 Tutte e quante piegavano alla parte

\* *aura dolce, senza mutamento*: This was the light breeze of early morning, blowing from the East. The following remarks by Antonelli (in Tommasèo's commentary) explain the phenomenon of *senza mutamento avere in sè*: "Per quello che dirà poi, l'atmosfera rotava col sole da levante a ponente, come se fosse fatta d'un pezzo o una massa solida; il perchè le molecole aeree serbavano sempre fissa la reciproca loro posizione, salvo l'accidentale e momentaneo spostamento per l'incontro di qualche oggetto resistente, come qui per la presenza di un corpo umano sottoposto ancora alla legge dell'impenetrabilità, e per l'ostacolo d'una fronzuta foresta. L'aria dunque si muoveva, ma senza avere mutamento in se stessa, cioè senza mutamento delle sue particelle tra loro, come avviene pel contrasto delle correnti in bassa regione, allorchè le è rotto il moto circolare uniforme da qualche parte (vedi l. 103, 104) o per qualche ragione, e si generano i venti propriamente detti. E da avvertire che il Poeta suppone implicitamente, che l'aura sia un corpo grave o pesante, perchè, sebbene in quella grande altura fosse purissima e sottilissima, e quindi non potesse se il secco vapore suscitatore di vento, le attrahesse la presenza di ferre, cioè di percuotere, e piegare le fronde degli alberi dalla parte ove il santo monte gitta onbra, cioè a ponente; perchè il sole spunta a levante, e poi girando ivi per tramontana, vi fa girar l'ombra per mezzodi, scèchè solo la prima ombra è a occidente, per dove si fa il movimento delle sfere celesti, a tenore delle dottrine toloniche."

U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte :  
 Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte  
 Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime  
 Lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte ; 75  
 Ma con piena letitia l' ère prime,\*  
 Cantando, ricevièno intra le foglie,  
 Che tenevan bordone † alle sue rime,  
 Tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie  
 Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi, ‡ 80

\* *Ère prime*: Scartazzini censures those Commentaries who have interpreted *ère* here as "hours," whereas he agrees with others who hold that the word stands for *aurè*. He quotes Petrarch, Part 1, Sonnet cxxiv in some editions 143.

"Parmi d' odirla, udendo i rami, e i  
 E le frondi, e gli augel lagnarsi, etc."

Benvenuto says that by the birds Dante here means to signify wise and virtuous men, who soar to the summits of the mountains and sing the praises of God with joy.

† *tenevan bordone*. One sense of *bordone* is a cord of a lute, a lute, or other stringed instrument, and *tener bordone* signifies to keep up an accompaniment. *Tener bordone* is also used in conversation, and done or witherings. In the *Dictionary of the Romance Languages chiefly from the* of P. Diez, by T. C. Donkin, London, 1862, two other significations of *bordone* are given: 1 from the Ital. *bordone*, and the French *bordone* a pilgrim's staff; and the French *bordone* a humble bee; and the English, *burden of a song*; and "if it be true, the word meant originally a long trumpet or organ pipe, the same as the preceding *bordone* from the rexera d' staff."

‡ *Chiassi*, now *Classe*: Scartazzini feels certain that in ancient times the name was *Classis*, and in more recent times *Classe*, yet in Dante's age it must have been called *Chiassi*. Both Buti and Landino speak of it by that name without explaining that it stood for *Classe*. In the middle ages it was on the sea shore, though the sea has since receded, and the island, and now it is a dreary, pestiferous, marshy plain tenanted save by the magnificent early Christian Church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, which Benvenuto informs us was built by Justinian, but much damaged by the Lombards. It was the port of Ravenna, and was called

Quand' Eolo \* Scirocco † fuor discioglie.

is because Augustus used to keep his fleet there for the control of the Adriatic. One can well imagine Dante, during his exile at Ravenna, often walking on the sea shore of Classe, being in deep thought through the lovely woods, and treading on the soft carpet of verdure, amid the twittering of the birds in the far famed Pineta of Ravenna. In the beautiful study by Corrado Ricci, *L' Ultimo Rifugio di Dante Alighieri*, (Milan, 1891, pp. 114, 115), the author lays great weight on the personal experience of the Pineta which Dante exhibits in his *Paradiso* to it of the Divine Forest: "Anche più personale è il confronto che egli fa del mormorio complessivo della selva del *Purgatorio*, con quello della pineta presso Ravenna, tratta una serie di considerazioni che seppur accennare son dal punto di vista di Dante, e stupendamente Benvenuto da Imola. Non è solo il mormorio heve e il cantar degli uccelli che, nella descrizione poetica, corrispondono alla selva di Classe. È tutto il modo di essere dei suoi particolari. Il confronto e il nome del luogo sono lì per testimoniare che veramente l'Alighieri descrisse la foresta sotto l'impressione di quella di Classe profondamente meravigliosa e poetica, come la trovarono quanti penetrarono in lei dal Boccaccio a Giorgio Byron!"

*Eolo*: Eolus was king of the Lipari Isles, and resided at Stromboli. The inhabitants of these isles used to imagine that he could, by the nature of the flames sent forth by the volcanoes, tell the kind of winds that might be expected. Eolus was supposed to have kept the winds imprisoned in bags of skins. The Scirocco is the S. E. wind. See Virgil's description (Æneid, i, 52, etc.) of the cave of Eolus, and his loosing the winds.

*Scirocco*: Ricci (*l.c.*) likens the long wide alleys of the Pineta to the aisles of some vast Basilica. Into them no dazzling sunlight finds its way, the light is soft, subdued, and expiable; a dense undergrowth of shrubs and flowers make the air sweet with aromatic fragrance; nor can any violent winds penetrate through the thick foliage. He then adds: "E quando lo scirocco spirava, da tra levante e mezzogiorno, tutte le fronde della pineta ravennate, posto sul orlo dell'Adriatico, si pregavano e mormoravano con dolcezza e con una specie di ritmo continuo uguale e costante che è proprio dei pini, per la forma quasi piana al di sopra e per la qualità della chioma di rigidi ed acuti. Così gli uccelli non impauriti dalle loro improvvisi, nè da troppo allungamento dei tronchi [upright] e tosti, cantano per le come senza interruzione raccolti in disteso convegno o in viva gara di voci e

A soft breeze that had no permutation in itself smote me on the brow with no heavier stroke than that of a gentle zephyr; by which the boughs, in tremulous accord, were one and all bent down towards that quarter (the West) whereon the holy mountain (of Purgatory) casts its first shadow. Not however much diverted from their upright position that the little birds upon their tops had to cease from exercising their skill; but singing with uncontrolled exultation they received the first breezes of the day and the leaves which kept up an accompaniment to their minstrelsy, such as from branch to branch is taken up through the pine wood on the shore of Chiasso when Jolus lets forth the Scirocco.

Giovanni Villani (lib. ix, cap. 136) relates that when Dante died in July 1321, he had just returned from an embassy to Venice sent by the Lord of Polenta with whom he was residing, and although there is no documentary evidence of this embassy, Ravenna was at war against the allied States of Venice and Forli, to avert which war the embassy probably been sent. These documents are quoted by Ricci (*l.c.* pp. 145-154), who shows that, from July to October, the whole country between Venice and Ravenna was extremely insalubrious. He quotes a statement of Filippo Villani that the Venetians refused to allow Dante a return passage to Ravenna by sea, and that he must have come back by the Monastery of Pomposa, afterwards by the Benedictines in consequence of its unhealthy climate, then by Codigoro, and by the Comacchio. From there to Ravenna, if

elled that way, he must certainly have crossed the forest in the last few miles of his journey, and Ricci concludes: "Rivide, infine, Dante *la divina foresta fessa e viva*; ma invano susurravano ancora le acque correnti al mare, invano gli uccelli *usavano lor arte, mille cime*, all' uguale e dolce mormorio delle fronde! La febbre ardeva già nelle vene del poeta, che pochi giorni dopo, tra i figli e gli amici più cari, esalava il stanco spirito!"

Dante now penetrates further into the recesses of the forest, and describes the waters that irrigated the Terrestrial Paradise.

Già m'avean trasportato i lenti passi  
Dentro alla selva antica \* tanto, ch'io  
Non potea rivedere ond'io m'entrassi †  
Ed ecco il più andar mi tolse un rio, 25  
Che inver sinistra con sue piccole onde  
Pregava l'erba ‡ che in sua riva uselo.

By this time had my steps, (though) leisurely, carried me so far on into that primeval forest that I could no longer see back to where I had entered it: when lo, a stream checked my further progress, which with its little rippling waters bent towards the left hand the herbage that sprouted up on its bank.

\* *selva antica*: The Garden of Paradise is one of the oldest things in Man's history, seeing that our first parents were placed there. Dante has taken the expression from Virgil—see *En.* vi, 171.

"Itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum."

† *ond'io m'entrassi*. Compare *Inf.* xv, 13-15:

"Già eravam dalla selva rimossi  
Tanto, ch'io non avrei visto dov'era,  
Perch'io indietro rivolto mi fossi."

‡ *Pregava l'erba*: Compare Virgil, iv *Georg.* 18, 19:

"At liquidi fontes et stagna virentia n'usco  
Adsunt, et tenuis fugiens per gramina, rivus."

This is the river of Lethe, which is supposed to gird the Terrestrial Paradise on the one side, while the river Eunoe girds it on the other, just as the Garden of Eden was bounded by the Tigris and Euphrates. Lethe is the water of Oblivion, which implies that the soul, which desires to attain to a state of innocence, must forget and cast behind it all those sins and failings that it has either committed or known, in order to attain simplicity of mind, and to remove every incentive to sin. The waters of Oblivion flow towards the left, because they carry away the memory of evil, which is always figured as on the left hand. The sheep on the right, the goats on the left. *Fiume* (from *favos*, favourable), is the contrast to Lethe and implies the memory of all the good that the soul has effected or known, that it may have good knowledge of all virtue.

Dante describes the purity of the water.

Tutte l'acque che son di qua più monde,  
 Parreno avere in sè mistura \* alcuna,  
 Verso di quella che nulla nasconde ;  
 Avvegna che si mova bruna bruna †

\* *mistura*: This means "sediment, impurity." Compare Boccaccio, *Dec. III. Giornata VI, Nov. x* "Ed era questo lago più profondo, che sia una statura d'uomo intimo al petto, e senza avere in sè mistura alcuna, chiarissimo il suo fondo strava essere d'una minutissima ghiaia la qual tutta, se non avesse avuto a fare, avrebbe, volendo potuto accorgersi." That is, the water was so pellucid, that one could have seen the little pebbles upon the gravelly bottom. I have noticed how frequently Boccaccio has taken passages from the *Divina Commedia*.

† *bruna bruna*: It cannot be too often repeated that the meaning of *bruno* is not "brown," but "black." The interpretation given by the *Gran Dizionario* is: "Di color de

Sotto l'ombra perpetua, che mai  
Raggiar non lascia sole \* ivi, nè luna.

All the waters that are the most limpid here (in the world) would seem to have in themselves some impurity compared with this which (from its transparency) hides nothing in itself; although it rolls along black and darksome beneath that sempiternal shade, that never suffers a ray of Sun or Moon to penetrate it.

On this Benvenuto observes that such was the density of the foliage, that neither the light of the Sun or Moon could pierce through the interlacing branches of the trees.

*Division II.* Dante next describes how they met a beautiful Lady by the side of the stream, who is gathering flowers and singing.

Benvenuto wishes us to mark that Dante now beholds in reality the same lady whom, in the last

regarding Dante; the second: "Aveo semplicemente." Hence we have the Tuscan expression *Portare il bruno*, to be in mourning; *Portare il bruno al cappello*, to wear crape on one's hat.

\* *che mai Raggiar non lascia sole*, etc.: Scartazzini does not share the opinion of Bati and some other Commentators, that there is a deep allegory concealed in the above six lines. He thinks that Dante, in describing the holy forest, had in his mind some of the passages in Scripture that describe the New Jerusalem. See *Rev.* xxi, 23: "And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof." Tasso has a passage in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Canto xv. st. 36) which is almost copied from the one here:

"Ma tutta ins'eme poi tra verdi sponde  
In profondo canal l'acqua s'aduna;  
E sotto l'ombra di perpetue fronde  
Mormorando sen va gelida e bruna;  
Ma trasparente sì che non asconde  
Dell'fino letto suo vaghezza alcuna:  
E sovra le sue rive alta si estolle  
L'erbeta, e vi fa seggio fresco e molle."



Canto, he fancied he saw in a dream, in the same dress, and employed in the same occupation. Benvenuto thinks she is figured as being here to warn the purified souls that they cannot ascend to Heaven without having passed through the hosts of the Church Militant, or without the preliminary two-fold washing in the waters of Lethe and Eunoe. We see Matelda thus engaged, just as, at the entrance of the *Ante-Purgatorio*, we saw Cato preparing the souls by a similar preliminary washing of the face to ascend the mountain of Purgatory.

Coi piè ristetti e con gli occhi passai  
Di là dal fiumicello, per mirare  
La gran variation dei freschi mai.\*  
E là m'apparve, sì com' egli appare  
Subitamente cosa che disvia  
Per maraviglia tutt' altro pensare,  
Una Donna soletta,† che si gia

\* *freschi mai*: *Mai* properly signifies a branch, covered with leaves, which peasants plant on the 1st of May before the doors of their sweethearts, hanging upon it cakes, fruit, etc. It is described by Allegri *Prose e Rime*, 160.

“E voglio  
Dinanzi all'uscio un di ficcarti il maio,  
Il qual di bertucoli e cambelle,  
Di melarane dolce e confortini  
Farò gremito, e d'altre cose belle.”

but Scartazzini thinks that here *Mai* simply means any branch of a tree loaded with blossoms. In the *Rhetoric Romance* it is spoken in the *Grisons*, *mai*, signifies a bunch of *roses*. See Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*.

† *E là m'apparve . . . Donna soletta*. Only in *Purg.* 119, do we learn that this beautiful lady is *Matelda*. Was Matelda she was, seems to afford room for much of reasonable opinion. Benvenuto is very positive that she is the Countess of Canossa, and, in commenting on Dante's *Ante-Purg.* Canto xvii, in a very lengthy paragraph he attempts to prove that Leah is identical with her. Fratelli, however, thinks

Cantando ed iscegliendo fior da fiore,  
Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via.\*

It is probable that Dante, a Ghibelline Poet, would have extolled a woman who was the ally of the Popes, and was warring against the Empire. Scartazzini has a digression devoted to the subject. He considers that the lady of Dante was some Florentine lady, probably the one mentioned in the *Vita Nuova*, a friend of Beatrice also of Dante. He concludes by saying "Suppose Matelda in the holy forest is historically the *gentil donna* who was the shelter of Dante's love—and suppose her ally to figure the ecclesiastical ministry (of the Church) the *donna isotta* is no longer a mysterious personage, but Matelda disclosed [*La Matelda svelata*]." There can be no doubt that Dante is now supposed to see the verification of his dream, though the person is different. In the dream it was Leah, now it is Matelda. It is like Dante's dream related in *Par.* 19, *et seq.* when the eagle was seen in the dream of Lucia. Dante here has been dreaming of Leah and when he awakes he finds neither of them, but Matelda in place of them. The venerable Dr. Lubin, now in his ninetieth year, in the *Studi* prefixed to his Commentary (pp. 314-353) is filled with much learning and at great length the view of Matelda of the *Diziana Foresta* was the celebrated nun (afterwards canonized) Mechtildis von Hackeborn, Benedictine Convent of Helfta, or Helpede, near Eisenach, Prussian Saxony, which convent was commenced by the Emperor Albert, and completed by her brother Ludwig, who succeeded as Lord of Hackeborn. Her sister Gertrude was first Abbess. According to Lubin this Matilda died in 1300. She was a celebrated mystical writer, and her revelations are embodied in a book entitled *Della Grande Opera dell' Revelazioni*. This was translated into various languages, and Lubin thinks that Dante may well have seen it in the year 1300, either before, or soon afterwards.

*Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via:* In *The Alpine Journal*, 1880, p. 72, Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield gives a most interesting description of the beauties of the mountain meadows of the *Alpe di Mezza*, and the gorgeous masses of variegated flowers to be seen in them; and he thinks it must have been his personal experience of them that Dante described, in *Purg.* terms, the Valley of the Princesses, *Purg.* vi., and the glades where Matelda gathered flowers in the *Diziana Foresta*. "It took us two hours to walk across only a portion of the *Alpe*, a pasturage which stretches for miles west-

With my feet I stood still, but with my eyes I passed to the other side of the rivulet, to gaze in wonderment at the great variety of the luxuriant shrubs and there (on the opposite bank) appeared to me—even as there often appears quite suddenly something which from very wonder drives all other thoughts aside—a lady all alone, who went along singing, and selecting from among the flowers wherewith all her path was enamelled.

Dante felt like one who, while in deep thought, has his ideas swept away by some unexpected sight.

We now learn how Dante addresses Matelda, entreating her to draw nearer to the margin of the river in order that he may the better converse with her. Feeling himself purified, he has an intense longing to be brought nearer to the works of virtue that are represented by Matelda.

— “Deh, bella Donna, ch’ ai raggi d’ amore  
Ti scaldi, e io vo’ credere ai sembianti,<sup>9</sup>  
Che soglion esser testimon del core,

45

wards from the Col di Lana and Sett Sass. In mid-July it was glorious with flowers beyond all Alpine meadows I have ever seen. The Seasser Alp, which I crossed on the following day, was nothing to it. There were bays of rhododendrons, groves of gentians, lakes of blue forget-me-nots, lilies, tansies, and white, brilliant anemones, fragrant nigelleas, and I do not know what other plants which would have delighted a botanist by their rarity as much as these pleased me by their profusion. A reader of Dante could hardly help trying to repeat the description of the valley of the great princes on the Mountain of Purgatory.’ (*Purg.* vii, 79-81).

\* *sembianti*: Blanc says the word *sembiante* means features, and especially so here, because in the plural. Compare *Inf.* xxi, 145-6:

“Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gi.  
Turbato un poco d’ ira nel sembante.”

Scartazzini says of *sembianti*, that the principal features are the

Vegnati in voglia di trarreti avanti,"—

Diss' io a lei, "verso questa riviera,

Tanto ch' io possa intender che tu canti.

Tu mi fai rimembrar, dove e qual era

Proserpina nel tempo che perdette

La madre lei, ed ella primavera."—\*

50

and the smile, and quotes Dante's own words in the *Can-*  
te (at the opening of *Convito* iii) that begins, "Amor che  
la mente mi ragiona." *Str.* iv:

"Cose apparison nello suo aspetto,

Che mostran de' p' acer del Paradiso;

Dico negli occhi e nel suo dolce riso;

Che le vi reca Amor com' a suo loco."

Compare too *Vita Nuova*, § 15, sonnet viii, 32:

"Lo viso mostra lo color del core."

Compare also *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 71-90: "E in questi due luoghi dico  
che appariscono questi p' aceri, dicendo: 'Negli occhi  
del suo dolce riso.' Li quali due luoghi per bella similitudine  
possono appellare balconi della Donna che nello edificio del  
po abita, cioè l' Anima, perocchè quivi, avvegnachè quasi  
lata, spesse volte si dimostra. Dimostrasi negli occhi tanto  
infinita, che conoscer si può la sua presente passione, chi  
le la mira. Onde conoscissimosachè se, passoni siano proprie  
l' Anima umana, delle quali fa menzione il Filosofo nella sua  
*Metem.*, cioè *genata, celo, misericordia, incideri, amore e ver-*  
*gna*, di nulla di queste puote l' Anima essere passionata, che  
la finestra degli occhi non vegna la sembianza, se per grande  
là dentro non si chiude."

*primavera*. Both Moore and Scartazzini feel strongly that  
*primavera* here means the flowers of Spring that Proserpine  
has been gathering when seized by Pluto, and Scartazzini adds  
the following quotation from Ovid, *Metam.* v, 396-399, ex-  
cludes every doubt on the subject:

"Dea terenti mæsto

Et matrem, et comites, sed matrem sæpius, ore

Clamat; et, ut summa vestem lanarar ab ora,

Collecti flores tunicis cecidere remissis."

Compare also Virg. *Æn.* vi, 40, 41:

"Hic ver purpureum: varios hic flumina circum

Fundit humus flores."

Dante uses the word again to signify "flowers" in *Par.* xxx,  
63:

"E vidi lume in forma di riviera

" Ah beautiful Lady, who art basking in the rays of love, if I may trust to thy features, which are wont to be the witnesses of the heart, let the will come to thee," said I to her, "to draw so far forward towards this stream, that I may hear what thou art singing. 'Thou makest me remember where and what was Proserpine, at the time her mother lost her, and she (Proserpine, lost) the flowers of spring.'"

Dante means that Matelda looked as did Proserpine when Pluto first saw her gathering flowers in Sicily, at the time Ceres, her mother, lost her, and Proserpine lost the bright world, and the joy of the spring flowers.

Benvenuto considers that Dante wished to express to Matelda: "Thou seemest to me like a goddess beautiful and modest as Diana the goddess of chastity." Diana was called Luna on earth, and Hebe or Proserpine in Hell; Diana being properly her name in Olympus.

In beautiful language Dante now describes how Matelda complies with his request by turning towards him, and drawing near enough for the words of her song to reach him across the stream.

Come si volge, con le piante strette  
A terra ed intra se, donna che balli,  
E piede innanzi piede a pena mette,

Fu lo do di fulgore, intra due rive  
Dipinte di mirabil primavera."

The following is Buti's interpretation of the passage in *Commento*: "*Primavera* . . . , cioè lo prato, e la verdura, nella quale era a coghere fiori." And to this comment the *Gran Primavera* (§ 3) adds:

"E i fiori che a lei, rapita, caddero di grembo"

Scartazzini notices that in Tuscany the flower which is one of the first to show in spring, a kind of daisy, is called *primavera*.

Volsesi in sui vermigli ed in sui gialli *	55
Fioretti verso me, non altrimenti	
Che vergine che gli occhi onesti avvalli : †	
E fece i preghi miei esser contenti,	
Si appressando sè, che il dolce suono	
Veniva a me co' suoi intendimenti.‡	60

*vermigli . . . gialli* : See Buti on this : " Dice l' autore che li erano *vermelli e gialli* per dare ad intendere che li più virtuosi, in su quali, tegnano le loro affezioni le persone che sono date a le virtù attive, sono esempli che provano da carità, infiammanti d' amore di Dio e del prossimo ; e si finge che siano vermelli : e sono tutti puri e splendenti e l' oro e però finge che siano *gialli*." In the *Lettera della Beata Vergine*, alluded to above, and quoted by Lubin (*op. cit.* 55), the following mystic vision of Mechtild, von Hackeborn is cited, which bears a curious analogy with Dante's description of the flowers in the Earthly Paradise : " In questa visione la Beata Vergine le apparve vestita d' un abito di zafferano [*saffron coloured*], su cui vi erano rose rosse, le stesse vi erano intessute con arte maravigliosa rose rosse. Il color *giallo*, significa la di lei umiltà, colla quale è sottoposta a tutte le creature : le rose *rosse* la costanza di lei pazienza, la quale ella tiene e paziente tenne in ogni cosa : le rose d' oro l' amore, con cui ella faceva tutte le cose, terminava nell' amor di Dio."

*avvallare* : The primary meaning of *avvallare* is " *Fare ire a terra, a basso* Spingere o Mandare in giù." *Gran Dizionario*. Hence we get the signification of "to lower, to bend down." Compare *Purg.* xiii., 61-63, where blind beggars described lying crouched at the doors of churches, each bending down his head so as to rest it on his neighbour's shoulder.

" Così li ciechi, a cui la roba falla,  
Stanno ai perdoni a chieder lor bisogna,  
E P uno il capo sopra l' altro avvalla."

*avvallo* iv., 25, ll. 70-88, Dante in describing Modesty, refers to a passage in Statius (*Theb.* ii., 230-232) where the two maiden sisters of Adrastus, when brought into the presence of two strangers, modestly cast down their eyes :

" Ibant insignes vultuque habituque verendo,  
Candida purpureum fuisse saper ore ruborem  
De, et atque genas."

*intendimenti* : Tommaséio interprets this as *concetti*, and that in Montaigne we find *entendement* used where

so near, that the sweet sound  
me, and with it its meaning.  
Not only does the sound  
Dante, but he can also plain  
and she further increases  
raising her beauteous eyes  
his earnest longing to see Bea

Tosto che fu là dove l' e  
Bagnate già \* dall' e  
Di levar gli occhi s  
Non credo che spingend  
Sotto le ciglia a Ves  
Dal nigho, fuor di tr

"thought" is implied. He also c  
caccio, *Divine Comedy*, Nov. 9  
non potendo di esse comprende  
alcuno." Andreoli, followed by F  
prets. "Co' stori concetti, con le  
stinte."

\* *già*: Giuliani (Marganaha, qu  
we are not to take *già* in this pa  
ptiva, come parve al Lombardi  
di tempo, serve a dinotare un d  
commento," as in *Purg.* 1, 30:

"Là onde il carro già

*è mi fore dono - Commento Inf.*

Ella ridea dall' altra riva dritta,  
 Traendo \* più color † con le sue mani,  
 Che l' alta terra senza seme gitta. ‡

So soon as she had reached the very first spot where the grass is bathed by the waters of the fair stream, she did me the grace to raise her eyes. I do not believe that so bright a radiance shone beneath the eye lids of Venus when transfixed by her own son (in a way) quite contrary to his wont (*i.e.*, accidentally). Upon the right bank opposite smiling she stood, gathering with her hands yet more flowers of many hues which that elevated region produces without sowing.

Benvenuto says that this was the highest place in the world. Dante now relates that his desire of passing across the stream to join the unknown Lady was so great, that, although the rill was only three paces wide, he took as great a dislike to it as Leander did to the Hellespont, which separated him from his beloved Hero.

Tre passi § ci facea il fiume lontani ;

70

the Active Life, and whose eyes are full of Divine Love, than in the eyes of Venus, who was the type of pleasure in the things of this world. The fable here alluded to is taken from Ovid (*Metam.* x, 525-528).

\* *Traendo*, *i.e.* gathering yet more flowers than she had already gathered. A few read *trattando*, but among others this would have the sense of twisting or plating the flowers.

† *color* for *colori*: used here to mean flowers. Compare *Proverbia* l. 6 v. 1 l. 9.

‡ *Adspice quos submittat humus formosa colores.*

§ *senza seme gitta*: Compare Ovid, *Metam.* i. 107-108:

"Vex erat æternum, placidique tenentibus aëre  
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos ane semine flores."

§ *Tre passi*: These three paces, which separate Dante from Matelda, remind one of the three steps at the threshold of Pur-



gatory. (See *Purg.* iv. 94, et seq.)  
three obstacles by three acts of  
Confession, and Satisfaction, ri-  
tions from the faith. Scartazin  
shortenings as to faith that Da-  
completed. He thinks that betw  
Læthe is the Ante-Terrestrial Pa-  
but may not go beyond. The Te-  
the earth is bounded by Læthe, &  
every memory that is only earthl  
of Heaven; on the side of Earth  
bounded by F<sup>or</sup>getfulness, which restor  
any good deeds that it wrought  
treasures in Heaven.

\* *Nerxes*: Compare *D. Monstru-*  
*vero Nerxes Dari, filius et rex:*  
*multitudine mundi inuasit, cum*  
*maris Asiam ab Europa ditione*  
*parte superaverit. Cuius operis*  
*Pharsalis memorant. Can: en-*

† *Talis fama canit tumida*  
*Construxisse vias;*

et tandem miserabiliter ab inco-  
venire non potuit.

† *mareggiare*: This word in  
waters flow, as I translated the  
essentially refers to a boisterous  
renders the passage: "Per l'oc-  
acqua." It must not be forgotte  
danelle, is exceedingly strong.

‡ *quel* means the river Læthe.

§ *s'aperse*: This refers to the  
Children of Israel, that, of the p

The stream kept us three paces apart; but the Hellespont, at the spot where—even now (remembered as) a curb to all human pride—Xerxes crossed it, did not endure more hatred from Leander, because its waves roll tempestuously between Sestos and Abydos, than this (little stream was hated) by me, because it did not then and there cleave asunder.

Benvenuto says that Dante compares himself to Leander, Matelda to Hero, and the little stream to the Hellespont. Leander hates the sea, Dante hates the rill.

Up to this time Matelda has not spoken, but she now addresses herself to Dante and his companions. It is evident from her words that the three Poets had in their faces exhibited wonder that she should be laughing in so sacred a spot.

“ Voi siete nuovi,\* e forse perch' io rido,”

Cominc'ò ella,—“ in questo loco eletto

All' umana natura per suo nido,

Maravigliando † tienvi alcun sospetto ;

Ma luce rende il salmo *Delectasti,*‡

70

Che puote disnebbiar vostro intelletto.

“ Ye are new comers,” she began, “ and perchance some doubts may keep you marveling why I should smile in this place set apart for the cradle (*lit. nest*)

\* *nuovi*. Compare *Inf.* iv, 52, where Virgil says:

“ Io era nuovo in questo stato, etc.

† *Maravigliando*. Benvenuto's paraphrase of this passage is useful: “ Ibi, videlicet, tres poeta, *scilicet* novus, et novitas rei sunt admirationem, quasi dicit vos estis ignari hujus rei, et *maravigliando* *suspello* tenet *maravigliando*, quia creditis quod semper sapit [sic] *delectasti*, ut in *delectasti* paulo ante mihi, *delectasti* *in rido*, cum rison non videatur laudabilis in muliere perfecta etiam in loco perfecto.”

‡ *Delectasti*. “ For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work. I will triumph in the works of thy hands.” (*Psalm* cxl. 4.)

of the human race ; but the psalm *Delectasti* affords the light that can uncloud your intellect.

The words of the Psalm will make it clear to them why Matelda can be glad and rejoice in this sacred spot. Her laughter is pure and holy, because inspired by the sweet loveliness around her ; nor can sin, that was first committed in the Earthly Paradise, and which caused Man to be driven forth from it, disturb its quietude in any way whatsoever.

She addresses herself to Dante personally, having noticed that, whereas he had before been walking behind his companions, he is now in the front of the group.

E tu che sei dinanzi, e mi pregasti,  
Di s' altro vuoi udir, ch' io venni presta  
Ad ogni tua quest'on, tanto che basti."

And thou who standest foremost, and who didst make a request to me, say if thou wouldst hear anything else, for I came prompt to (answer) every one of thy questions, so far as may suffice."

*Division III.* Dante now puts to Matelda a question about the wind and the water, the existence of which seem to him almost impossible in a place which is situated at a higher elevation than the Gate of Purgatory.

Statius had told him that on the Mountain of Purgatory there was neither wind, nor rain, nor frost, nor dew, nor snow, nor clouds, nor lightning. (c. xxi, 40-57). This information is now apparently contradicted by his finding water in the Terrestrial Paradise, and hearing the breeze rustling through the leaves of the forest.

— "L'acqua,"—diss' io,— "e il suon della foresta,  
Impugna dentro a me novella fede  
Di cosa, ch' io udr' contraria a questa."—

"The water," said I, "and the murmuring of the forest, militate against a recent belief (unplanted) within me (by the words of Statius) about something that I heard contrary to this."

Matekla promises to solve Dante's doubts, and explains to him that the winds up there are due to different causes from those which prevail on earth, and originate in the rapid gyrations of the heavens, which cause certain movements in the air that resemble winds.

Ond' ella . . . "Io dicerò come procede  
Per sua cagion ciò ch' ammirar ti face,  
E purghero \* la nebbia che ti fiede. 90  
Lo sommo Ben, † che solo esso a sè piace,  
Fecce l' uom buono, ‡ e a bene, e questo loco  
D'ede per arra § a lui d' eterna pace.

\* *purgherà la nebbia*, et seq.: Compare several sentences in *De Mon.* 3, 1, ll. 36-41. "Verum . . . ut sol æstivus qui dissectis nebula matutinis onens luculentus irradiat . . . lucem correctionis effundere mavult, ad dirimpendum vincula ignorantia, etc." And farther on, ll. 52-58: "Nam per hoc . . . non solum ab oculis Regum et Principum . . . ignorantie nebula eluetur." Compare also *Inf.* vii, 70, 71:

"O creature sciocche,  
Quanta ignoranza è quella che vi offende!"

† *Lo sommo Ben*: "Deus est summum bonum simpliciter, et non solum in aliquo genere vel ordine rerum. . . Oportet enim bonum sit in Deo, sicut in prima causa omnium non diversa, quod sit in eo excellentissimo modo; et propter hoc dicitur summum bonum." St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars 1, q. vi, art. 2.

‡ *Fecce l' uom buono*: "Iddio, che è sommo bene, fece Adamo buono, siccome buono artefice; e fecelo a buono fine, cioè a fine di dargli luogo glorioso ed eterno; e questo Paradiso terreno li diede per arra del pagamento, ch' egli intendea di fare del Paradiso celestiale" (*L' Ottimo Commento*).

§ *arra*: Scartazzini says that God had destined the Terrestrial

thee to wonder (*i.e.*, the wind  
will clear away the mist wh  
The Supreme Good (*i.e.*, God  
in Himself alone, created M  
tined him) for good, and best  
as an earnest of eternal peac  
Man made but a short soj  
default he exchanged innocen  
times for lamentation and sor

Benvenuto remarks that our  
rest without toil, safety with

Paradise as the earnest-money and  
Heaven, for the fruition of which  
*Inf.* xv, 94: "Non è nuova agli  
which Ben commenting, says: "3  
è la caparra, che c'è tennezer del pad  
is *arrêce* plural). Zambaldi, *Icon*  
Città di Castello, 1889, p. 71, E) se  
viated from *arrêce*, a Phoenician  
into Greek and then into Latin, the  
in advance to the seller, and which  
the contract. This sum in moder  
which seems a hybrid compound of

\* *qui dimorò sexo*. According to  
posed Adam and Eve to have only  
cence for five hours, and in Paradi  
It was thought that God placed Ad  
hour, and gave him his comman

war, health without fatigue, freedom without slavery, and, more than all, life without death; but the more happy they were before their fall, the more unhappy were they after it.

Matelda next shows how God, in order that the newly created Man might enjoy in peace the good that had been prepared for him, gave him an abode which had an immunity from all permutation.

Perchè il turbar,\* che sotto da sè fanno †  
L' esalazion dell' acqua e della terra,  
Che quanto posson retro al calor vanno,  
All' uomo non facesse alcuna guerra,  
Questo monte sano verso 'l ciel tanto ;  
E libero n' è d' indi ove si setta.

100

In order that the disturbance which the exhalations of the water and of the earth occasion down below— which, so far as they are able, ascend after the heat— should not bring any annoyance to Man, this mountain was made to rise to so great an elevation towards heaven; and is (consequently) free from

\* *turbar*. " Il turbamento che nelle basse regioni della terra avviene per le meteore a spesse e ventose, atti riesce: ottimamente dal Poeta all' esalazione dell' acqua e della terra, cioè all' evaporazione; la quale non dice che, quanto può, va dietro al calore, cioè, dal calore dipende, giusta leggi opportune. Anche che, poi, quel turbamento non molestasse l' uomo, che doveva, innocente, essere felice anche su questa terra, suppone il Poeta che l' ablazione ai nostri purgatori destinata si esse così grandemente verso il cielo, tanto da non vi esser possibili quei turbamenti." (Antonella in *Tommaso's Commentary*).

† *sotto da sè fanno*: " idest, infra altitudinem istius montis, quia ab introitu veri purgatorii supra non sunt " (Benvenuto). "sotto a questo monte. (Andrech). "Altrché il turbamento, che sotto di sè appiè del monte, è prodotto dalle esalazioni dell' acqua e della terra, etc. (Frat. ced.). "Sotto da sè, la particella sè si riferisce a questo monte, del verso 101; e dice da sè . . . perchè il punto si determina coll' espressione indi ove si setta il luogo della porta del purgatorio) è il termine onde partir dee il pensiero di quello che s' esprime." (Biagioli).

... of the gravity of  
lightest vapours to ascend u  
that these had a natural ten

Up to this point Matelda  
had already heard from Stat  
to explain to him the origin  
the foliage, and of the water

Benvenuto thinks that, I  
supposed to say: "O beaut  
ficiently explained to me w  
do not extend as far as th  
not what I ask, I want to  
wind up here that causes th  
fore Matelda answers Dante

Or, perchè in circuito \* t  
L' aer si volge con la  
Se non gli è rotto il :

---

\* *Or, perchè in circuito*, etc. : S  
ing to the astronomical notions of  
Dante, the earth remains fixed in  
The air revolves with *la prima*  
*Mobile*, and with all the heavens b  
for the revolution of the *Primum*  
it to revolve also. The vapours th  
to the air down here a different m

In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta \*  
 Nell' aer vivo, tal moto percote,  
 E fa sonar la selva perch' è folta ;

Now seeing that the whole atmosphere revolves in a circuit together with the first sphere that revolves (*i.e.*, the *Primum Mobile*), so long as its gyration meets with no interruption at any point, on this elevated spot, which is wholly disengaged in the pure air, this movement strikes, and makes the forest, because it is thick set, give forth a sound.

It means that this elevated plateau, on which the rest is situated, is open and not locked in by other mountains, and the wind that exists here is nothing more than a movement of the air.

Matelda next shows Dante how fruits are generated in the Terrestrial Paradise. All the trees there have

In all the many Commentators he has consulted interpret *la selva* as the *Primum Mobile*. Antonelli alone thinks it means the Sphere of Fire, but Scartazzini observes that Dante adheres to the Ptolemaic system, according to which the ninth sphere, or the *Primum Mobile*, revolves with the greatest velocity round the earth in twenty four hours, and communicates its motion to the eight other lower spheres contained within it.

*Che tutta è disciolta Nell' aer vivo*: "Già si è detto che la porta in su il monte si dischiude nella region pura d'aire, che dice *aere vivo* per essere d'ogni terrestre vapore libero [unburdened]." (Biagnoli). Witte reads here *che in lo è disciolta* instead of *che tutta è disciolta*. Antonelli *Supplemento* says that Dante uses the expression *vivo* to signify that the air was absolutely pure, and consequently cut off from any exhalation of the region below the Gate of Purgatory. In reason Dante assigns to the sound given forth by the forest merits consideration, as showing that the Poet was acquainted with the reflexion and concentration of sounds through the medium of trees; effects that are produced by trees according as they are more or less densely packed together, and according as by such dense packing they form, as it were, walls in which sound is reflected and reverberates. If Dante was expert in Optics, he was not far behind in Acoustics.



those parts that are inhabited  
there deposits in the different c  
priate to them, and plants an  
mankind never sowed the see  
these phenomena, they need  
see the growth of new plants,  
they are unacquainted. The w  
Paradise is filled with seed of  
forth such fruits and flowers as  
in the Hemisphere inhabited by

E la percossa pianta \* tante  
Che della sua virtute P a  
E quella poi girando int  
E l'altra terra,† secondo ch'  
Per sè e per suo ciel, co  
Di diverse virtù diverse

---

\* *pianta*: Benvenuto thinks that  
forest. Tommaséo says: "*Pianta*.  
I have translated it "every tree."

† *l'altra terra*: Some Commentato  
the earth," others "the other terres  
that inhabited by Man. Whichever is  
the meaning is the same, namely, tha  
ties of the Terrestrial Paradise are v  
rious wind to those parts of the eart  
being scattered on the soil there. spe

And every tree when smitten has such power, that with its (generative) properties it impregnates the air, and the air in its turn (for) revolving scatters them (the seeds) in every direction: and the rest of the Earth, according as it is adapted either by itself (i.e., by its soil) or by its climate, conceives and produces different trees possessing different properties.

Benvenuto says that the same thing is to be seen in nature constantly: for some odoriferous trees impregnate the surrounding air with their aroma, and the winds can convey that aromatized air to some other fit to conceive such a tree, and there it spontaneously shoots forth, and sometimes the wind will carry the seed of the tree to some far distant land, as we may find at times a purely domestic tree growing in the forest, or a sylvan tree growing in a garden.

Benvenuto remarks that, when men see a phenomenon, they marvel if they know not the cause; but as soon as they know the cause, they cease to do so: therefore Dante need no longer marvel, now that he knows that the movement of the air causes the generation of the trees.

Non parrebbe di là poi maraviglia,

115

Udito questo, quando alcuna pianta

is sometimes applied to vegetative generation, and besides the text passage quotes from Tasso, *Le Sette Giornate del Mondo Nuovo*, Firenze, 1724, 3:

"L'arido seno indi s'impingua  
Della terra, che per conca e figlia  
Tante si vante e si legge altre forme  
Di piante, d'anima, di non e d'erbe."

The present text Buti comments: "*Figlia*, cioè produce lo frutto, come figliuolo.

or other takes root there with  
And thou must know that th  
in thou art, is full of every  
itself fruit such as is never  
earth.

*Division IV.* Matelda, hav  
as to the origin of the wind i  
dise, proceeds to tell him abou

---

\* *Senza seme palese*: "Noi veggim  
[shoot forth] in luoghi, dove non si  
come sulle torri, su' tetti delle case,  
non meraviglia adunque: che la v  
impregnata, la qual *si volge in circu*  
da lei, può per caso aver colà ge  
alcun de' semi a noi noti." (Cesari).

"Le cose generate, che produ  
Con seme, e senza seme il

† *semenza*: Scartazzini says it is  
Dante meant trees, since they have  
gathered [*si schianta*] from the tri  
Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxiv, s

"De' frutti a lui del para  
Di tal sapor ch' a suo  
Scusa non sono i due p  
Se per quei fur sì poco

‡ *non si schianta*: Not only fruit  
gathered there, but also those unl

l'acqua che vedi non surge di vena \*

Che ristori vapor che giel converta, †

Come fiume ch' acquista e perde lena ; ‡

Ma esce di fontana salda e certa,

Che tanto dal voler di Dio riprende,

125

Quant' ella versa da due parti aperta.

Water which thou seest wells not up from a spring

Restored by vapour which the frost condenses,

River that now gains, now loses its vigour ; but

Cometh forth from a source both sure and unfading,

Which receives back again, by the will of God, as

As it pours away when divided into two streams.

Then describes how the two diverging

Lethæ and Eunoe, have different names, and

*surge di vena, etc.* : Scartazzini speaking of Dante's doubt, namely, as to how there could be water in the Paradise without rain, says that the solution of it is found in *Genesis*, ii, 5, 6. "The Lord God had not caused rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the face of the ground." Of *vena* the *Gran Dizionario*, "Capoletto naturale sotterraneo per cui scorre l'acqua." *Par.* vii, 99.

"Quasi torrente ch' alta vena preme."

Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. iii, Nov. 1 : "Nel mezzo prato era una fonte . . . non so se da natural vena o bsa . . . gittava tanta acqua e si alta verso il cielo . . . ho avuta macinato un malino."

*ripari vapor che giel converta.* Compare *Purg.* xiv, 31-35 :

"dal principio suo (dov' è si progno

L' alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro,

Che in pochi lochi passa oltra quel segno)

Non li ve si rende per ristoro

Di quel che il ciel della marina aseruga," etc.

It says that Dante is alluding to the theory expressed

*Purg.* v, 109-111, that water is generated by condensation

as it is in the air and is collected

Quell' umido vapor che in acqua riede,

Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie."

*ch' acquista e perde lena.* "Lena, § 4, È detto di fiume

lora, Dante, *Purg.* xxviii, 123, cioè, secondo che è

vero di acque." (*Gran Dizionario*)

Eunoe si chiama, &c.

Se quinci e quindi po

A tutt' altri sapori esto †

On this side (the left) it descends  
away from one the memory;  
right side) it restores that of  
on the left Lethe, so, upon the  
Eunoe, and it is not operative  
its beneficial effect), if it be  
side and then on that. The  
Eunoe) surpasses all others.

Observe, says Benvenuto, that  
sary to the man who aims at  
place, forgetfulness of what  
longer come into his mind

\* *Quinta Lete*: On the West side  
on which side Dante had entered  
Oblivion, which in ancient myth  
through the Infernal Regions, but  
forth from the summit of the  
through the Terrestrial Paradise,  
of the mountains, disappeared through  
Dante and Virgil emerged into the  
*Inf.* xxxi, 133, and *Purg.* 3, 43,  
the subterranean water-course, at  
of the Earth. The word *Lethe*  
and signifies the oblivion of  
Knowledge or remembrance of  
river Eunoe.

embrance of what is good, which will not allow him  
sin any more.

It is not only necessary to forget past sins and ab-  
sin from present ones, but also is it necessary to  
work active good.

Both Benvenuto and Buti begin a new paragraph  
in the middle of the *tersina*, and Buti says it is  
digression. Benvenuto remarks that Matelda now  
gives a most powerful conclusion to show the happi-  
ness of this enchanting region. And to catch Dante's  
attention she promises him that this conclusion is  
spoken by her as a special mark of favour to himself.

Ed avvegna ch' assai possa esser sazia

La sete tua,\* perch' io pia non ti scopra, 135

Darotti un corollario + ancor per grana,

Nè credo che il mio dir ti sia men caro,

Se oltre promission I teco si spazia.

And although it may be that thy thirst (for know-  
ledge) is sufficiently sated without my making further  
revelations to thee. I will in addition give thee a  
corollary in token of favour, nor do I think that my  
speech will be less prized by thee, if it extends  
beyond my promise.

*La sete tua.* Compare *Purg.* xxi, 1.

\*La sete natural che mai non sazia, etc.

*Corollario:* Compare Boethius, *Phil. Consol.* lb. iii, Prox. x.  
Super hæc, inquit, igitur, veluti geometra solent, demonstratis  
positis, aliquid inferre, quæ *κορολάρια* ipsi vocant, ut ego  
quæ tibi velat corollariam dabo. . . . Et pulchrum, inquam,  
atque pretiosum, sive *κορολάρια*, sive corollariam, vocari *πρωτον*.  
Benvenuto says that a *corollario* is the final conclusion, which  
is given after others as the conclusion of *catascandis*. The  
word is derived from *corolla*, a little crown, which, in disputa-  
tion was given to the victor.

*oltre promission:* Matelda had only promised Dante to  
show him the origin of the wind and the water in the Ter-  
restrial Paradise.

In il. 83, 84, Matelda, addressing herself specially to Dante, told him that she had come ready to answer every one of his questions, so far as was sufficient for him. She has done so, and she now tells him that to clinch and confirm what she has said in answer to his questions, she will volunteer a further explanation about which he has not asked her.

In explaining her corollary, she remarks how the ancient poets may possibly, in describing the Golden Age, have imagined this blessed spot, in which, says Scartazzini, the Golden Age really did exist for Man. Here he was placed in a state of innocence and surrounded by all the beauties and delights of Nature.

Quelli che anticamente poetaro \*  
 L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice,  
 Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro. †  
 Qui fu innocente l' umana radice ; ‡  
 Qui primavera è sempre, ed ogni frutto :

\* *Quelli che anticamente poetaro l' età dell' oro* : Over the poet who was foremost in describing the Golden Age. *Met. iii. 1, 89-112.*

† *In Parnaso esto loco sognaro* : Daniello, commenting on this passage, draws attention to the opening lines of the *Enn.* to the *Satires* of Persius :

"Nec fonte labra proliu caballino,  
 Neque in bisipiti somniasse Parnasso  
 Memini."

‡ *l' umana radice* : This means Adam and Eve, the parents of the human race. Compare *Gen. i. 26* (*Ubi dei "tuus" tua et generatio tua de terra Chanaan.*) And *Purg. xv. 25* quoted above :

"Io fui radice della mala pianta," *et seq.*  
 And *Par. xv. 88, 89*, where Cacciaguida, Dante's great-grandfather says to him :

"O fronda mia, in che io compiacemini  
 Pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice."

Nettare è questo di che ciascun \* dice."—

They who in ancient times celebrated in song the Golden Age and its happy state, perchance upon Parnassus dreamed of this spot. Here did the parents (*lit. root*) of Mankind dwell in innocence; here is there perpetual spring, and every fruit; this (nill) is the nectar of which every one of them speaks."

Dante evidently thinks that Matelda's corollary rather applies to Virgil and Statius, who, more than himself, *poetaron dell' età dell' oro*, and he looks round to see what impression the last words have made upon them.

Io mi volsi dietro allora tutto 145

A' miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso †

Udito avevan l' ultimo costrutto :

Poi alla bella Donna tornai il viso.

I turned me then right round towards my Poets, and noted that they had heard the concluding words with a smile: then to the beautiful Lady I turned back my eyes.

This is not the last time that Dante is to see Virgil's face. He looks upon it once more. See Canto *xxix*, L. 55, *et seq.*

\* *ciascun* - This does not mean simply everybody, but every one of the poets *che anticamente poetaro*.

† *con riso udito avevan*: Virgil and Statius had heard with satisfaction, and smiled the approval of these last words of Matelda: "*l' ultimo costrutto*, l' ultima costruzione, l' ultima conclusione, e l' ultime parole, che furono che quelli che anticamente poetaro, si havevano in Parnaso sognato l' aureo secolo, quale veramente era stato in cima il monte del Purgatorio, nel terrestre Paradiso." (Daniello).

END OF CANTO XXVIII.



—  
THE TERRESTRIAL PAR  
MYSTIC PROCESSION.—I

IN the last Canto Dante  
the Terrestrial Paradise, w  
to him. He now tells l  
passes before him, which w  
whole of the books of the C

Benvenuto divides the C

*In the First Division,*  
relates how Matelda move  
the river Lethe, bidding l  
she drew his attention to a  
shone in the forest.

*In the Second Division*  
describes the Seven Golden  
ards of the approaching Ch

*In the Third Division,*  
describes the glorious Arm  
with its Leaders.

and the water in this sacred region, recommences her singing. In l. 80 of the last Canto we read that she was singing the Psalm *Delectasti*, and broke off to listen to Dante's doubts. She now resumes with another psalm.

Cantando come donna innamorata,<sup>2</sup>  
Continuò col fin di sue parole : †  
*Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata.*‡

<sup>2</sup> *Una innamorata*: Scartazzini says that Dante, in the last portion of his meeting with Matelda, has imitated a *Ballata* his friend Guido Cavalcanti addressed to a shepherdess

"In un boschetto trova: pastorella  
Piu che stella bella al mio parere.

Capegli avca benedetti, e recutelli,  
E gli occhi pien d'amor, cera rosata :  
Con sua verghetta pasturava agnelli ;  
E scalza, e di rugiada era bagnata :  
*Cantava come fosse innamorata,*  
Era adornata di tutto piacere."

See *Rime Antiche*, Venetia, 1532, p. 70 ; or *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Firenze, 1816, vol. II, pp. 283, 284.

† *Spa di sua parole*: Tommaso interprets this "Appena finite le sue parole," and Daniello explains that the last words Matelda had been

"Nette e questo di che ciascun dice."

Dante had thereupon turned round, and had seen Virgil and the others smiling in approval, but Matelda went on at once with her singing without any intermission. One may perhaps be reminded of a contrast between Matelda here, at the end of her speech, devoutly pronouncing a blessing, and the passage at the beginning of *Inf* xvi, where the robber Vanni Fucci concludes his speech with a hideous blasphemy. Dante is quite as consistent, in his contrasts as in his similes.

‡ *Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata*: The full text of this in *Augustinus. Beati quorum remissa sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata*. This is verse 1 of the Penitential Psalm xxxi, which is one of the Psalms for Matins in the Roman Breviary. In the Authorized Version (Psalm cxvii), "Blessed is he whose iniquity is forgiven, whose sin is covered." It may well be seen in *Delectasti* (which is in verse 5 of Psalm xci in the Authorized Version), as rightly indicating the joy of which the latter Psalm is the utterance "Quia delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua ; in operibus manuum tuarum exsultabo."

of the preceding Canto,  
*l' umana radice*, she co  
*quorum tecta sunt peccata*,  
the occasion, as Dante is  
river that takes away th  
though she would say to  
hast been found worthy  
blessedness."

Dante now describes t  
bank of the stream.

E come ninfe \* che si  
Per le salvatiche  
Qual di veder, qu  
Allor si mosse contra

---

\* *E come ninfe*, etc. : Biagi  
was exalted by some peculiarity  
walking, which must certainly  
like, and superior to the gait o  
rarch describe the walk of his L

"Non era l' andar suo c  
Ma d' angelica forma."  
So in *Æn.* i, 405, is the goddess  
"Vera incessu patuit dei

Su per la riva, ed io pari di lei,  
Picciol passo con picciol seguitando.

And like the nymphs, that were wont to roam in solitude through the sylvan shades, some desirous of seeing, others of avoiding the sun, so did she then move on counter to the stream, going up along the bank, and I (moved) evenly with her, following her short paces with paces equally short.

Benvenuto remarks that the poets, by the Nymphs or water-goddesses, wished to portray the various wonderful powers of God over the waters, shown in so many ways; according to many authors, they figuratively represent wise and good men, being thus a fair type of Matelda and Dante advancing with slow and dignified steps up the course of the stream, under the shadow of the lofty trees.

Dante next tells how the rill took a sudden bend, so that he finds himself facing the east.

Non eran cento trai i suo' passi e i miei, 10  
Quando le ripe igualmente dier volta,  
Per modo ch' a levante mi rendei.\*

\* *a levante mi rendei*: In a note in Tommasé's commentary Antonelli observes, that Dante, when he reached the top of the pathway, had the East facing him. Being *vago di cercar dentro l'interno*, it is natural to suppose that, as he penetrated into the equis of the holy forest, he should turn in different directions. He walked upstream along the bank of the Lethe, which flowed from its source towards the West, but with many bends; the part up which he had last been walking had a bend towards the North, and Dante had been therefore facing the South. Now a sudden turn to the left brings him back to face the East, and Antonelli adds: "Nuovo modo d'indicare geometricamente la variazione d'orientamento d'un viaggiatore, e l'andamento d'un corso d'acqua, che deve irrigare una superficie circolare, senza uscirne da essa, imponendosi evidentemente da tal condizione un numero conveniente di svolte e di piegature nel canale, e un assorbimento d'acqua per la nutrizione delle piante in ugual misura di quella che viene somministrata dalla sorgente,

that I again faced the ea  
way continued far, when  
round towards me, sayin  
listen."

Benvenuto explains this  
yet walked far beyond  
taken.

Dante now begins to de  
and points out that the  
between the Church Mili  
against the Church's ene  
umphant, which rejoices in  
obtained. Of the latter  
description in the *Paradis*  
an account in this passag  
He now relates how he sav  
him, and at first imagine  
lightning, until he perceiv  
thunder.

---

giacchè qui non si ammette la e  
facing the East when he reach  
know from Canto xxvii, 133, whi

"Vedi là il sol che in fro

\* *tutta a me si torse* · Nearly

Ed ecco un lustro \* subito trascorse  
 Da tutte parti per la gran foresta,  
 Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse. †  
 Ma perchè il balenar, come vien, resta. ‡  
 E quel durando più e più splendeva, 20  
 Nel mio pensar dicea :—"Che cosa è questa?"— §

And behold a bright lustre ran suddenly through the  
 vast forest on every side, so brilliant that it set me  
 to doubt of lightning. But since the lightning dis-  
 appears as quickly as it comes, and thus getting  
 more and more brilliant, in my thought I said :  
 "What thing is this?"

*lustro* : Compare *Par.* xiv, 67-68 :

"Ed ecco intorno di chiarezza pari  
 Nascere un lustro sopra quel che v'era."

Stazzini and Tommasèo suggest that Dante must have had  
 his mind, when he wrote these passages, Virgil's lines in  
 ix, 110, 111 :

"Hic primum nova lux oculis offulsit, et ingens  
 Visus ab Aurora cœlum transcurrere nubus."

Dante again has been imitated by two authors : Fazio degli  
 Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. 1, cap. ii, terz. 19 :

"Agh occhi un lume subito m' apparve,  
 Quai par balen, che vien per l' aere acceso."

Freni, *Quadriregno*, lib. 1, cap. v, terz. 6 :

"Giuno per dimostrar, ch' ella l' udisse,  
 Mandò un lustro, e un' a lor discese,  
 Come balen, che subito venisse."

*mi mise in forse* : Compare *Inf* viii, 109, 110 :

"Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona  
 Lo dolce padre, ed io runango in forse."

*Par.* xii, 40, 41 :

"Quando lo imperador che sempre regna,  
 Provvide alla milizia ch' era in forse."

*resta*. Although the primary meaning of *restare* is "to re-  
 main," and secondarily "to cease," I find in the *Gram. Dizio-*  
*ario*, § 7, that, in this particular passage, it has the sense of "to  
 appear [spuntare]," and "to take itself off [dileguarsi]".

*Che cosa è questa?* Compare *Par.* xx, 82, 83 :

"Ma della bocca : 'Che cose son queste?'  
 Mi pinse con la forza del suo peso."

Benvenuto thinks Dante would hardly dare to ask Matelda what it was he saw, and that he is obliged to confine himself to inward cogitation.

The light proceeds from the seven candlesticks, carried at the head of the procession. A soft sweet strain falls on Dante's ear. The Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Doctors, and Saints, filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit, are chanting their prophecies, prayers, psalms, and orations. The scene with its glorious accessories, so enchants Dante, that he cannot repress an outburst of indignation against Eve, on thinking of the fatal effects to Man of her fall.

Ed una melodia dolce \* correva  
Per l' aer luminoso ; onde buon zelo  
Mi fece riprender l'ardimento d' Eva,<sup>†</sup>  
Che, là dove ubbidia la terra e il cielo,

\* *melodia dolce*: We see by ll. 82-87, that this melody is the song of the four-and-twenty Elders. Compare *Par.* xiv, 131.

† *Così dal lumi che li m' appariva*  
S' accogliea per la croce una melode,  
Che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno

† *Pardimento di Eva*: Statim notices that, whereas in the passage Dante censures Eve, in *Purg.* xxx, 37, we read the Mystic Procession censure Adam. But St. Thomas *Summ. Theol.* pars. ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. clix, art. 2 determines that the sin of the woman was greater than that of the man. "Videtur quod peccatum Adæ fuerit gravius quam peccatum Eve. Dicit enim ad *Tim.* ii, 14, quod *Adam non ut solus, mulier autem inducta in peccationem sui* . . . quod peccatum mulieris fuerit ex ignorantia, peccatum vero viri ex certâ scientia . . . Si consideremus conditionem sonæ utraque, scilicet mulieris et viri, peccatum viri est gravius quam erat peccatum mulieris. Sed quantum ad peccatum peccati utraque peccatum æqualiter dicitur, quia utrumque peccatum fuit superbia . . . Sed quantum ad spiritum peccati gravius peccavit mulier, triplici ratione. Primum quod major elatio fuit mulieris quam viri, mulier enim creditur ver-

Femmina sola,\* e pur testè formata,  
 Non sofferse di star sotto alcun velo ;  
 Sotto il qual, se devota fosse stata,  
 Avrei quelle ineffabili delizie  
 Sentite prima, e più lunga fiata.†

30

And a sweet melody was borne along through the illumined air, whereat a righteous indignation made me upbraid the temerity of Eve, who in that place where Earth and Heaven were obedient (to the Divine Will), she, a woman, alone, and but newly formed, could not endure to remain under any veil (i.e. in ignorance); under which, if she had submissively remained, I should sooner have tasted those ineffable delights, and (I should have) much longer enjoyed them.

*Division II.* Dante now describes the approach of the seven golden candlesticks, the standards of the

esse quod serpens suavit, scilicet quod Deus prohibuerit lignum, ne ad eius similitudinem pervenirent; et ita dum per esum fructu vitæ similitudinem consequi voluit, superbia ejus ad Deum se erexit quod contra Dei voluntatem aliquid voluit obtinere. Sed ut non creditur hoc esse verum unde non voluit consequi suam similitudinem contra Dei voluntatem, sed in hoc superbia quod voluit eum consequi per scripturam. Secundo, quia non solum ipsa peccavit, sed etiam viro peccatum suggestit unde peccavit et in Deum et in proximum. Tertio, in hoc quod peccatum viri diminutum est ex hoc quod in peccatum ejus sensit amabilem quendam benevolentiam, qua per eumque fit ut non delectatur Deas, ne homo ex amico fiat inimicus, quod eum peccare non debuisset divina sententia justus exitus indicavit, ut Augustinus dicit *Super Gen. ad litt. lib. xi. cap. ult. à med.* Et patet quod peccatum mulieris fuit gravius quam peccatum viri."

\* *Femmina sola* Andreoli explains this by saying that, being alone, the only woman, she could not have the excuse of having been tempted by emulation, or the desire to excel over other women.

† *più lunga fiata*: Others read *poi lunga fiata*. If Eve had not sinned, Dante would have tasted these delights from his birth onwards; for the Terrestrial Paradise would have remained the abode of the human race.



Church Militant, and supposed to typify the Seven-fold Holy Spirit, or, according to others, the Seven Sacraments of the Roman Church.

Ment' io m' andava tra tante primizie \*  
 Dell' eterno piacer, tutto sospeso,  
 E disioso † ancora a più letizie,  
 Dinanzi a noi, tal quale un foco acceso  
 Ci si fe' l' aer, ‡ sotto i verbi rami,  
 E il dolce suon per canto era già inteso §

Whilst amid such wonderful first fruits of the Bliss of Eternity I was walking along, all entrapt, and eager for still greater joys, in front of us under the green boughs we saw the whole atmosphere glow just like an enkindled fire, and the sweet sound could not be distinguished as a chant.

Dante, before entering upon this new and lofty *terzo*, invokes the favour and aid of the Muses. He has

\* *tante primizie*. The Terrestrial Paradise is a first-fruit of the Celestial. The blessedness of this life is a first-fruit of the blessedness of Life Eternal. I prefer to take *tante* in the sense of "so great," "so wonderful," which after all is its primary signification; rather than as "so many" as it is interpreted by several commentators and translators.

† *disioso*: Dante had heard frequently from Virgil (see *Inf.* 24) soon as he reached the top of the mountain, he showed Beatrice (see *Purg.* vi. 46, et seq.) Therefore his disioso may be understood, expecting, as he does, to see her appear at any moment.

‡ *Ci si fe' l' aer*. *lit.* "The air made itself to us" or "we perceived the air," etc.

§ *il dolce suon per canto era già inteso*: "Vult dicere quod propter propinquitatem apparuit illam melodiam esse certissimum. Et nota quod bene assimilat istum splendorem quo veniebat a Spiritu sancto, qui ubique figuratur in igne. Venuto."

"Veni creator spiritus,	Qui paracletus dicens
Mentes tuorum visita,	Donum Dei altissimum.
Imple superna gratia	Fons vivas, igneus, cariss.
Quae tu creasti pectora.	Et spiritualis unctio."

(Hymnus in die Pentecostes.)

always studied to do them honour ; and feels entitled now to ask their help.

O sacrosante Vergini, se fami,\*  
 Freddi, o vigilie mai per voi soffersti,  
 Cagion mi sprona ch' io mercè ne chiami.

Or convien ch' Elicono † per me versi, 40  
 Ed Urania ‡ m' aiuti col suo coro,  
 Forti cose a pensat mettere in versi.

O most holy Virgins, if for you I have ever endured hunger, cold, or vigils, the occasion spurs me on to claim my reward for them from you. Now must Helicon (pour forth) its waters for me, and Urania with her choir aid me to put into verse things hard to think out.

\* *se fami, etc.* In Filippo Villani's *Vita Dantis* the following passage occurs: "Tanto perno-scende poesis amore flagravit, ut dies noctesque nil aliud cogitaret." In *Convito*, tr. iii, c. 1, ll. 16-20, Dante writes himself, "O quante notti furono, che gli occhi dell'altre persone chiusi dormendo si posavano, che li miei nell'abitacolo del mio amore fisamente miravano." See also Boccaccio *Vita di Dante*: "Non curando nè caldo, nè freddo, nè vigilie, nè digiuni, nè niuno altro corporale disagio, con assiduo studio divenne a conoscere della divina essenza e delle altre separate intelligenze quello che per umano ingegno qui se ne può comprendere."

† *Elicono*: Helicon, a mountain, or rather a mountain range, in Berozia, was celebrated in ancient Greece as the abode of the Muses, who were hence called Heliconiades. On its slopes were the famous fountains of Agamippe and Hippocrene, whose waters were supposed to give poets inspiration. Dante names Helicon here almost as if it were a fountain, but he must be understood as entreating Helicon, the mountain, to be liberal to him of the fountains that take their source in it. Compare the line of Virgil, *Æn.* vii, 641; and repeated in *Æn.* x, 163:

"Pandite nunc Helicon, decem, cantusque movete."

Compare also the invocation to the Muses with that at the beginning of the *Purgatorio*, i, 7, 8, and *Inf.* ii, 7.

‡ *Urania*, the Muse of Astronomy or things celestial, is represented as crowned with stars and robed in azure. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, vii, 1.

In the next fifteen lines, from v. 43 to v. 57, Dante explains what it was that caused the light to shine forth so brilliantly, and what were the voices that he heard singing.\*

Poco più oltre sette arbori d'oro\*

\* Scartazzini explains that Dante's vision of the Mystic Procession in the Terrestrial Paradise may be divided into three principal parts. The first (xxix-xxx, 33) shows how the Church, as a divine institution, or the ideal of the Church, comes to meet the penitent sinner who is earnestly seeking salvation, and does so as the depository of divine mysteries and means of grace. In the second part (from xxxi, 16, to xxxv, 12) Dante beholds in the vision the vicissitudes of the Church, from its origin up to the time of the transfer of the seat of the Papacy to Avignon, and he endeavours further (xxxvi, 34-70) through the mouth of Beatrice, to predict the future destiny of the Church. Midway in the vision there occurs a great scene of personal character; namely, Dante's final penitence and his reconciliation with Beatrice. In that part of the great vision Dante shows what must be done by the man who desires to obtain salvation. The Church comes to meet the sinner, and for him so to speak, as the good Shepherd for the lost sheep gathers him into her bosom, and administers to him the means of grace; the sinner in his turn goes to meet the Church, and submits himself voluntarily to perform whatever she may require from him; repentance of sins, xxx, 75; xxxi, 14; regeneration, xxxi, 91 *et seq.*; practice of virtue, xxxi, 103-104.

† *sette arbori d'oro*. Seven was a sacred number. St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*, pars 1, 2<sup>o</sup>, qu. 11, art. 1) writes: "Septenarius numerus universitatem tripartitam mundi est, quod est compositus ex tribus, numero deitatis, et quatuor, numero hominum, quod est numerus mundi. The addition of three and four into the single number seven is a figure of the union of the world in general concord and harmony. Scartazzini says Dante certainly took the idea of the seven cardinals (see *Rev.* i, 12, and *Rev.* iv, 5), the name from the first, and the identification from the second. The seven cardinals, therefore the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, Who is Sevenfold, not what He is in God, but as He exists in the world as instrument of divine government. As the Sevenfold Spirit is moved upon the face of the waters, after a fashion preceding the work of the creation, so that same Spirit, in the vision of Dante, precedes the Mystic Procession which represents the

Falsava nel parere il lungo tratto  
 Del mezzo,\* ch' era ancor tra noi e loro ; 45  
 Ma quando fui sì presso di lor fatto  
 Che l'obbietto comun,† che il senso inganna,  
 Non perdea per distanza alcun suo atto ;  
 La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammanna,‡

work of Salvation. These seven candlesticks being the Sevenfold Spirit of God, we must not take them, as many Commentators have done, for the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, for gift and giver are not the same thing. Dante tells us that the twenty four Elders followed these lights *conca lor ducti*. The writers of the Books of the Old Testament cannot be said to have been guided by the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, but by that Sevenfold Spirit Itself. The Gifts of the Holy Spirit are rather the *sixte liste* mentioned in v. 77.

\* *il lungo tratto Del mezzo, i. e.* the intervening space between the Poets and the unknown objects that were coming towards them.

† *l'obbietto comun . . . Non perdea . . . alcun suo atto.*

‡ *Obbietto comune* del senso secondo le dottrine aristoteliche, (*De Anima* ii, 6), è quel tanto che differenti cose a' sensi sottoposte possono aver di comune: *obbietto particolare* sono le sensibili qualità proprie di ciascuna cosa. Nel caso di Dante *l'obbietto* a' suoi dirlo *sensibile* comune era ciò che di comune hanno, veduti a una certa distanza, un albero ed un candelabro; *obbietto particolare* erano le specie e le qualità del candelabro, che egli scolasticamente denomina *alti*. Dice adunque in sostanza, che quella similitudine che da lontano aveva ingannata la sua vista, da vicino cessò. (Andrieoli) See also Cesari, *Bellezza*, vol. ii, p. 325. And *Comato*, iv, 8, ll. 43-58. See also St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, q. vii, art. 1. "Actus autem habent speciem ex objecto." And pars i, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. xiii, art. 2. "Actio habet speciem ex objecto, sicut et motus ex termino." And pars ii, 2<sup>a</sup>, q. iv, art. 1. "Considerandum est quod cum habitus cognoscantur per actus, et actus per objecta." Scartazzini defines *alto* "particolare qualità."

‡ *discorso ammanna*. The *Gran Dizionario*, § 11, interprets this. "Uso prudente della ragione." And § 10. "Inscritto è dunque il passaggio che fa la mente di pensiero in pensiero colla naturale agilità dello spirito, ma altro dal intuizione dell'Intelletto, la quale è atto più semplice." St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xiv, art. 7) thus defines the term: "cognoscere effectum per causam est scientiæ discurrentis . . .

Siccom' elli eran candelabri apprese,

E nelle voci del cantare *Osanna*.

97

A little further on, the wide tract of the middle space which yet intervened between us and them gave a false illusion of their being seven golden trees, but when I had drawn so near to them that the common object which by distance deceives the sense of vision no longer lost each individual detail, the (apprehensive) faculty, which prepares for Reason its materials of judgment, began to apprehend that they (trees) were candlesticks, and in the words of the chant (in distinguished) the word *Hosannah*.

Dante had at first, before getting near enough to the objects advancing to meet him, been deceived by that delusive similitude of things one to another when seen indistinctly from afar. Here it was a certain resemblance between a tree with branches and a candlestick with branches. The seven candlesticks were very large, and appeared like small trees.

Dante next relates in what manner he recognized that the light proceeded from the seven candlesticks.

Di sopra fiammeggiava il bello arnese \*

discursus est procedentis de noto ad ignotum." And in qu. lvi, art. 3. "Sic agitur et inferiores intellectas hominum . . . si . . . statim in ipsa cognitione inspicerent quasi notas omnes conclusiones consequentes eis discursus locum non haberet." *osanna*. This literally signifies to gather up straw or hay into bundles (*osanne*), and thence it comes to mean "to prepare

\* *arnese*: Scartazzini calls special attention to *arnese* in the singular, as showing that the seven lamps were candlesticks, and says it shows that, without doubt, Dante wished his readers to understand that the seven candlesticks symbolize a sevenfold unity, which also demonstrates the accuracy of his (Scartazzini's) interpretation. *Carona (Presentazioni o Vocabolario Metodico d' Arti e Mestieri*, Tom. no. 1853, p. 8, says of *arnese* that "nel linguaggio delle arti, è tutto"

Più chiaro assai che luna \* per sereno  
Di mezza notte nel suo mezzo mese.

Above was flaming the fair equipment (of lamps) more brilliant than the Moon in clear weather at midnight, in the middle of her month (*i.e.*, at the full).

The Moon is lighted by the Sun, and the candlesticks receive their light from God, the Eternal Sun, and shine in the clear air of this pure region, like the Moon in a clear sky.

Dante turns round full of wonder and, for the last time, looks at Virgil, but finds that the latter (the symbol of human knowledge) is as much awed as himself.

Io mi rivolsi † d'ammirazion pieno

55

li che non può servirsi in opera di mano, e che non sia propriamente (*in particular*) nè Macchina nè Strumento, nè Ordigno [*me à me al apparire*]. Il Mestone [*wooden spoon*]; il Ramajuolo per scodellare la Minestra; il Randello per strin- per la soma, e simili, sono ainesi. Nel linguaggio comune Ainese è parola di estesissima significazione, che applica- sollettivamente alle suppellettili di casa, alle masserizie di campagna, ad attrezzi di guerra . . . ed è frequentemente parola di compenso . . . per indicare qualche minuto oggetto, il cui vero e proprio nome o si ignori, o non soccorra subito alla mente, in the same way as we might use "thing"; "concern gear"; "equipment"; "apparatus."

\* Più chiaro . . . che luna, et seq: "In due versi raccoglie le circostanze generali del massimo lume di luna *Per sereno*, cioè limpidezza d'aria, senza nuvoli, nemmeno sottili e trasparenti. *di mezza notte*, quando sono più remoti gli albori mattutini e serali del sole, e quindi la notte più cupa da più risalto al chiaro della luna: *nel suo mezzo mese*, cioè nel punto che questo astro raggiunge la opposizione col sole, incominciando il mese lunare dalla congiunzione o luna nuova: che è quanto dire mentre la luna è perfettamente nella fase che piena appelliamo." (Antonelli, in *Tommaso's Commentary*).

† Io mi rivolsi . . . *Al buon Virgilio*: Dante seems to have forgotten that Virgil in his speech to him on the summit of the

Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose  
Con vista carca di stupor non meno.

I turned me round full of admiration to the good  
Virgil, and he repl.ed to me with a look not less  
charged with bewilderment.

Benvenuto thinks he gave a shrug of the shoulder, as all Italians do when a thing is beyond their comprehension. Virgil's look of awe signified to Dante that these divine mysteries were beyond the penetration of human science.

Dante then turns round again to gaze at the candlesticks that are advancing towards him so slowly that their forward movement is even slower than that of a bashful maid leaving the altar.

Indi rendei l'aspetto all' alte cose,\*  
Che si moveano incontro a noi sì tardi  
Che foran vinte da novelle spose.†

60

stairway had told him to expect no further word of significance from him. See *Purg.* xxvii, 139:

"Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno."

A few minutes afterward when Beatrice first appears (*Purg.* xxx, 40-51), Dante turns round again to look at Virgil, but no longer behind him.

\* *alte cose*: Scartazzini rightly points out that *alte* does not refer to the visible height of the candlesticks, but rather to their sublime character as typifying the sevenfold Spirit of God, or as Baglioli says: "il settentrione del primo cielo" (*Purg.* xxx, 1).

† *novelle spose*: Tommaséo observes that this comparison in various forms is to be found in the *Paradiso*. Compare *Par.* iii, 110, 111:

"E la mia Donna in lor tenne l'aspetto,  
Pur come sposa tacita ed immota.

The passage in the text has been imitated by Frezzi, *Quattro regno*, lib. 1, cap. xvi, terz. 22

"E come va per via sposa novella  
A passi rari, e porta gli occhi bassi  
Con faccia vergognosa, e non favella."





The Lady reproved me: "Wherefore dost thou only take pleasure in gazing at those living lights, and regardest not that which comes behind them? Then I saw people coming on behind (the candlesticks), as though after their leaders, arrayed in white; and such whiteness never existed (*mai fu ci fu*) on our earth (*di qua*).

The white vesture is a symbol of their faith such faith as has never been found since.

He next describes, as a sight of increasing perfection, the purity of the water, when struck by the light of the candlesticks.

L'acqua splendeva dal sinistro fianco,  
E rendea \* a me la mia sinistra costa,  
S'io riguardava in lei, come specchio anco.

The water was glittering upon my left hand, and moreover when I looked into it, it reflected back to me my left side, even as in a mirror.

As Dante was going to the right, his left side was of course nearest to the rill. This was the side of his heart, and Buti thinks that the allegorical sense would show that Lethe is the emblem of the purity of

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twenty seats and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty sitting, clothed in white raiment." Rev. iv. 4. "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." Rev. vii. 14.

\* *rendea*. "La gente vestita di bianco, venendo per la destra riva del rio, dovea far risplendere l'acqua dalla sua sinistra medesima, ch'era quella su cui seguitava a camminare. Ma il quale procedendo in direzione contraria a coloro che sedevano, esponeva al riflesso dell'acqua il suo lato sinistro, quanto poi dice che erasi resa l'immagine di questo lato avesse guardato nell'acqua che pareva uno specchio, e a significarci che la lucente superficie era trasparente, e l'acqua ivi era stagnante, e ch'egli era proprio se la spuma del fiume altrimenti, non avrebbe potuto vedere quella parte del suo corpo riflessa." Antonelli, in *Tommaso*, *Comento*, etc.

innocence that causes oblivion of sin, and makes the heart known to one's self-perception, if we seek to see ourselves as we are.

He places himself so that he can the better contemplate the vision, and, as he stops, the candlesticks pass on beyond him.

Quand' io dalla mia riva ebbi tal posta, 70  
 Che solo il fiume mi facea distante,  
 Per veder meglio ai passi diedi sosta,\*  
 E vidi le fiammelle andar davante,  
 Lasciando retro a sè l' aer dipinto,  
 E di tratti pennelli † avean sembante; 75

\* *diedi sosta*: Compare *Purg.* xix, 93:

"Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura."

† *E di tratti pennelli, etc.*: Compare *Virg. Georg.* i, 365-367, from which this passage in the text may have been imitated:

"Sæpe etiam, stellas, vento unpendente, videbis  
 Præcipites caelo labi, noctisque per umbram  
 Flammaram longos a tergo albescere tractus."

And Dante himself has been imitated by Tasso, in *Gerus. Liber.* iii, st. 32

"Allor vegg' io che dalla bella face,  
 Anzi dal Sol notturno un raggio scende,  
 Che dritto là, dove il gran corpo giace,  
 Quasi aureo tratto d. pennel si stende."

A great difference of opinion exists as to the proper signification of *pennelli*, and even as to the reading; some few contending that the word should be *pannelli* or *pancelli*, i.e. torches made of inflammable linen, Lat. *n. pancelli*. Others again, while reading *pennelli*, interpret it as "*pen-nonnelles, pennons, flags*," and in the dialogue that runs through *Cesari's Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 529, one of the party is made to advocate this interpretation, for the purpose of being confuted by the other, who in reply says "Quanto a me . . . io non mi partirei da' veri pennelli [*i.e. painter's brushes*] . . . dico che notando accuratamente ogni ragione del parlare di Dante, si vuole stare ai veri pennelli. Dante dice d'aver veduto le sette fiammelle andare avanti, lasciando dietro a sè l' aer dipinto. Qui son due cose, un muoversi di ciascuna fiammella, e l' lasciar dietro a sè una striscia di colore. Ora questo atto egli lo pareggia ad un altro, che tutto desso; ma quale sarà? la banderuola [*pennon*] fita

Si che li sopra \* rimanea distinto †  
Di sette liste, ‡ tutte in quei colori,

nella freccia, e dal vento distesa? non punto che in questo veggio l'atto del muoversi avanti, né il colore lasciato nel pennello? veggio il dipingere che dice Dante tratto il muoversi; essendo poi tratto, lasciato la lunga dipinta del proprio colore sicché in tutta la natura era forse altro esempio, che più fosse detto, di questo d'oro. uses very similar words. "Così hù le dette pennelle averi sembansa di altrettanti pennelli che, tratti per dell' aere, lo listassero di sette pennellate de [prismatic colours], come appresso dirà. Il difetto di colore e i colori che seguono, non mi pare che l'uno abbia significato de pennelli al loro de dubb posti in un' interpreti. I follow the interpretation given above by Scartazzini and Andreoli, which is also that of Scartazzini.

\* *Si che li sopra*. Some read *Sicché di sopra*, and others *che egli sopra*.

† *distinto* = "marked," "indicated." In the *Grin Par.* s. r. *distinto*, § 4, I find: "segnatamente della varietà de Compare *Par.* xviii, 95, 96:

"Si che Giove  
Pareva argento ll' d' oro distinto."

*And Par.* xxxi, 130-132:

"Ed a quel mezzo con le penne sparte  
Vid' pur di mille Angel. festanti,  
Criscon disanto e di fulgore e d' arte."

‡ *sette liste*: The seven long streaks of light, which are behind the seven golden candlesticks, are, as we take to be the Sevenfold Spirit of God, undoubtedly the that Holy Spirit, His Sevenfold Gift to Man of which are often called the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. These are said to be

Piety as opposed to Envy.	
Fear of God	" Pride
Knowledge	" Anger.
Fortitude	" Sloth.
Counsel	" Avarice
Intemperance	" Luxury.
Wisdom	" Gluttony.

But Scartazzini points out these are not seven separate one sevenfold, fit, as St. Thomas Aquinas lays down in *Theol. pars 2, 2<sup>a</sup>, qu. lxxv, art. 5.* "Dona Spiritus sancti connexa per hoc quod se invicem reficiunt." See also

Onde fa l' arco il sole, e Delia il cinto.\*

When I had gained such a position on my side of the river, that the stream alone kept me apart (from the procession), I brought my steps to a halt, in order to see better, and I saw the flames pass on in front, leaving behind them the air streaked with colour, and they had the semblance of the strokes of a painter's brush; so that there overhead it (the air) remained marked with seven streaks, and all in those colours whereof the Sun makes his bow, and Delia (the Moon) her girdle (*i.e.*, her halo).

The dimensions of the streaks or bands of light are then precisely defined.

Questi ostendali + dietro eran maggiori,

Che la mia vista; e, quanto al mio avviso,

80

Dieci passi ⁊ distavan quei di fuori.

ostendales connectuntur sibi invicem in prudentia, ita dona Spiritus  
ostendales connectuntur sibi invicem in charitate. Atque licet quod  
ostendales item habet, omnia dona Spiritus sancti habet, quorum  
ostendales sine charitate haberi potest.

\* *ostendali*. Onde fa l' arco il sole, e Delia il cinto: These are the prismatic colours of the Solar spectrum as seen in the rainbow, and in the halo [*cinto*] of the Moon. Diana, who was the goddess of the Moon, was said to have been born in Delos, and hence Dante speaks of the Moon as *Delia*.

† *Questi ostendali*. This is the reading adopted by Lana, Benvenuto, Witte, the *Codex Cassinense*, and the early editions of Colpo, Mantua, and Naples. Lana not only reads *ostendali*, but in his comment on l. 115 of this canto he writes "Anzichente ogni cittade avea uno carro. . . e sovra esso era l' ostendale principale della terra [*city*]." The larger number of commentators read *stendali*. Blanc would derive it from the Middle High German *stunthart*, but as is pointed out in Donkin's *Syllogical Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, derived from *stun*, London, 1864, *stunthart* is itself derived from *extendere*.

‡ *Dieci passi*. Many interpretations are given to these words, most commentators taking the ten paces to be the ten commandments. I am inclined, however, to take the number ten as a perfect number symbolizing completeness. The seven streaks of colour indicate the sevenfold virtue of the Holy Spirit, which

These standards extended to the rear beyond my vision ; and, as far as I could estimate, the two on the outer sides were ten paces apart.

Dante now describes in detail the chiefs or leaders of the Mystic Army. He tells us that they were twenty-four in number, representing the twenty-four <sup>books</sup> mentioned in *Rev. iv, 4*, who symbolize the twenty-four books of the Old Testament,\* and he adds that the Elders were singing a hymn of praise to the <sup>glory</sup> of Beatrice, symbol of divine wisdom, who was <sup>soon</sup> expected to descend in triumph.

Sotto così bel ciel com'io diviso,†

illumines and sanctifies the Church. But reads *Deo distinctum quæ dat formæ*, meaning that the height of the <sup>standards</sup> sticks above the flowery turf was only ten paces.

\* The twenty-four books are accounted for by counting the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, and the <sup>two</sup> books of Chronicles as one book each. Some think the <sup>twenty</sup> Elders are composed of the twelve Patriarchs and the twelve Apostles. "Dante ne marche point au hasard. Il produit Ézéchiël, l'Apocalypse et toute la tradition chrétienne. A Rome, dans les mosaïques de Sainte Praxède, voit l'agneau sur l'autel, les sept candelabres, les quatre <sup>figures</sup> les vingt quatre vieillards ; au portail de Moissao, les <sup>figures</sup> affrontés, le Christ, les quatre animaux, les vieillards. <sup>est</sup> setonne de ce cortège pour entourer le char de triomphe <sup>qui</sup> paraitre une jeune femme, c'est que Dante sait bien <sup>qu'il</sup> le véritable amour d'entre moins de passion que de <sup>celle</sup> (Ornam, *Purgatoire*.)

† *com'io diviso*. Benvenuto seems to use *diviso* in the sense of "to divide, to portion out." *quæ ego distinguo in <sup>libris</sup> listis mirabilibus*. But in the *Gran Dizionario* (v. <sup>1</sup> *diviso* § 5) we find: "Per *Disporre ordinatamente*. *Mostrato* in the present passage is quoted. The word is frequently used in this sense by Boccaccio. Compare *Decim. Giorn. 1. 1. 1. 1.* "Mentre che la fortuna in questa guisa, che divisata è, <sup>è</sup> d'Anguerra et i figliuoli menava, avvenne, che, <sup>è</sup> *Giorn. vi, Nov. 10*: "Ma perchè vi va io tutti i paesi cerchi <sup>è</sup> divisando?" And *Giorn. vii, Nov. ix*: "Io non vi <sup>è</sup> divisare, chenti, e quanti sieno i dolci suoni d'innanti."

Ventiquattro seniori,\* a due a due,

Coronati venian di fiordaliso.†

Tutti cantavan . - "Benedetta tue‡

85

Nelle figlie d' Adamo, e benedette

Si eno in eterno le bellezze tue."—

Under a sky so beautiful as I describe, there came four and-twenty Elders, two and two, crowned with *fiours de lys*. All were chanting: "Blessed art thou among the daughters of Adam, and blessed for evermore be thy loveliness."

Having now described the books of the Old Testament in the persons of the four and-twenty Elders, Dante passes on to the four Evangelists.

Poeca che i fior e l' altre fresche erbette,

A rimpetto di me dall' altra sponda,

Libere § fur da quelle genti elette,

90

*Seno, e i canti pieni di melodia, che vi s' odo no.* And *Rime di Michel Incolt*: 121.

"Da bella donna più ch' o non diviso,

Dono a partito innamorato tanto."

\* *Ventiquattro seniori*: "And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold" (*Rev.* iv. 4).

† *Coronati . . . di fiordaliso*. Tommasèo considers that the four and twenty Elders are crowned with lilies to signify the purity of Holy Writ, and Scartazzini adds to this that, in all probability, it signified their faith in the coming Messiah.

‡ *Venèd ita tue, et seq.* The words of the salutation of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (*Luke* i, 28) "Blessed art thou among women." Scartazzini is doubtful whether the person saluted here is Beatrice or the Virgin Mary. If however one considers that in the following Canto xxx, 11 Beatrice is named in the words "*Venè spousa de l'altre cantando*," and (xxx, 9) "*benedictus qui venis*," and if one considers that it is Beatrice, and not Mary, who will shortly appear and will sit upon the Chair of the Church, one may believe that Beatrice is the person referred to here. It should also be remembered that in the *Vita Nuova*, § 43, Dante distinctly states that he will say of Beatrice what was never yet said of woman before.

§ *Libere*: As the four and-twenty Elders passed away on-

Si come luce luce in ciel seconda,\*  
 Vennero appresso lor quattro animali,†  
 Coronato ciascun di verde fronda.

After that the flowers and other tender herbage, in front of me on the other bank, had been left clear by that band of the Elect, even as in the heavens star rises after star, so there followed after them (the Elders) four Living Beings, each crowned with verdant foliage.

Dante then describes how they were fashioned

Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,  
 Le penne piene d'occhi; e gli occhi d'Argo.‡  
 Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.

Each was plumed with six wings, the feathers full of eyes; as if the eyes of Argus, had they existed, would be such as these.

The six wings were to enable them to soar upwards,

they left the flowery meadow on the right bank of the stream unoccupied for an instant.

\* *luce luce in ciel seconda*. Tommasèo quotes Antonio: "A dipingere l'ordine, la maestà del movimento, la bellezza e la grandezza del personale, che passavano davanti a noi, a poca distanza sull'alta riva, non si poteva scegliere un più conveniente di quella del passaggio del sole, che si rivela, cui sia rivolto lo sguardo d'esperto osservatore."

† *quattro animali*. The four Living Beings are generally interpreted as the Four Evangelists, of whom the four animals in Ezekiel are regarded as symbols. To St. Matthew was given the human semblance, because he begins his Gospel with the human generation of Our Lord, or passion. St. Matthew seems to emphasize the human nature of the Saviour more than the divine. St. Mark's thought is the Lion, because he sets forth the royal dignity of the Anointed Christ, though one Commentator attributes it to the fact that St. Mark begins his Gospel with roaring: "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." St. Luke is the Ox, because he is more especially installed on the priesthood of Christ, and the ox is the emblem of sacrifice. St. John is the Eagle, the symbol of the highest aspiration, because he soared upwards to the contemplation of the divine nature of the Saviour.

heaven, and symbolized the rapid spread of the Gospel; and the eyes in their wings, which looked all ways, were to show their knowledge alike of the past and the present, and to exercise untiring vigilance to maintain the Church doctrines pure in the future.

Dante excuses himself for not more fully describing these wondrous Beings, and Benvenuto observes, that though Dante must of necessity mention the leader of this army, he does not wish to dwell too long over the followers, lest it should diminish the importance of the Lord and Master. The account of the coming of the four Living Creatures from the old North may be read in Ezekiel, who gives a more detailed description of them than does St. John.

A descriver lor forme più non spargo \*

Rime, lettor; ch' altra spesa mi strigne

Tanto, che a questa non posso esser largo.

Ma leggi Ezechiel, che li dispone

100

Come li vede dalla fredda parte I

Venir con vento, con nube e con igne;

\* più non spargo Rime. Compare *Virg. Bucol. Eclog. iii.*

27

"Non tu in trivis, indocte, solebas

Stridenti miserum stipulâ disperdere carmen?"

† *Ezekiel*: "And I looked and behold, a whirlwind came of the north, a great cloud, and a fire unfolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof, as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And as was their appearance, they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings; and their feet were straight feet, and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot, and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass." (*Ezekiel*, i, 47).

‡ *dalla fredda parte*. Compare *Virg. Georg. 370-371*:

"Ut Boreae de parte trues cum fulmine, et cum  
Eunice Zephyaque tonat domus," etc.



E qual i troverai \* nelle sue carte,  
 Tah eran quivi, salvo ch' alle penne  
 Giovanni è meco, † e da lui si diparte.

105

To describe their forms, Reader, no more of my verses do I waste, for a different expenditure (*i. e.* subject) so much engrosses me, that in this I am not able to be diffuse. But read Ezekiel, who depicts them as he saw them come from the cold quarter, with cloud, and with fire, and such as thou shalt find them in his pages, such were they here, save that in the matter of wings John's account tallies with mine (*lit.* John is with me), and differs from him.

In St. John's description the Four Beasts have each six wings, whereas Ezekiel only saw four wings.

*Division IV.* In the concluding portion of the Canto, Dante describes the Triumphal Chariot with the Leader of the Church Militant.

He tells how he saw a chariot on two wheels, which he means to express the Church (or, according to some, the Pontifical Court), resting on the Old and New Testaments, and drawn by a fabulous animal, called a Gryphon, of a twofold nature, typifying our Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man. The Gryphon was supposed to be partly man, and partly eagle or lion.

Lo spazio dentro a lor quattro contenne  
 Un carro, in su due rote, ‡ fronte a l.

\* *qual i troverai*: This is the reading adopted by Weale and by Dr. Moore, and is that of the *Str. Crus.*, the *Com.*, the *Cassinese* and other *Comites*. It is also found in the *Firenze*, *Mantua* and *Naples* editions. Others read *E qual i troverai*.

† *Giovanni è meco*: "And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within" (*Revelation of St. John*, iv, 8).

‡ *Un carro . . . fronte a l.*: The Triumphal Chariot is the Church Universal. Scartazzini points out that Dante, in his

Ch' al collo d' un grifon tirato venne.  
 Esso tendea in su l' una e l' altr' ale \*  
 Tra la mezzana e le tre e tre liste,  
 Sì ch' a nulla fendendo facea male.

110

The space (intervening) between those four (Living Beings, contained a triumphal chariot on two wheels, which by the neck of a Gryphon came drawn along. And he extended both his wings aloft between the central (band of light) and the three and three bands, so that he did harm to no one of them by cleaving it.

The Gryphon was moving partly behind the candlesticks and partly among them, he had three on either side of him, and extended his wings up on high so as not to cleave any of the bands of prismatic light.

Dante then speaks of the twofold nature of Christ in one body.

Other works, speaks of the Chariot as the Church Universal, and not the Pajal seat. In *De Mon. h.* lib. iii. c. 3, Dante writes "Dicit Ecclesia, loquens ad Sponsam: Trahe me post te." The Gryphon draws the chariot behind him, therefore he is the bridegroom and the chariot is the Church. In *Convivio*, tr. 13, c. 6, Dante expressly says that "the bride of the Councils is the Church." But Scartazzini thinks that the following passage is quite decisive, from the letter Dante wrote to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii, ll. 42-52) a short time before he wrote the *Purgatorio*: "Vos, eadem, Ecclesia per tantis veritati primum Depositi per te, per man testem orbem Crac. h. Carrum Sponse Regere negligentes, non aliter quam fabas antiqua Phaeton subhibentes, et, quorum, sequentem gregem per saltus peregrinationis hujus illustrare intererat, ipsam una vobiscum ad Excepsum tradaxistis. Nec ad imitandum recenseo vobis Exempla, quam dura, non vultis, ad Sponse vehiculum habere." That the two wheels have an allegorical significance is proved by the passage in Canto xxxi, 131-139, but, as to what they symbolize, has been much disputed by the Commentators. (See note to line 121).

\* *l' una e l' altr' ale*: Note that *ale* is here in the singular. *Ale* singular, *ali* plural; or *ala* singular, *ale* plural.

Tanto salivan, che non eran viste ;  
 Le membra d' oro \* avea, quanto era uccello,  
 E bianche l' altre di vermiglio miste

So high did they (the wings) reach, that they were  
 lost to sight ; his members were of gold so far as he  
 was bird, and the rest were white mixed with scarlet.

The wings of gold indicate His incorruptibility, the  
 white mingled with red, the purity of His human  
 nature, yet stained with the blood of the Passion

The splendour of the chariot is extolled.

Non che Roma † di carro così bello  
 Radegrasse Africano, o vero Augusto : ‡  
 Ma quel del Sol saria pover con esso ;  
 Quel del Sol, § che svando fu combusto,

\* *Le membra d' oro*. The colours are suggested in *Solomon*, v, 10-11. "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chief among ten thousand. His head is as the crest of a raven, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven."

† *Roma*. *L' Degrazate Africano*. There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the construction of this passage. Nearly all the modern Commentators take *Africano* in the nominative case, and *Roma* the accusative in the comparative. "All things to be compared with a sumptuous chariot, etc. But I have followed Benvenuto and Boccaccio, in the sentence in the order in which it is written. It is in agreement with Benvenuto and Buti. "La costura di questo carro, non ha Roma, etc., nè non solo ha i d'oro, e vermiglio, e radegrasse Africano, o vero Augusto, in trionfo, etc., ma quel del sole." There is a passage somewhat similar to this one in Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, vi, 114.

"Nè dar l'antico Campocolo esempio  
 Di un più mai sì glorioso alere

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, was honoured by the Romans after his victory at Zama, with the surname of Africanus and a magnificent triumph.

‡ *Augusto*: Compare Petrarch, part iv, *Canzone*, c. 6.

"San dall'impena del bel sol di Marte  
 Al grande Augusto, che di verde lauro  
 Tre volte, trionfando, ornò la chioma

§ *Quel del Sol*: For the description of the magnificence of the chariot of the Sun, see Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 107-110.

Per l' orazion della Terra devota,  
Quando fu Giove arcanamente giusto.

120

Not only did Rome never honour Africanus, nor even (Cæsar) Augustus with so sumptuous a car, but that of the Sun would be poor beside it, that of the Sun, which, when driven awry, was burnt up in answer to the prayer of suppliant Earth, when Jove was just in his mysterious purpose.

Dante now describes seven maidens who accompanied the car, and who are supposed to symbolize the four cardinal and the three theological virtues. Benvenuto says that, after speaking of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the seven Sacraments, it is very appropriate to describe the seven virtues.

Tre donne \* in giro, dalla destra rota,†

"At reus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summæ  
Curvatur rotæ, radi omni argenteus ordo.  
Per iuga circumlithi, post hæcque ex ordine geminae,  
Clara repercusso reddebant lumina Phæbo."

\* *Tre donne*: The three theological virtues, namely, Faith, Hope, and Charity or Love.

† *destra rota*. The right wheel of the chariot is thought to symbolize the New Testament, and the left wheel the Old. Some, however, have contended that Dante meant by the two wheels the monastic and the secular Orders of the clergy; some the active and contemplative life, or Justice and Mercy; or the Clergy and the laity, or the Latin and Greek Churches, while others again insist that the wheels signify the Bible and tradition. I much prefer the common interpretation which I have adopted, which is that accepted by Pietro d. Dante, *L'Alto Soverano*, Buti, Landino, Tommaso, Lionone Bianchi, Prati-belli, Adriaoli, Tassinio, Camerata, and many others. Lana, Benvenuto, and the *Annino Fiorentino*, take them to mean the active and the contemplative life. In *Purg. xii*, 106-111, Dante speaks of St. Dominic and St. Francis as the two wheels of the chariot.

"Se tal fa l'una rota della biga,  
In che la Santa Chiesa si difese,  
E vinse in campo la sua civil biga,

Venian danzando ; l'una tanto rossa !  
 Ch' a pena fora dentro al foco nota :  
 L' altr' era, come se le carni e l' ossa  
 Fossero state di smeraldo fatte ;  
 La terza pareva neve teste mossa :  
 Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,  
 Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa  
 L' altre togliean l' andare e tarde e ratte.

Three ladies came onward dancing in a circle at the right wheel (of the chariot) ; one so ruddy that scarce would she have been distinguished in the very midst of the fire ; the second was as if her flesh and bones had been fashioned out of emerald ; the third appeared as new driven snow : and at one moment they seemed to be led by the one in white, and at another by the one in red, and to the melody of this one (leading), the other two timed their movement quick or slow.

It must be either Love or Faith that leads. Hope can only follow.

Dante next describes the four maidens who represent the four Cardinal or Moral virtues.

Ben ti desio' he' esser pallesca  
 L' eccellenza dell' altra, di cui Tommaso  
 Dice che al suo vertice co' rose.

The red denotes Charity, the emerald green is Hope, and the white is Faith.

" Hope ever fresh and green,  
 Fairer yet purer, like newly fallen snow "

In *La Fiera* of Buonarroti, the painter, in the Introductory to *Giornata I.* p. 330 of Le Monnier's edition, 1808, the motto is made to say to *Ide*

" Fatti adorna  
 Delle tue bianche vesti comparseti  
 Astersa di ogni macchia."

And Anosto, (*del Fur.* Canto XXI, st. 1 :

" Ne degli anqui par che si dipinga  
 La santa Fe vestita in altro modo,  
 Che d' un vel bian'co che la copra tutta  
 Ch' un sol punto, un sol neo la puo far brutta.

Dalla sinistra quattro\* facean festa,

130

In porpora vestite,† dietro al modo

D' una di lor, ch' avea tre occhi in testa.

In the left side (*i.e.*, on that of the Old Testament) there were four in purple vestments that made jubilee (*i.e.*, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance), following the measure of one of them who had three eyes in her head.

Prudence is represented with three eyes, as looking to the past, the present, and the future, and is therefore represented as leading the group. One cannot have any virtue (says Benvenuto) without prudence, for one may easily have prudence without the other three virtues.

Benvenuto then describes two old men, whom nearly all the Commentators agree in taking for St. Luke and St. Paul, the former as representing the book of Acts of the Apostles, and the latter the books of

*quattro* "Quatuor a sinistra, idest circa paginam veteris testamenti, sunt quatuor virtutes cardinales, Justitia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, et Prudentia. Et quia, ut ait Seneca de formula matris: *si prudens est animus tuus, tribus temporibus distat: presentia ordina, et futura provide, et Proterita cavere; et abbi Justitia prudentem, prius, et nunc, postque veni; sed ipsam prudentiam nunc fingit auctor cum tribus oculis*" (Pietro di Dante).

*In porpora vestite* "ille dico, vestite in porpora, qua olim habantur principes" (Benvenuto). "The rich crimson of robes." (Plumptre). "*Porpora*, simbolo d' amore e di carità." Tommaso Scartazzini is positive that the word *porpora* means "color rosso, emblema della carità." And he answers that to the question, why they were clothed with the garb of charity, the answer must be found in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars 1, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. lxx, art. 2). There are also "And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." (*Col.* iii, 14). "And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity covereth the multitude of sins." (*1 Peter*, iv, 8). Unless we are garbed in Charity, the other virtues are useless.



Di quel sommo Ippocrate, che natura  
Agl' animali \* se ch' ell' ha più cari.

Mostrava l' altro la contraria cura

Con una spada + lucida ed acuta,

140

Tal che di qua dal rio mi fe' paura.†

Behind all this lengthily described group, I beheld two old men, unlike in habit, but alike in demeanour, both dignified and grave. The one (St. Luke) showed himself as one of the disciples of that great Hippocrates, whom Nature made for those living creatures whom she holds most dear (*i.e.*, the human race). The other (St. Paul) showed an opposite intent, with a sword so glittering and sharp, that even on this hither side of the river, it caused me fear.

servience of a servant to a master ; of a pupil to a teacher ; of a confidant to a ruler ; etc. Compare *Par.* xii, 73, where it is said of St. Dominic :

" Ben parve messo e famigliar di Cristo "

\* *animali* the living beings most beloved by Nature are the best of Mankind. " E l' Anima umana, la qual è vclta nobilità la potenza ultima, cioè ragione, parte pa della divina natura di se di sempiterna Intelligenza, perocchè l' Anima quanto questa scivata potenza nobilitata e divinata da materia, che divina luce, come in angelo, regna in questa e però è l' uomo una immagine da filosofi chiamata. " *Convite* iii, 2, ll. 115-122.

† Questo è certo che la natura umana è perfettissima di tutte altre nature di quaggiù ; e questo nullo nega, e Aristotile afferma, quando dice nel duodecimo degli *Animali*, che l' uomo è perfettissimo di tutti gli animali. (ll. i, 9, ll. 75-80.)

† *spada* : Mrs. Jameson states that the sword was not attributed to St. Paul before the end of the eleventh century. When St. Paul is leaning on his sword, it expresses his martyrdom ; when he holds it aloft, it expresses also his warfare in the cause of Christ, when two swords are given to him, one is attributed, the other the emblem ; but this double allusion is not made in many of the older representations. *Narrat and Legendary Art*, vol. 1, p. 188.

† *mi fe' paura*. We may here again notice how Dante, who fought bravely at the battle of Campaldino when he was only four years old, never fails to depict himself as totally void of courage, whether in presence of the horrors of Hell, the exalted supernatural mysteries of Purgatory,



St. Luke, as a physician, had the thought of saving men's lives; St. Paul, as a champion of Christ, holds the sword aloft to express his warfare in the cause of Christ.

St. Luke and St. Paul were followed by four of a humble aspect, and after them came an aged solitary (St. John). The four of humble aspect are supposed figuratively to represent the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John and St. Jude.

Poi vidi quattro in umile paruta,\*  
E dietro da tutti un veglio solo  
Venir dormendo,† con la faccia arguta.‡

I then saw four of humble aspect, and in the rear of

\* *quattro in umile paruta* Benvenuto thinks the four are St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory and that the aged solitary is Bernard.

† *Venir dormendo* On this Lubin comments thus: "I sleep dell' Apocalissi, il rapito di Patmos, San Giovanni Evangelista . . . veniva dormendo, cioè in estasi, e però con la faccia smorta, com'è quella di chi dorme, ma *arguta* di chi, tenendo gli occhi del corpo chiusi a tutte le cose terrene, ha aperti gli occhi della mente nelle cose celesti." Compare Solomon's Song: "I sleep, but my heart waketh."

‡ *arguta* Tommasèo, after quoting the expression *argutus* from Pliny, says: "Forse la estenuazione de' muscoli digliano rende la faccia più spirituale e quasi arguta." The *Gran Dizionario* speaks of the *argutus* as a quality of the face, "nella faccia esprime i concetti ispirati che gli si rivelano." Comments: "*Argute*, cioè sottile, imperocchè che *argutus* dell' Apocalisse è di grande sottigliezza ad intendere." (III *Georg.* 79, 80) says of the horse:

"*Illi ardua cervix,*

*Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, obesaque terga*  
"Questa voce *argutus* trovo da latini usato per un cavallo spiccato, vibrato. Il dà Virgilio al capo del cavallo, e vivace; e Cicerone alla mano, che scocca la sua mente animata. Queste nozioni debbono fornire l'idea della testa di San Giovanni, che rapito in sonno estatico, nostra penetra ed acume di altissimo conoscimento." (Cesari.)

all an aged man alone, walking asleep (but) with a face (that seemed) inspired.

By this is meant the personification of St. John, as presenting the Apocalypse. He appears to be in a vision, as if he were in the Spirit on the Lord's Day, and had heard behind him the great voice as of a trumpet. It perhaps the allusion may be to the belief of the early Christians that St. John did not die, but tarried (sleep till his Lord's reappearance. St. John survived all his contemporaries, and lived on into a generation which had not known them, and it is said, that it was to supply this new generation with additional information concerning the incidents of our Lord's life and ministry on earth, that St. John wrote his Gospel. It is therefore a beautiful and most appropriate idea of Dante to depict him as an old man, of very great age, walking all alone, the sole survivor of the brethren whom he had known in his youth.

Dante next points out wherein their attire was identical with that of the patriarchs who passed first, and wherein it was different.

E questi sette col primaio stuolo 145  
 Erano abituati; ma di gigli  
 Dintorno al capo non facevan brolo,\*

\* *brolo*: "idest ghurlandam." (*Benvenuto*.) Compare Polino, *Stanze*, lib. 1, st. 68.

"Ma fatta Amor la sua bella vendetta,  
 Mossesi lieto pel negro aere a volo;  
 E giunse al regno di sua madre in fretta  
 Ov' è de' picciol suo' frater lo stuolo;  
 Al regno ove ogni Grazia si diletta,  
 Ove Beltà di fiori al erin fa brolo."

The *Gran Dizionario* derives *brolo* from the Greek *περιβάλλον*, enclosure, and quotes from Muratori, *Scol. Gioven.*: "Locus pomus pomiferus consitus et muro aut sepe circumseptus";



Che tutti ardesser di sopra dai cigli.\*

150

And these seven were apparelled like those in the first troop (*i.e.*, in white raiment); but they had not a thicket of lilies about their heads, but rather of roses and other scarlet flowers: A sight of them but little distant would have made one swear that they were all on fire above their eye-brows.

The seven were composed of the two in l. 134, the four of poor appearance in l. 142, and the aged Solitary in l. 143. By the first troop is meant the four-and-twenty Elders mentioned in ll. 82-84, who came along in procession in pairs, with garlands of lilies upon their heads.

Dante concludes the Canto by relating how the whole host, having displayed itself before him, was brought to a halt.

E quando il carro a me fu a rampetto,  
Un tuon s' udi; † e quelle genti degne  
Parveo aver l' andar più interdetto,  
Fernandos' ivi con le prime insegne

un poi lontano (non così vicino come Dante) avrebbe giurato che i sette personaggi avessero fuoco intorno alla fronte." (Andréoli).

\* *ardesser di sopra dai cigli*: Biagioli says the red crowns were signs of their martyrdom, but if we take all these personages as representing the books of the Old and New Testaments, which I much prefer, we may well take the view that the red, flame-coloured garlands, on the heads of the later writers of the New Testament, showed that they were more burning with the fire of Christian Love than their predecessors.

† *Un tuon s' udi*: "The thunder comes, as in *Rev.* vi, 1; and *Rev.* x, 3, as the sign of supernatural revelation, and then the procession halts till Dante has passed through his final act of confession and penitence, and is taken *Purg.* xxxi, 100-113 to the breast of the Gryphon, Christ"—(Dean Plumptre.) Scarlazzini says we are to understand that the clap of thunder came from heaven, and he quotes Vellutello to show that the procession, which was advancing from East to West, was in the form

And when the chariot was opposite to me, a clap of thunder was heard; and all that noble throng appeared to have their further progress forbidden, halting on that spot at the same moment as the leading standards (*i.e.*, the candlesticks):

Benvenuto thinks that Dante would show, that had done him the favour of letting him see these things them to others, he might in turn describe

of a cross—first then the four—the cross picture Gryphon in the Theological Cardinal Virtue, the right and left respectively. The head of the Cross is made up by the *sette col primo stuolo abituati*. fashion the foot of the Cross, the rest of the lower limbs supported by the Car drawn by the Living Beings, while the three right hand side, and the four represent the arms of the Cross to

END OF CANTO XXIX

## CANTO XXX.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (*continued*). — APPEARANCE OF BEATRICE. — DISAPPEARANCE OF VIRGIL. — DANTE SEVERELY CENSURED BY BEATRICE.

HEREAS, in the last Canto, Dante gave a figurative description of the Militant Church of God, so, in the present one, he introduces Beatrice, who represents Divine Theology, and who teaches and instructs both Churches, in order that she may, by first showing Dante the Church Militant, prepare his mind for seeing, later on, upon the Church Triumphant.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 21, Dante describes how the army of the Church Militant came to the aid.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 22 to v. 57, the appearance of Beatrice, her attire and demeanour, is minutely described, while Virgil is found to have disappeared.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 58 to v. 99, Dante describes how Beatrice reproves him for not having remained faithful to her after her death, and describes the effect upon himself of her censure.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 100 to v. 145, she begins by praising his early life of promise, and goes

on to show how great was his fall from it, and the necessity that had arisen for her interposition.\*

*Division I.* The seven candlesticks having come to a halt, and, consequently, the whole procession, the four-and-twenty Elders turned themselves round so as to face the chariot; and one of them (who personifies the book of the Song of Solomon) as though he had been specially deputed to do so by divine command, cried aloud three times to Beatrice to appear; and at the sound of his voice a hundred Angels rose up upon the chariot; all of them chanting and strewing flowers on and around it.

Quando il settentrion del primo cielo,  
 Che nè occaso mai seppe ne orto,  
 Nè d' altra nebbia che di colpa velo,  
 E che faceva li ciascuno accorto  
 Di suo dover, come il piu basso face,  
 Qual timon gira per venire a porto,  
 Fermo si affisse, la gente verace,†  
 Venuta prima tra il grifone ed esso,  
 Al carro voise sè, come a sua pace.‡  
 Ed un di loro,§ quasi da ciel messo,

5

10

\* The *Vita Nuova* should be carefully read with this and the succeeding Canto.

† *la gente verace*. The truthful company are supposed to represent or personify the books of the Old Testament, in which the deepest truth is contained.

‡ *come a sua pace*. When the four-and-twenty Elders were walking, they had the chariot directly behind them; but, when they stopped, they turned themselves round and faced it, as if the goal and object of all their desires was before them, in the form of the Gryphon (Jesus Christ), and the chariot His Church.

§ *un di loro*, etc.: We are not to understand this to mean Solomon, as many of the Commentators explain, but the books of the *Canticles* personified by one of the four-and-twenty Elders.

*Veni, sponsa, de Libano* cantando,  
Gridò tre volte,\* e tutti gli altri appresso.

When the Septentrion of the Highest (*i.e.*, the Empyrean) Heaven,—which never knew setting nor rising, nor other clouding than the veil of sin, and which was making each person there (in the Terrestrial Paradise) acquainted with his duty, even as the lower one (*i.e.*, the Septentrion of the Great Bear) does for him who turns the helm to come into port, —came to a halt, that truthful band (the four and twenty Elders) the first who had come between the Gryphon and it (the Septentrion of candlesticks), turned to the chariot, as it were to their peace. And one of them, as though sent from Heaven, cried out three times in song, *Veni, sponsa, de Libano*, and all the others after him.

The word Septentrion in its literal sense means the seven-fold group of stars which form the Constellation of the Great Bear. The Septentrion of the Highest Heaven means the seven golden candlesticks, which perform the same office for Christians as the Constellation does for mariners. The Septentrion here implies the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, which, with its sevenfold benefits, is ever ready, as It has ever been, to receive all who make themselves worthy.

Dante now describes the holy festival that took place round the chariot. Having related the manner in which (the so-called) Solomon and the other Elders had sung the praises of the Church, he now introduces a multitude of the Heavenly Host, singing

\* *Gridò tre volte*. The words *Veni, sponsa, de Libano* are taken from the Song of Solomon, or Book of the Canticles, iv, 7, 8 (*Veni, sponsa, de Libano*), where the word *Veni* occurs three times. "Tota præchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te. Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni: coronaberis . . . de cubilibus leonum, de montibus pardorum."



the praises of the Bridegroom, and he says that the Angels suddenly rose from the chariot, just as the Blessed will rise from their sepulchres at the sound of the last trump.

Quali i beati al novissimo bando\*

Surgeran prest, ognun di sua caverna,

La rivestita voce † alleluando,

Cotali, in sulla divina basterna, ‡

\* *bando*: The *Gran Dizionario* quotes this passage and explains it: "Novissime bando, il Gualtiero annunzia alle angeliche trombe." Compare *Par.* xxx, 44, 45.

† L'alto precigno, che grida l'ultimo

Di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando."

And *Par.* xxx, 34, 35:

"Cotali, qual'io la lascio a maggior bando

Che quel della mia tuba.

The *Gran Dizionario* says that the primary signification of *bando* is *Annuncio pubblico d'autorità*. Benvenuto gives to *bando* akin to the German *Lehen*, and then in English two meanings: (1) The extension of the jurisdiction of a district; hence "*redduntur*," whence comes *are*, "exile from the district," [*usur di bando* (*Purg.* xvi, 192) means to return from exile,] and (2) the publication, the edict, promulgation, and here *il novissimo bando* is the summons to the Universal Judgment.

† *rivestita voce*: Compare St. Paul, II *Cor.* v, 2: "Fano desiderio di essere rivestiti con questa casa, che è nostra in Heaven." Benvenuto puts it very well: "Resumptio corporandibus"; the body in which the voice once resided is restored to it. The voice reunited with its body is described in *Inf.* xiii, 103-104, where poor Pier delle Vigne tells Dante that this will be the ultimate fate of himself and his companions in scorn.

"Come l'altre verrem per nostre spoglie,

Ma non però ch'alcuna sen rivesta."

Others read *La rivestita carne ulcervando*, making light of active (*levata*), through immortality, the bodies which they again assumed; but the reading *alleluando* is much to be preferred. There has, however, been much controversy about the two readings.

‡ *basterna*: Benvenuto says that *basterna* is a vehicle for travelling, so called from *vesterna*, because it was spread with soft garments, and drawn by two beasts, being used in

Si levar cento, *ad vocem tanti senis*,\*

Ministri e messaggier † di vita eterna.

As the Blessed at the last trump shall quickly rise up each from his sepulchre, singing Hallelujah with the voice again clothed (with the body), so *ad vocem tanti senis* (at the voice of so great an Elder) there

ving noble ladies. He thinks the metaphor appropriate, the chariot here is drawn by an animal of a twofold nature, in it a most noble lady, Beatrice, is carried.

*ad vocem tanti senis*. I am unable to explain why Dante uses these words in Latin. Most of the modern Commentators think he did so for the sake of the rhyme, a supposition I am fully disinclined to admit.

*Ministri e messaggier*: Compare *Hebrews*, i, 7: "And of angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire," and in v 14 "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be part of salvation? Beartaxe imagines that the Angels were the chariots, but only spring into view at the will of Solomon, as the chariots and horses of fire, which surrounded the town of Hanan, were invisible to mortal eyes, until Elisha prayed the eyes of his servant might be opened to behold them. (*King*, i, 17). The idea of presenting Beatrice to his readers as amidst of a cloud of Angels would seem to have been a notion in Dante's mind before ever he composed the *Divina Comedia*. Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xxi, ll. 49-63, where in Beatrice lying dead "lo immaginava di guardare verso il cielo, e vana veder moltitudine di angeli, i quali tornassero in li ed avessero dinanzi loro una nuvoletta bianchissima e tutti che questi angeli cantassero gloriosamente . . . e fu si la errante fantasia, che mi mostrò questa donna morta." In the *Canzone* in the same section we read, ll. 183-188:

"E veder (che parean pioggia di manna),  
Gli angeli che tornavan suso in cielo,  
Ed una nuvoletta avean davanti,  
Dopo la qual cantavan tutti: *Usonnah*.

In *Canzone* xvii, st. 4, il 55-60

"Questa, in cui Dio mise grazia tanta,  
Morta, deh! non tardar mercè, se l'hai;  
Chè mi par già veder lo cielo aprire,  
E gli angeli di Dio quaggiù venire,  
Per voerne portar l'anima santa  
Di questa, in cui onor lassù si canta."

rose up upon the heavenly litter a hundred ministers  
and messengers of life eternal.

It may be taken for granted that Dante meant  
Angels, for in line 82 he says: *Et sic se  
Angeli cantaro*, etc., clearly showing that he was  
speaking of the Angels having been previously  
introduced as having appeared. Otherwise he would  
not have said *Gli Angeli*.

The song, which was now taken up by the Heavenly  
Choir, is from the words of the Canticle for Easter  
Sunday, and, as the Angels scattered flowers out  
and around the chariot, they also sang one of the  
most beautiful lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Tutti dicean. *Benedictus qui venit,*\*

E non gettando di sopra e dintorno,

*Mambus o date lilia plenis †*

They were all exclaiming: *Benedictus qui venit*, and  
while they were casting flowers above and around,  
*Mambus o date lilia plenis* (Oh, give lilies with full  
hands).

\* *Benedictus qui venit*: With the exception of the *venit*  
altered by Dante into *venis*, these are the identical words of the  
song chanted by the multitude of the Jews when Our Lord  
made His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Dean Plumptre  
remarks that they are referred by some Commentators to  
Christ, the masculine *Benedictus* notwithstanding, by  
Dante himself. But Dean Plumptre thinks it seems better to  
apply them in their primary application, Christ being thought  
of as sharing in the triumph of His Church, and the manifestation  
of the Divine Wisdom. (*Epos* iii, 9, 10).

† *Mambus [o] date lilia plenis*: This famous line in  
884, is not the only passage in which Virgil has used the  
words. Compare *liber Eclog* v, 45-48.

"Huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis  
Ecce ferunt Nymphæ calathis, tibi candida Nax  
Pallentes violas et summa papavera carpens  
Narcissum et florem jungit bene olentis anethi

as as if they wished their praise not only to be the adulation of saints, but also to take in the praise of mortal man.

It is therefore an apt figure to offer the opinion that this is the moment when Virgil vanishes, just when Beatrice is about to come into view, and that, as he himself is wont to scatter lilies over the glorious tomb of the young Marcellus, so Dante quotes the choicest of the choicest passage of Virgil's great work, by figuratively throwing flowers in sorrow and grief over the grave that is to separate them for ever.

*Division II.* In a simile drawn from the rising of the sun, and which Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, tom. 5) thinks one of the most beautiful in the poem alike for its true colouring and for the sweetness of its verses, Dante relates how Beatrice makes her appearance in the Terrestrial Paradise. We shall see that she is arrayed in white, green and red, the colours as the three Theological virtues.†

† I read in the sixth book of the *Æneid* that Æneas, conducted by the Sybil into the Internal Regions, finds his father Anchises in a beautiful spot, and surrounded by the shades of his men whom he points out to his son. He also shows him the great Romans who were to descend from his stock, among whom was the young Marcellus. When Virgil read out before the Emperor the magnificent lines which compose the passage, Augustus could not restrain his tears; Octavia, the sister of Marcellus, swooned away at the words *Tu Marcellus*, but afterwards presented Virgil with ten sesterties by way of a fine in praise of her son, the whole equivalent to £2,000.

† The colours were those of Dante's attire in the fresco portrait by Giotto in the chapel of the *Bargello* at Florence.

... an obscure artist to pa  
instructions, and, after turning  
colour, he painted in the eye  
stroyed, and painted it out of c  
represents Dante with a squint  
first volume of this work is from  
by Baron Seymour Kirkup, pre  
Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire, im  
the original fresco by Giotto.

cribes the colours of the Italia

“Giovanottin della  
Dimmi qual è il c  
—Se a una rosa ver  
Una foglia d' allor  
I tre colori avrai p  
Di che noi ci conc  
I tre colori avrai c  
Chi ognor s' ostina

\* *rosata* : Compare Ovid, *Me*

Purpureus fieri, cu  
And Petrarch, *Rime in Morte di*

“Quand' io veggio c  
Con la fronte di rc

And Tasso (*Ger. Lib. viii, st. 1*)

“E l' alba uscia dell  
Con la fronte di ro:

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur, xliii, st.*

“..... e già il color  
Si vedea in Oriente  
Chà vedea d' c

E l' altro ciel \* di bel sereno adorno,  
 E la faccia del sol nascere ombrata,  
 Sì che per temperanza di vapori †  
 L' occhio la sostenea lunga fiata ;

25

I have ere now seen at break of day the Eastern region all rosy, and the rest of the sky decked in tranquil loveliness, and the face of the sun rising shaded, so that, from the tempering of mists, the eye could endure it for a long while.

Benvenuto too remarks on the appropriateness of this simile: for Beatrice is as the Sun that illumines the chariot, and just as the human eye cannot bear the rays of the Sun, except through the medium of vapours, so the human intellect cannot contemplate the glory of Beatrice, except through the rain of flowers falling over the chariot.

Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,‡

modo, da permetterci di rimirarlo senza offesa; leva il Poeta l'immagine di una delle più soavi e felici pitture, ch'egli abbia saputo ideare, e che noi possiamo ammirare." (Antonelli in *Tommaso's Commentary*).

\* *L'altro ciel = il rimanente del ciel, or le altre parti del ciel,*

as the interpretation agreed on by most of the Commentators.

† *temperanza di vapori.* Compare *Par.* v, 133-135:

"Sì come il sol, che si cela egli stesso  
 Per troppa luce, come il caldo ha rose  
 Le temperanze dei vapori spessi."

Volendo l'Autore introdurre Beatrice, mostra che ella sia vestita d'una nuvoletta, la quale ha virtute temperativa, acciò che l'occhio, cioè l'intelletto umano, possa, mediante la mistica figurativa Scrittura, sofferire li raggi e la chiariade della divina Scrittura. (*Ottimo*)

‡ *nuvola di fiori:* Compare the beautiful lines in Petrarch, *Part 1, Canzone xi, st. 4.*

"Da be' rami scendea  
 (Dolce nella memoria)  
 Una pioggia a di fior sovra 'l suo grembo;  
 Ed ella si sedea  
 Umile in tanta gloria,  
 Coperta già dell' amoroso nembo."

Qual su le trece bionde  
Ch'oro forbito e perle  
Eran quel di a vederle ;  
Qual si posava in terra,  
Qual con un vago error  
Girando, pareva dir : qui

\* *Che dalle mani angeliche sa*  
Commentary, that from the moment  
and during the whole of her long  
continued unceasingly to shower  
the charm. Compare *Purg.* xxv

"Posarsi quelle prime cre  
Da loro aspersion l'ocel

† *candido vel* Beatrice appear  
as yet sufficiently purified and re  
worthy to look upon her face. I  
ll. 62-65; "E fu sì forte la err  
questa donna morta, e pareami e  
con un bianco velo." Compare al

"Eve

Vested in a cloud of frag  
And Thomson, *Invocation to Spr*

"veils

Of shadowing roses, on

‡ *fiamma viva* : Compare *Vita*  
veni vestita d' un nobilissimo col  
cinta ed ornata alla guisa che a  
conveniva. In *Vita Nuova*, § 3, b  
red in another are mentioned a  
questa mirabile donna apparve a

Even so within a cloud of flowers that rose from the hands of the Angels, and fell showering down again within and without (the car), crowned with olive over a white veil, a Lady appeared to me, vested in hue of living flame under a green mantle.

The white represents Faith; the green, Hope; and the crimson, Love. The olive is a symbol of wisdom (see l. 68), and perhaps also of peace.

Benvenuto says that the cloud of flowers figures the books of the Old Testament, coming from the hands of learned writers who had angelic intellects. It is a beautiful idea to make Beatrice, Divine Theology, to appear through the midst of such flowers.

Dante now relates how an instinct within him made him recognize Beatrice (who had been dead ten years), though he could not see her face because she was veiled.\*

\* As some of the modern authorities have doubted the identity of the Beatrice of the *Divina Commedia* with the Beatrice Portinari of history, I think it will not be amiss here to repeat (see *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. 1, pp. 61-65) that I follow the belief that was held by the early Commentators in Dante's love for Beatrice, the daughter of Folco Portinari, during the childhood of both, and that his glorification of the Beatrice of the poem is his apotheosis of the real Beatrice of his tender youth. Benvenuto is most precise, and he it remembered that his commentary was written but fifty years after Dante's death. "Sed ad plenorem cognitionem eorum, que dicuntur hic et in capitulo sequenti de ista Beatrice, volo te scire quod cum quidam Fulcus Portinarius, honorabilis civis Florentie, de more faceret celebre convivium kalendis maii, convocatis vicinis cum dominabus eorum, Dantes tunc puerulus novem annorum secutus patrem suum Aldigherium, qui erat unus de numero convivarum, vidit a casu inter alias puellas puellulam hanc prefati Fulci, cui nomen erat Beatrice, etatis octo annorum, in re pulchritudinis, sed majoris honestatis; que subito intravit cor ejus, ita quod nunquam postea recessit ab eo donec illa vixit, sive ex conformitate complexionis et morum, sive ex singulari induentia coeli. Et cum etate continuo multiplicante sunt amorosa



flamma; ex quo Dantes totus  
gebat credens in oculis ejus  
quam lacrymas, vigilas et in  
amor honestissimus semper sal  
libidinosi actus in amante vel a  
num prognosticum et auguriam  
erat ad magnam Beatricem  
a natura Ex his potes vider  
torice, aliqua allegorice de Bea

\* *Rotando Tempo* • We know  
was ten years since Dante's eye  
face

" . . . eran gli bechi mi  
A disbramarsi la c

+ *che alla sua presenza* : On  
era stato con la sua presenza, on  
observes "dalla qual lezione  
*jumble*) di concetti falsi e storti,  
ever the reading adopted by P  
*Boccaccio*

‡ *tremando* : In more than  
Dante relates how the sight of  
see § 3, ll. 19-25 : " In quel  
spinto della vita, lo quale dimor  
core, cominciò a tremare sì forte  
polsi orribilmente *Ecc Deus  
bitur mihi*" And § 11, ll. 9-13  
fosse alquanto propinqua al sal  
struggendo tutti gli altri spiriti  
anisti del vivo

And my spirit, which now for so long a time had not been (as formerly) crushed trembling down with awe at her presence, without having any further knowledge (of her) by my eyes, through some occult virtue that emanated from her, felt the mighty influence of ancient love.

Dante now says that, finding himself in sore perplexity, his first impulse prompted him to turn to Virgil, as he had been wont to do during the whole of his passage through Hell and Purgatory.

Tosto che nella vista mi percosse \* 40

L'alta virtù, che già m'avea trafitto

Prima ch'io fuor di puerizia fosse,

Volsimi alla sinistra col rispetto †

Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,

Quando ha paura o quando egli è affitto, 45

Ch'io non posso durare

Languente a soffrire "

The last words (§ 14) of the *Vita Nuova*, show that it was Beatrice's influence that made Dante write the *Divina Commedia*.

\* *o che nella vista mi percosse l'alta virtù* - There appears to be some difficulty in explaining how a vivid impression, a sublime influence, could strike upon Dante's vision, but Dante did not know Beatrice at first through her veil; he only says that the appearance of the veiled lady made the same impression for him as that of Beatrice had done in his early youth.

† *rispetto*: Scartazzini quotes all the different interpretations given of this word by Commentators, but thinks with the *Ultimo* the best is to understand that Dante turned to his left hand for comfort and help from Virgil. He thinks *rispetto* is derived from the Provençal word *respect*, which means trust, confidence, hope. Nannucci gives that interpretation: *Questo è un italiano derivato dalla lingua provenzale*. We may see here that the very last words, which Dante addresses to Virgil in the poem, are words of Virgil's own in *A. n.* iv. 23, here Dido says to Anna "Agnosco veteris vestigia flammae." We may notice some inconsistency in Beatrice visiting the Gates of Death to induce Virgil to go and succour Dante, and then, in the Terrestrial Paradise, Virgil vanishing on Beatrice's appearance without their exchanging a word.

was out of my sight  
with the confidence with  
its mother, when it is in  
say to Virgil: "There is  
blood left in me that does  
the symptoms of the anc

Dante's hopes of aid and  
appointed; he turns round  
has vanished from his sight

Overflowing with affect,  
consecutive lines the nar  
withstanding the bliss of  
restrain his tears.

Ma Virgilio † n' avea l

\* *dramma*: Compare Petrar  
"Ardendo lei che come  
E non lascia in me  
Che non sia fuoco  
and *Dittamondo*, lib 1, Canto 2  
"Al qual fanciul fa vista  
Sopra la testa, sta  
Arder pareva, nè c

In these two passages, as well  
*Dizionario* interprets *dramma*,

+ *Virgilio* Dante here imit  
book iv, 525-527, where the m  
repeated.

u *Rapadico*

Di sè, Virgilio dolcissimo padre,\*  
 Virgilio a cui per mia salute die' mi .  
 Nè quantunque perdè l' antica matre,  
 Valse alle guance nette † di rugiada,  
 Che lagrimando non tornassero atre ‡.

50

But Virgil had left us deprived of himself, Virgil, my most beloved father (in song), Virgil, to whom for my salvation I gave myself. Nor could all that our ancient Mother (Eve) lost (*i.e.*, Paradise) avail my cheeks washed (so recently) with dew, from being soiled again with tears.

Beatrice's voice is now heard. She addresses herself to Dante, and with much severity rebukes him for his fears, reminding that he will soon have to undergo greater grief than for the departure of Virgil.

—“Dante, § perchè Virgilio se ne vada,  
 Non pianger anco, non pianger ancora ;  
 Chè pianger ti convien per altra spada.”—

55

\* *dolcissimo padre*: Dante always called Virgil *dolce padre*, and, now that he finds he has lost him, he calls him *dolcissimo*. *Dolcissimo amico* is a common expression in Italy, occurring frequently in Leopardi's letters, meaning simply between two close friends, “my very dear friend.” See *Gran Dizionario*, *v. dolce*, § 30 “*dolce, per Caro, Amato, Prediletto*.” I mention this, as I have constantly seen English versions render *dolcissimo* “sweetest,” an expression perfectly inadmissible between two men, totally foreign to Dante's meaning, and one that ignores an every-day Tuscan idiom. (See vol. 1, p. 275).

† *guance nette*. We read in *Purg.* 1, 95 and 121, *et seq.*, that Virgil, in obedience to the command of Cato, washed Dante's cheeks with dew from the rushes on the sea-shore.

‡ *atre*, the same as *oscure, fosche*. The *Ottimo* comments “Quando uomo piange, così abbina e oscura nel viso, come quando è hereto, si sciampia [*expanda, videns*] ed esilara il viso.”

§ *Dante*. This is the only mention of Dante by name throughout the *Divina Commedia*, though some Commentators have tried to prove that the words *Dante*, in *Pax* xxvi, 104, ought to be *Dante*, but Scartazzini feels that their arguments have not

"Dante, weep thou not yet because Virgil is gone, weep not just yet, for thou wilt have to weep for another wound (*lit.* sword)."

He will have to weep for the follies of which Beatrice is about to remind him, namely, for not only having loved Virgil too much, but also for having been guilty of forgetting Beatrice for others after his death.

*Division III.* Scartazzini (*Ediz. Min.*) observes that, from the beginning of Dante's mystic journey up to the present moment, he has been buoyed up by the thought of seeing Beatrice. That thought and that hope have carried him through all the horrors of Hell, and through all the exertions required to ascend the Mountain of Purgatory. Each of the seven passions has been effaced in turn from his brow, and Virgil has told him that his judgment and will are to be free, upright, and sound. He may well, therefore, have been taken aback by the wholly unexpected greeting with which he is now accosted.

He sees Beatrice, who, on her first appearance, was only to be discerned with some difficulty amid the clouds of flowers that fell upon her from the ministering Angels, standing on the left hand border of the chariot, *i. e.*, on the side of the Old Testament.

much weight, inasmuch as in verses 62-63 of the present Canto Dante says:

" . . . mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità qui si registra."

showing the exceptional circumstance under which he mentions his name, and modestly apologizing for doing so.

steadily at him, as he is standing on the Purgatory side of Lethe. Dante shows great ingenuity in the modest way he introduces his own name, and Beatrice only utters it for purposes of disengagement. His description of her demeanour is in keeping with the dignity of the subject.

Quas. ammiraglio,\* che in poppa ed in prora  
Viene a veder la gente che ministra †  
Per gli altri legni, ‡ ed a ben far la incuora, 60  
In sulla sponda § del carro sinistra,  
Quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità ¶ qui si registra,

*Quas. ammiraglio*—Compare *Convito* iv. 4, ll. 50-59. "Siccome poi in una nave, che diversi uffici e diversi fini di quella a uno fine sono ordinati, cioè a prendere lo desiderato porto per quale via dove, siccome ciascuno ufficiale ordina la propria operazione nel proprio fine, così è uno che tutti questi fini s'opera, e ordina quelli nell'ultimo di tutti: e questi è il fiera, alla cui voce tutti ubbidire deono."

*sinistra*—Virgil (*Æn.* vi, 302) says of Charon:

"Ipse ratem conto subigit, veloque ministrat."

*Per gli altri legni*—Buti points out that the admiral's mission is naturally required in the other ships of his fleet, but not so much so in his own ship. Some read *alti*, an insipid, flesh reading, wholly lacking in vigour.

*sponda*—Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* pp. 214-215, sim. 359) says his word is equally applicable to the idea of a chariot or of a boat. Suarduzzi remarks that on this left side [*sponda* . . .] of the car whereon Beatrice was standing, was also the place where the four fair damsels who typified the four Cardinal

*necessità*. "Convenne che la donna il chiamasse per nome, per che ogni uno l'una, per che certa fosse la persona, intra tante, quale dicevava il suo sermone; l'altra, per che come più riesce nello umano parlare il nominare la persona per lo proprio nome, in ciò che più d'affezione si mostra, così più pugne il sermone, quando la persona ripresa dalla riprendente è chiamata [*i.e. when the person rebuked is named by the rebuker*]." (*Convito* i, ii, ll. 8-17, Dante is very explicit about

Vidi la Donna, che pria m' appario  
 Velata sotto l' angelica festa,\*  
 Drizzar gli occhi ver me di qua dal no.  
 Tutto che il vel che le scendea di testa,  
 Cerchiato dalla fronde di Minerva,  
 Non la lasciasse parer manifesta :  
 Regalmente nell' atto ancor proterva †  
 Cont' nudò, come colui che dice,  
 E il più caldo parlar dietro serva. ‡

an author not naming himself: "Parlare alcuno di se matto pare non breto . . . Non si concede per li retonci alcuno medesimo senza necessaria cagione parlare.

\* *Velata sotto l' angelica festa*: Trissino says "bes this" is "lata dalla nube di fiori d'arie angeliche" and "fornata" etc. "lata" has the sense of *accoglienza*, reception, greeting, *welcome*. Compare *Purg.* vi, 79-81.

"Quell' an ma gentil fu così presta,  
 So per li doler suon della sua terra,  
 Di fare al catin suo q' vi festa."

See also *Purg.* xxvi, 33; and especially *Par.* xv, 83, 84.

... e però non ringrazio  
 Se non col core, alla paterna festa.

† *Regalmente nell' atto . . . proterva*: Andreoli thinks the *terza* must be taken in the sense of *impertinza*, *liberty*. "Vini" says that the line is a priceless gem, "che maestà è quel *realmente* e quel *proterva*." "Vince ogni dire. Fosco si lasciava veder manifesta: ma di, sotto all' ombra de' m' apparia bene l' altera maestà e l' impudicissimo atto del signor biente." Brunone Birch, *Diagnosi*, Tommaso, at the *scrittura* quote the following from *Commento* iii, 13, ll. 203-21, and Tazzini says that, although the passage is marked as *scrittura* the one in the text, the *donna gentil* of the *Commento* can no account be identified with Beatrice as some commentators have tried to show. "E di sapere che dal principio esser *scrittura* pareva a me, quanto dallo parte del suo corpo (come *scrittura* hera, ch'è non mi rida, in quanto le sue per *scrittura* intendea; e disdegnosa, ch'è non mi volgea gli *occhi*, ch' io non potea vedere le sue dimostrazioni. E di tutto questo il difetto era dal mio lato."

‡ *E il più caldo parlar dietro serva*. Compare Dante's words in *Convito* ii, 9, ll. 9-13: "Sempre quello che manifestamente dire intende lo dicatore, si dee riservare di detto"

— "Guardaci ben : ben sem,\* ben sem Beatrice :  
Come degnasti † d' accedere al monte ?  
Non saper tu che qui è l' uom felice ?"—

75

Even as an admiral that comes to the poop or prow to inspect the crews that serve on board the other ships, and inspires them with good zeal, (so) on the left hand edge of the car,—when I turned at the sound of my own name, which from necessity is recorded here—I saw the Lady who had at first appeared to me veiled under that angelic welcome (i.e., the rain of flowers), bend her eyes towards me

«occhè quello che ultimamente si dice, più rimane nell' animo  
l' uditore.»

\* *Guardaci ben ben sem*, etc. This reading, having the royal authority, has overwhelming MS authority, but Dr. Moore (*Text of C. Purg.*, pp. 431, 432), observes that it is only fair to draw attention to the fact that all the old Commentators who notice the passage explicitly (i.e. Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, Vellutello, & Daniello) have *guardami* and *son* which is the reading most universally adopted among the moderns. Witte and Artaxini read *guardaci* and *sem*. There are many minor variants.

† *Come degnasti*, et seq. These words, spoken by Beatrice in irony, are, in the opinion of Biagioni an imitation by Dante of Boethius, *Philos. Consol.* lib. 1, *Prolog.* ii, "Iam vero totis in intentis hauribus : Tunc ille es, ait, qui nostro quondam te nutritus, nostris educatus alimentis, in varis animi recessibus." *Alquis tanta contuleramus arma que nisi prior peccasset, intacta te primitate tuerentur. Agnoscasne me? quid tibi pudore an stupore siluisti? uallem pudore, sed te ut illo stupor oppressit. Cumque me non modo tactum sed et nomen prorsus innotunque vidisset, ammovit pectori meo leniter humum et Nilul, inquit, periculi est, lethargum fatitur commemorem insultrum mentium morbum. Sui paulisper oblitus recordatur fuisse, si quidem nos ante cognoverit. Quod ut ait, paulisper umina ejus mortalium rerum nube caligantia patuit. Hæc dixit oculosque meos fletibus undantes in sinu veste sicavit." Scartaxini says that Beatrice's question reminds him of that of the Psalmist, *Psalms* xxiv, 3, 4: "Who will ascend into the hill of the Lord?" to which the answer is he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lied up his soul unto vanity," as Dante (*Purg.* xxxi, 34, 36) confesses himself to Beatrice to have done.*



across the stream. Although the veil which descended from her head, entwined with the touage of M.erva (*i.e.*, the olive) did not allow her to be seen distinctly, (yet) with the imperious gesture of a queen, she went on, as one who speaks, and keeps back his most burning words for the last: "Look well upon us, we are indeed, we are indeed, Beatrice: how didst thou deign to approach the mountain? Knewest thou not that here (alone) Man is happy?"

The whole speech, when disconnected from Dante's description of the scene, runs thus. "Dante, because Virgil has disappeared, do not weep any longer, or all events not just at present, but thou wilt soon have to weep to some purpose for a very different kind of wound. Look well at me, look, I *am*, yes, I *am* Beatrice! How camest thou to deign to ascend this mountain? Didst thou not know that here (alone) Man is truly happy?"

Dante then relates the shame that he felt at her reproof.

Gli occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte,  
Ma veggendomi in esso, i\* trassi all' etha,  
Tanta vergogna † mi gravò la fronte.

\* i (for li) trassi all' etha i means gli occhi. Dante uses for li several times. Compare *Inf.* vii, 53.

"La sconoscente vita che i fe sozzu"

And *Inf.* v, 77, 78:

"e tu allor li prega

Per quell' amor che i mena; e quei verranno

And *Par.* xii, 26, 27:

Pur come gli occhi ch' al piacer che i move  
Convien insieme chiudere e levarsi."

† *vergogna*: Scattazini asks the question very appropriately "Shame for what?" It could not be for any of the sins of the Antepurgatorio, or of the seven circles of the Purgatorio, because as each of the seven P's was erased from Dante's soul so he was perfectly absolved, and would no longer have occasion for being in sin. Therefore we must conclude that it is

Così la madre \* al figlio par superba.

Com' ella parve a me : per che d' amaro 80  
Sente il sapor † della pietate acerba.‡

My eyes fell down to the limpid stream ; but seeing myself in it, I withdrew them to the grass, such great shame did weigh upon my brow So to her son the mother appears haughty, as she appeared to me, because the savour of stern pity has a somewhat bitter taste.

Dante has some reason to think that Beatrice loved him, seeing that she had made so great an effort to save his soul, as to be his guide, and, with that belief in his mind, her displeasure cuts him to the quick. The Angels, gentle Ministers of comfort to the mourning sinner, suddenly burst out into song.

Ella si tacque, e gli Angeli cantaro  
Di subito *In te, Domine, speravi ;*  
Ma oltre *pedes meos* non passaro.

ashamed for some sin or error, not yet remitted to him. The pride of philosophic doubt, as to things concerning the faith, is not actually atoned for in any of the circles of Purgatory

\* *madre*. Compare *Par.* 3, 100-102, where Dante again likens Beatrice to a mother :

" Ond ella, appresso d' un pio sospito,  
Gl' occhi d' uno ve' me con quel semblante  
Che madre fa sopra ngl'uo. del'io.

And *Par.* xxii, 4, 5

" E quella, come madre che soccorre  
Subito al fig. o pallido ed anelo "

† *Sente il sapor*. Others read *senti 'l sapor*.

‡ *acerba*. " La pietà che castiga sa sempre d' amaro [ *it. amar* has a somewhat bitter taste ] al castigato. *Acerba* si riferisce qu. alla cosa, cioè alla *pieta* raffigurata come cibo, *amaro* si riferisce alla sensazione. Fra *acerbo* ed *amaro* vi ha la differenza che passa tra *sapere* e *gusto*. " (Scartazzini).

§ *In te, Domine, etc.*: The words are taken from *Psalm* xxxi, 1, et seq. " In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust, let me never be ashamed." They sang the first eight verses of this Psalm, in

She held her peace, and suddenly the Angels sang :  
 " *In te, Domine, speravi*", but beyond (the words)  
 "*pedes meos*" they did not go.

Their gentle intercessions so touch Dante's heart  
 that he bursts into tears. He compares the break-  
 out of his pent up feelings to the melting of  
 Apennine glaciers under the influence of the  
 winds from the South. Venturi (*Simil.* 114) remarks  
 that the conception is tender, but the simile is  
 and not expressed with Dante's accustomed terseness.

Si come neve \* tra le vive travi †  
 Per lo dosso d' Italia ‡ si congela,  
 Soffiata e stretta dagli venti schiavi, §

order that Dante should not despair, but ceased at the word  
 v. 8: "Thou hast set my feet in a large room."

\* *come neve*. "Allora queste donne cominciaro a parlare tra loro; e siccome talor vedemo cader l'acqua mischiata col neve, così in patria vedere le loro parole uscire mischiate e sospiri" *Vita Nuova*, § xviii, ll. 41-45).

† *vive travi*. Compare Virgil. *Æn.* vi, 181-182

"*fraxineæque trabes cuneis et fissile robur*  
*scanditur*."

And Ovid, *Mét.* viii, 329.

"*Siva frequens trabibus, quam nulla ceciderat*."

The expression is of frequent occurrence in Ovid. *Fasti* 7 marks that *travi* are properly dead trees, and the epistle 10 shows them to be alive and still growing.

‡ *Per lo dosso d' Italia*. Compare Dante, *The Vulg. E.* 14, ll. 1-4. "Transcuntes non humeros Apennini, sed levam Italiam cantam veniemur, cum solemus, orientem referentes." The Apennines are, as it were, the spine of Italy. "From the summit grew those magnificent pines, which gave the *dorsale* of Massa the epithet of *Triverna*, from the beams which were carried thence for the palaces of Rome, and which are named by Dante as

'The living rafters

U'pon the back of Italy

*Donnistown, Memoir of the Duke of Urbino*, §

§ *venti schiavi*. "I venti schiavi che stringono la neve tra i rami degli alberi, sono quelli che oggi si direbbero grana-

Poi liquefatta in sè stessa trapela,	
Pur che la terra che perde ombra spin,	
Sì che par foco fonder la candela : *	90
Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri †	
Anzi il cantar di quei che notan sempre	
Dietro alle note degli eterni giri ‡	
Ma po' che intesi nelle dolci tempore §	
Lor compatire a me,    piu che se detto	95

Chiamati in antico boreali; perchèchè la Schiavonia è fra  
 l'orientale e tramontana rispetto alla nostra penisola. I venti poi  
 da quali viene liquefatta la neve, spirano da mezzodì e da ostro,  
 indicato dal Poeta per la terra che perde ombra, proprietà delle  
 regioni tropicali, o della zona torrida, ove due volte all'anno  
 il sole tocca lo zenit di ciascun punto; e quindi  
 di un corpo spacio, in situazione verticale, cade alla sua  
 base, onde non compaisce da alcun lato.' (Antonelli quoted  
 by Tommaso.) Benvenuto compares the Mountain of Purgatory  
 to the beautiful Apennines; the trees of the Apennines to  
 Dante born among the Apennines, the snow to the purged  
 soul. The fierce North Wind, the *Bora*, is compared to Bea-  
 trice, harsh, but penetrating the heart for Dante's good. The  
 soft South Wind, which brings rain, is compared to the song of  
 the angels which melts Dante's heart into tears.

\* *par foco fonder la candela*: Compare Ovid, *Métam.* iii,  
 487-489:

... ut intabescere flava  
 Igne levi cera, matutineve prunæ  
 Sole tepente solent."

And *Psalm* lxxv, 2 "As wax melteth before the fire, so let  
 the wicked perish at the presence of God." And *Mtch* i, 4.

† *senza lagrime e sospiri*: Compare *Vita Nuova*, § ix, ll. 1-11:  
 Appresso la morte di questa donna alquanti di . . . andare  
 di spacia sì, che quasi li sospiri non poteano disfogare  
 l'angoscia che il core sentia."

‡ *eterni giri*: The Platonists believed that the spheres of  
 Heaven gyrated with great velocity, giving forth a harmonious  
 sound.

§ *tempore*: Compare Petrarch, part i, *Canzone* 1, st. 4:

"Ne mai in sì dolci o in sì soavi tempore  
 Risonar seppi gli amorosi guai."

|| *lor compatire a me*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ.*  
*Theol.* pars iii, Suppl. qu. xciv, art. 2): "Peccatores . . .

Avesser : — " Donna, perchè sì lo stembre : —  
 Lo giel che m'era intorno al cor ristretto,  
 Spirito ed acqua fessi, e con angoscia  
 Per la bocca e per gli occhi \* uscì del petto

Even as the snow that amid the living beams (i.e., pine trees) on the backbone of Italy (i.e., the Venetines) congeals, when blown on and packed by the Selavoman (i.e., Northern) winds, and afterwards melting trickles through itself (i.e., through the snow beneath, which thaw only takes place) provideth the land which loses shadow (Africa) breathes the wind, so that it seems a fire that melts a snow: just so was I without tears and sighs before I heard the song of them (the Angels) who always tune their notes after (in accord with) the eternal spheres: but when in their sweet melodies I heard their joys to me, more than if they had said: "Lady, wilt thou so break his spirit? then, the ice that was congealed around my heart, made itself into breath and water (i.e., sighs and tears), and with anguish issued from my breast, through my mouth, and through my eyes.

*Division IV.* Beatrice now addresses herself to the Angels, and after greatly commending Dante's early life of promise, she speaks in terms of severity

quandiu sunt in hoc mundo, in tal. statu sunt, quod vix per julio divina justitia possunt in beatitudinem transferri. In statu miserie et peccati. Et ideo compassio ad eos non habet et secundum electionem voluntatis prout Deos, angel et beati eis compati dantur, eorum salutem videntes, et secundum passionem, sicut compatiuntur eis homines boni in hac via existentex.

\* *stembre*: "cioè, perchè sì lo rompi: imperò che di coteste aspre riprensioni tu l'artechi a disperazione e roccia sua costanza." (Buti)

† *per gli occhi*: "Rivers of waters run down mine eyes because they keep not thy law. (Psalms cxix, 136.)

robation of his fall from it, and points out the necessity that had arisen for her interposition.

Ella, pur ferma in sulla detta coscia\* 100

Del carro stando, alle sustanzie pie †

Volse le sue parole così poscia .

—“ Voi vigilate nell' eterno die, ‡

Si che notte nè sonno a voi non fura

Passo, che faccia il secol § per sue vie ; 105

*In sulla detta coscia.* We have here a very important fence of reading, about which the principal authorities are equally divided, viz. :

“ Ella, pur ferma in su la detta coscia

Del carro,” etc.

*My reading I take here : or*

“ Ella, pur ferma in su la destra coscia

Del carro,” etc.

*My* Benvenuto adopts : and which would imply that Beatrice changed her position, and passed over to the right, or New Testament side of the car. The word *pur* speaks in favour of former reading. Beatrice was still standing on the aforementioned side of the car.

*Sustanzie pie.* Scrittazani says that *pie* has a very distinctible sense, meaning both devout, *i. e.* holy ; and compassionate. Compare *Comato*, v. 5, il. 58. “ La mozioni di quello che *pie* sono Sustanze separate da materna, cioè Inteligenze, qual la *pie* gire *pie* te ch' una Angel.” Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars 1, qu. 1, art. 5 : “ Cum angelus sit *simplex* subsistens, impossibile est quod eius substantia sit *duplex*.” And, qu. 111, art. 1 : “ Angelus est *quidam* forma *simplex*, et per hoc intelligibilis in actu. Unde sequitur quod *simplex* formam, quæ est sua substantia, seipsum intelliget.”

*Nell' eterno die.* The Angels are unceasingly engaged in contemplation of God, the Eternal Day or Light, and Beatrice, reminding them of this fact, tells them that neither night or sleep can deprive them of the knowledge of a single point in the revolutions of time, *i. e.* of any event that happens. Therefore, as they know everything, her answer is not addressed to them, but to Dante. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars 1, qu. 111, art. 1) : “ Sicut Deus per suam essentiam *eterna* cognoscit, ita Angeli ea cognoscunt per hoc quod *simplex* in eis per suas intelligibiles species.”

*Il secol.* Daniello explains that Dante here takes “ il secol il tempo, il quale altro non è che ombra dell' eternità : e

Onde la mia risposta è con più cura  
 Che m' intenda colui che di là piagne,  
 Perchè sia colpa e duol d' una misura.\*

She, still standing motionless on the afore-mentioned side of the chariot, thereafter (at the conclusion of the chant) addressed her words to those holy and compassionate Beings (the Angels) thus: "Ye wait in the eternal day, so that neither night nor sleep robs you of a single step which the world can make along its ways; wherefore my reply is (given) with greater care, in order that he who is weeping yonder over the stream may understand me, so that his fault and his contrition may be of equal measure.

Having thus made it clear that Dante's penitence must be proportioned to his errors, Beatrice points out all the influences which had contributed (as Plumptre) to endow Dante with the promise and potency of good. These influences were partly those of the heavens, which were believed to dispose every human being to a pre-destined end, according to the concomitance of the constellation under which that human being was born, and partly Dante's own natural endowments which were to be considered due to the influence of Divine Grace

Non pur per op'ra delle rote magne,†

perchè le cose mondane soggiaccion al tempo, prenden il secolo per il mondo e il mondo per gli huomini a esse contenuti. Compare Petrarch, part iv. Son. 3.

"I' era amico a queste vostre Dive,  
 Le qua' valmente il secolo abbandona."

\* *d' una misura*: Compare, *Par.* vii, 82-84.

"Ed in sua dignità mai non viene,  
 Se non tiemp' e dove colpa vota,  
 Contra mal diletta con giuste pene."

† *per op'ra delle rote magne*: Compare *Par.* xxii, 112-114

"O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno

Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine,  
 Secondo che le stelle son compagne :  
 Ma per larghezza di grazie divine,  
 Che sì alti vapori \* hanno a lor piova,  
 Che nostre viste là non van vicine,  
 Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova †  
 Virtualmente, § ch' ogni abito destro  
 Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova.

Di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco  
 Tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno.”

*and Vita Nuova*, § 30, ll. 15-20: “conciassiacosachè, secondo Colmeo e secondo la Cristiana verità, nove siano li cieli che si muovono, e secondo comune opinione astrologa li detti cieli soperano quaggiu secondo la loro abitudine insieme.” And Strach, part 1, *Contra* II, st. 7, on the auspicious birth of Laura

“Benigne stelle che compagne ferni  
 Al fortunato fianco,  
 Quando l' bel parto giu nel mondo scorse.”

\* *si alti vapori*, etc.: The Grace of God in its descent upon man has powers so efficacious and so great, that the eye of the human intellect is not only unable to reach them, but not even to approach them near enough to know and comprehend them. Compare *Par* XX, 118-120

“... per grazia che da sì profonda  
 Fontana stala, che mai creatura  
 Non pinse l'occhio infino ala prim' onda.”

† *vita nuova*: The interpretation that finds most favour among the Italian commentators is “nella sua novella, giovanile, età.” Some see in it Dante's life regenerated by his love for Beatrice; while others take it literally as the title of his book *La Vita Nuova*, and translate the line: “this man, at the time that he was writing the *Vita Nuova*, etc.”

‡ *Virtualmente*: This is a Scholastic expression signifying “potentially,” or of “such a natural disposition.” See *Contra* IV, 21, too long to quote here. Compare also Cicero, *Tusculan* III, cap. 1: “Quod si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam vitam intueri et perspicere, eademque optima duce cursum vitam esse possemus. haud erat sane, quod quisquam rationem ac doctrinam requireret. . . . Sunt enim ingenis nostris seminata virtutum; quae si adolescere liceret, ipsa nos ad beatam vitam natura perduceret.” But interprets the three lines, 115-117, thus: “*Questi*, cioè Dante, fu tal, cioè sì fatto e sì bene dis-



Not only through the working of the mighty spheres, which guide each seed to some destined end, according as the stars accompany (*i. e.*, influence) it; but through the bounteous gift of divine graces which have to rain them down vapours so lofty, that our powers of vision cannot come near them, this man in his early age had such potentialities of good, that every righteous quality would have generated in him wondrous effects.

From this Beatrice concludes that, Dante having made a bad use of Divine Grace, it turned to his injury.

Ma tanto più maligno \* e più silvestro

Si fa il terren col mal seme e non colto,

Quant' egh ha pia del buon vigor terrestre 120

posto, *ne la sua vita nova*, cioè ne la sua nuova vita, *l'eterna* cioè potenzialmente, secondo la sua buona disposizione dell'anima e del corpo, *di ogni aiuto d'istru*, cioè ogni aiuto d'istruimento. *Fatto verrebbe in lui mirabil fructo*, e od avrebbe fatto mirabil villosa prova de la sua grande e buona disposizione.

\* *maligno*. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* ii, 179.

"*O faciles primum terræ, cœlesque rigant*"

Dante *Convito* iv, 21, ll. 112-133, thus apostrophizes the manifold gifts of the Holy Spirit: "O buone herbe e fructi e mirabile sementa! ed oh ammirabile e beato seminare che non attendi, se non che la natura umana a terra a seminare! Oh beati quelli che tal sementa come si conviene! Oh è da sapere che l'primi e nobili pollo che germogli di questo seme, per essere fructo è l' *Applaudit* dell' *Anima*, il quale in Greco è chiamato *anima*. E se questo non è bene colto e sostenuto diritto per suoi suoi d'ine, poco vale la sementa, e meglio sarebbe non essere seminato. E però vuole santo Agostino, e ancora Augustino secondo dell' *Flora*, che l'uomo s'usi a ben fare e a ristrette le sue passioni, acciocchè questo tallo, che detto è per consuetudine indur, e ristretto nella sua ristrettezza possa fruttificare, e del suo frutto uscire la dolcezza della felicità." Compare also Horace, iv, *Od.* 4, 35-36:

"*Dactylus sed vim promovet insulam,*

*Rectique cultus pœstera roborant;*

*Ut tuncque defecere mores*

*Indecorant bene nata culpa.*"

But all the more does the ground become unprofitable and rank (when sown) with bad seed or (when) fertilized, in proportion as it has (soil of) good strong fertility.

Stazzini thinks that only a just measure of reproof could be understood here. The meaning is, that a fire with great powers of good is just the one to the greatest for evil, if not guided and governed religion. There is no idea here of accusing Dante profligate habits, but only of want of faith.

Stazzini points out that the Commentaries of Da and the *Anonimo Fiorentino* fully confirm his opinion, that Beatrice is only reproving Dante for his philosophical aberrations. Witte (*Ueber das Missständniss Dantes* reprinted in *Dante-Forschungen*, i. p. 58, *et seq.*) also holds the same view. Witte is that, even in childhood, the innocent heart of Dante was inflamed with love, so pure that it is impossible to say whether it was caused by one of the delights of earth, or whether the youth did not identify his affection for a Heavenly Father in his loved Beatrice. "The *Vita Nuova* is the book of a high love and of piety undisturbed by doubt, that we no wish save for a perpetual and beautifying contemplation of the wonders in which the grace of heaven beams and is reflected: and the fulness of the secret was guarded deeply in his breast as if which a single strange glance would profane. *San Rime* are joined to it. When, in the meanwhile, Dante had reached complete manhood, Beatrice was snatched away from him. Long he lamented for her as for lost innocence, but at last he was enticed

away by new charms. In the glance of a gracious maiden (*la donna gentile*) he thought he found again the love and commiseration of Beatrice; she promised him consolation, and soon the light of her eyes dispossessed the memory of the departed and she took his whole heart. She is Philosophy. The *Amoroso Convivio* is devoted to this sorrow-laden love. Unquiet is it, and full of torment, since the peace of childish resignation has forsaken his breast. More impetuously desired he ever a new gift from the beloved one, who often turned herself unwillingly from him, and then he gave himself up to loud lament; at times also he felt that his affection could never bring lasting comfort into his heart. Thus was Dante led to speculate on everything that came under his view. He analyzed the nature of justice, valour, magnanimity; he developed his principles of state-administration: he studied the significance of the great events of his time; and devoted his life to the bringing into practice of all that he held to be true. During this epoch of his career occurred the portion that he gave up to public life in the city of his birth, and when most probably he perfected his views on language and poetry. Troubled, however, by earthly cares, he turned to philosophy, which unveiled to him that side of her usually unseen by mortals. He attempted to ascend the steepest paths of speculation by the aid of natural reason, and, bewildered by philosophic pride, was for a time drawn away from the religion of Christ. At last, however, divine grace was rekindled in his heart and he returned to his first love for Beatrice.

Beatrice now speaks both historically and allegorically of their early acquaintance.

Alcun tempo \* il sostenni col mio volto ;  
 Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti † a lui,  
 Meco il menava in dritta parte ‡ volto.  
 Sì tosto come in sulla soglia fui  
 Di mia seconda etade, § e mutai vita,  
 Questi si tolse a me, e diessi altrui.

125

For some time I sustained him with my countenance ;

\* *Alcun tempo, etc.* : "Ciòè in puerizia, dove l' autore non cercava circa le sue cognizioni ragione alcuna, e a lui soddisfacea quia sic est." (Lana). By *al. un tempo* we are to understand that sixteen years had elapsed from the time that Dante had first met Beatrice, until the time that she died.

† *Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti* : "Era . . . Beatrice . . . assai leggiadretta secondo la sua fanciullezza, e ne' suoi atti gentilesca, e piacevole molto, con costumi e con parole assai più gravi e modeste che l' suo piccolo tempo non richiedeva." (Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*). In the *Canzone* beginning *Perchè intendendo*, etc, which is *Canzone 1* of the *Convito*, at the beginning of *Tratt. ii*, Dante says, ll. 24, 25 :

"Chi veder vuol la salute,  
 Faccia che gli occhi d' esta Donna miri."

And in *Canzone ii* of *Convito iii*, beginning *Amor, che nell' amante mi ragiona*, ll. 63-65 :

"Sua beltà piove fiammelle di fuoco,  
 Animate d' un spirito gentile,  
 Ch' è creatore d' ogni pensier buono."

‡ *dritta parte* : Poletto (*Dizionario Dantesco*, vol. viii, *App. n. 1*, l. 2) feels sure no one can doubt that this *dritta parte* is the same as the *diritta via* of *Inf. i*, line 3 :

"Che la diritta via era smarrita."

And line 12 .

"Che la verace via abbandonai."

We may contrast this with ll. 130, 131, of the present Canto

"E volse i passi suoi per via non vera,  
 Immagini di ben seguendo false."

§ *seconda etade* : In the *Convito*, tr. iv, c. 24, Dante divides human life into four ages, the first age ending at twenty-five years ; so he rightly speaks of Beatrice as just about to enter upon her second age when she died, which she did in 1290, at the age of twenty-four years and three months.

showing him my youthful eyes, I led him with me bound on the right way. So soon as I was on the threshold of my second age (*i.e.*, about twenty five years old), and changed life fearfully for heavenly, he abandoned me, and gave himself to others.

Benvenuto takes this passage in its literal sense, implying that, when Beatrice married, Dante forgot and thought of others, and eventually, at the solicitation of his friends, took a wife, but he adds that many explain it allegorically, that *gli occhi governetti* would represent the first elements of Theology, that *si teneva a me e diessi altrui* would be that he took to other and secular sciences, and that, when Beatrice died, his wife made him enter into public, municipal, and diplomatic affairs. Scartazzini follows Witte (p. 546) in thinking that *altrui*, taken in its literal sense, refers to *la donna gentile* mentioned in the *Vita Nuova*, 30-39, and, allegorically, the philosophic speculation to which he gave himself up, after abandoning his faith; but that, whoever *la donna gentile* may have been, she was in no way unworthy either morally or socially, of the pure affection and holy love of a great mind like that of Dante.

Beatrice continues her narrative.

Quando di carne a spirito era salita,  
E bellezza e virtù cresciuta m'era,\*  
Fu' io a lui men cara e men gradita,

\* *Nella carne e virtù cresciuta m'era*. "L'anima del poeta è bella, e vigorosa, ma entro il corpo non può manifestare tutta sua bellezza e vigoria. nel Paradiso è nella piena libertà e di vita." *Il Paradiso Commento di Scartazzini*, per Lorenzo Martelli, Torino, 1844, 300. *Quoted by Scartazzini*. "Anima beata separata a se stessa liberor in voluntate, ratione et memoria." *Le vite*, etc. *e men cara*. Scartazzini points out that Beatrice does

E volse i passi suoi per via non vera,\*  
Imagini di ben seguendo false,†  
Che nulla promission ‡ rendono intera.

130

When I was risen up from flesh to spirit, and beauty and virtue had increased in me, I was less dear to him and less pleasing; and he turned his steps into a path that was untrue, following after deceptive semblances of good, which to no promise give its due fulfilment.

For thus censuring Dante for entering into the ways of error, by which are meant philosophic speculations, Beatrice points out his obstinate per-

cept that Dante altogether ceased to love her, but that his love for her grew lukewarm, and that, moreover, just when he ought to have loved her most.

*Per via non vera*: Compare the whole passage in *Par.* xxx, 26, in which all the dangerous paths into which Christians are misled are pointed out, especially ll. 85-87:

"Voi non andate giù per un sentiero  
Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta  
L'amor dell'apparenza e il suo pensiero."

*Via non vera* in the text alludes to the philosophic speculations which had a perilous attraction for Dante. It was in following them that he lost his way in the *selva selvaggia* (*Inf.* i, 5), which made Virg. say to him (*Inf.* i, 91-93):

"A te conven tenere altro viaggio,  
. . . Se vuoi campar d' esto loco selvaggio."

*Imagini di ben . . . false*. Dante's own confession in answer to Beatrice's peremptory interrogatory (*Purg.* xxxi, 34-35), is the comment on these words:

"Prangendo dissi: 'Le presenti cose  
Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi.'"

*Che nulla promission rendono intera*: Compare Boethius, *Cons.* lib. iii, pr. 8: "Nihil igitur dubium est, quin hæc ad finitinem vite devia quedam sunt, nec perducere quemquam valeant ad quod se perduciturus esse promittunt." And pr. 9: "Hæc igitur vel imagines veri boni, vel imperfecta quam bona dare mortalibus videntur: verum autem atque æctum bonum conferre non possunt." On this Pietro di Dante observes: "dedit se ipse auctor mundanis et poeticis plus infructuosus, et quæ nil promittunt integrum."

sistence in them, which, but for her further inter-  
 tion, had well-nigh resulted in the ruin of his soul.

Nè impetrare ispirazion \* mi valse,  
 Con le quali ed in sogno ed altrimenti  
 Lo rivocai, † sì poco a lui ne calse.  
 Tanto giù cadde, ‡ che tutti argomenti  
 Alla salute sua eran già corti, §  
 Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti !  
 Per questo visitai l'uscio dei morti,  
 Ed a colui che l'ha quassu condotto,

\* *impetrare ispirazion*. Qui vuole l'autore mostrare che es-  
 sendo in sì perverso stato, visioni alcune li avvenisse per co-  
 regger sua selvaggia via" (Lana). "E questo si può esse-  
 nere in due modi, o che in sogno Beatrice, donna di morte ed  
 immortale secolo trapassata, l' ammonisse, come ha detto  
 sopra, capitolo vigesimo-settimo di questo Canto, o ver-  
 be la affezione, ch'elli avea allo studio di teologia, ed in sogno ed  
 altrimenti li mostrasse sì come detto è delle passioni, che  
 inducono sogno, capitolo predetto." (Ultimo).

† *lo rivocai*: "Lo richiamai dalla torta strada del vizio alla  
 dritta della virtù." (Daniello). Lubin sums up the whole pas-  
 sage thus: "La Beatrice fiorentina gli fu occasione  
 alla virtù, e la Beatrice celeste d' insegnarli a mantenerla e  
 perfezionarsi."

‡ *Tanto giù cadde*: Scartazzini (*Fidiz Min.*, says "Not so  
 much morally did Dante fall) as intellectually." See the text  
 note on *Dante's Penitence upon the left bank of Lethe*, at the  
 end of Division II of Canto xxxi, p. 368.

§ *corti*. The *Gran Dizionario* interprets *corto* in this passage  
 "Iscarso, non sufficiente." "Tutti argomenti" *A lui sua  
 sua eran già corti*, unperò che non bastavano, nè eran sù-  
 centi."

|| *le perdute genti and l'uscio dei morti*. Compare the words  
 above the Gate of Hell (*Inf.* III, 3):

"Per me si va tra la perduta gente."

And *Inf.* VIII, 84, 85:

"Chi è costui, che senza morte

Va per lo regno della morta gente ?"

In *Purg.* XXIII, 121-123, Dante says

"... Costui, per la profonda

Notte menato m'ha da veri morti,

Con questa vera carne che il seconda."

Li preghi miei piangendo \* furon porti.

Nor did it avail me to obtain inspirations (through the grace of God), with which both in dreams and otherwise, I called him back; so little recked he. So low did he fall, that all means for his salvation were already insufficient, except showing him the people of perdition (*i.e.*, the lost in Hell). For this purpose I visited the gateway of the dead, and to him (Virgil) who has guided him up hither, my prayers with weeping were addressed.

The whole of this episode is recounted in the Second Canto of the *Inferno*, and is often referred to in other passages.

Beatrice's concluding words are, in Benvenuto's opinion, an answer to the question of the Angels in *d. 96*, *Donna perchè sì lo stempri?* We shall see in the ensuing Canto, that she turns from the Angels, to whom hitherto she has been speaking, and addresses herself directly to Dante himself.

Alto fato † di Dio sarebbe rotto ‡

\* *piangendo*. Compare *Inf. ii*, 115-117:

"Pocchia che m'ebbe ragionato questo,  
Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse;  
Perchè mi fece del venir più presto."

† *Alto fato*: Scartazzini says that *l'alto fato di Dio* is God's Justice. Compare Boethius, *Phil. Cons.* lib. iv, pt. 6: "Nam Providentia est ipsa illa divina ratio in summo omnium principe constituta, que cuncta disponit. Fatam vero inherens rebus inobilibus dispositio per quam Providentia suis queque necesse ordinibus. Providentia namque cuncta pariter, quamvis diversa, quamvis innumera, complectitur: Fatam vero singula digerit in motum, locis, formis, ac temporibus distributa. ut hæc temporalis ordinis explicatio, in divine mentis adunata prospectu, Providentia sit, eadem vero adunatio digesta, atque explicata temporibus, Fatam vocetur." And St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cxv, art. 2:

"Causaliter Dei potestas, vel voluntas dicitur potest fatum."

‡ *sarebbe rotto*: Compare *Inf. ii*, 96.



Se Lete si passasse, e tal vivanda  
 Fosse gustata senza alcuno scotto \*

Di pentimento che lagrime spanda."

God's high decree would be transgressed, if Lethe  
 should be passed and such food (*i.e.*, its living waters)  
 should be tasted without some scot of penitence that  
 is poured

And *Purg.* <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

\* *scotto*: (= taverns, and :

o lassù frange."

s:  
 so così rotte?"

perly the food one consumes in  
 that is paid for such food.

END OF CANTO XXX.

CANTO XXXI.  

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THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (*continued*). — BEATRICE REPROVES DANTE. — HIS PENITENCE, CONFESSION, AND FORGIVENESS. — HIS IMMERSION IN LETHE. — HE IS CONDUCTED TO THE HANDMAIDENS OF BEATRICE. — BEATRICE UNVEILS HERSELF TO HIM.

In the last Canto we read of the severe reprehension Dante by Beatrice in general terms. In the present Canto her reproaches go more into particulars.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 42, Beatrice compels Dante to confess his past errors, and their causes.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 43 to v. 75, she convinces him that he had no valid excuse to offer for straying from the right path.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 76 to v. 111, after Beatrice's manifestation of sincere repentance, he is immersed by Matelda in the waters of Lethe, and led to the four Nymphs.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 112 to v. 145, Beatrice, at the request of the four Nymphs, unveils herself, and allows Dante at last to contemplate her features.

*Division I.* We left Dante in the preceding Canto after lamenting the departure of Virgil, being proved by Beatrice for doing so, with the warning that he would soon have to weep for a more serious cause (*pianger . . . convien per altra spada*, l. 57). In her reply to the Angels, beginning with the words "Voi vigilate nell' eterno die," (l. 103) she made good her words, though as yet only assailing Dante with the edge of her sword; but now in this Canto she begins to attack him with the point, that is much more vigorously, making her words go home forcing him fully and freely to avow his faults, and to confirm by his own admission the justice of her censure.\*

—"O tu, che sei di là dal fiume sacro."—

Volgendo suo parlare a me per punta,

Che pur per taglio m'era paruto acro,

Ricominciò, seguendo senza cuncta,†

\* Tommaséo, in graceful language, sums up the opening scene of this Canto: "L' amenità del Paradiso terrestre a dolce vista di Matelda e di Beatrice, la fiorita {the *rose flowers*} e i canti degli Angeli, non isvestono di immagine guerra il pensiero e la dicitura del poeta, nel parlare acro a lui, *il taglio e la punta* (ll. 2, 3), che vede nella *spada* Dio, commisurata alla misericordia, *ritolgersi contro* (l. 12) *ruota* (l. 14). Il prorompere della sua angoscia è *assente ad arco che si rompe* (l. 16), *ad asta che tocca con mano* (l. 18). Dagli occhi di Beatrice *Amore gli trassa* *armi* (l. 117). *Il primo strale delle cose fallite* (l. 55, 56) *levare in alto il suo volo*, perchè *dinnanzi ai pennuti suoi dardo* (ll. 62-63). Gli ostacoli al bene sono *fosse e catene* alla via *attraversano* (l. 25). Il pentimento poi è *erba di bunge* (l. 85), il pentimento lo *morde*. Egli *scoppia* (l. 19) della sua vergogna, e *l' accusa del suo peccato* (l. 40, 41) di bocca."

† *cuncta*: "Senza cuncta, cioè senza dimoranza." (But, the Latin *cunctatio*, delay.

— "Di', di', \* se questo è vero; a tanta accusa  
Tua confession conviene esser congiunta."— 5

"O thou, that art on the far side of the sacred stream," turning to me the point of her discourse, which even edgeways had seemed to me so trenchant, she recommenced, continuing without a pause, "Say, say, if this be true. To so heavy a charge thine own confession must needs be conjoined."

She implies that thus alone will he be able to merit absolution.

Dante is suffocated with shame, and, for a moment, is unable to utter a word. Beatrice thereupon follows up her attack.

Era la mia virtù † tanto confusa,  
Che la voce ‡ si mosse, e pria si spense §  
Che dagli organi suoi fosse dischiusa.

\* *Di, di'*. This is conduplication expressing vehemence of speech. "La Filosofia costringe Boezio [all through the first book of *Phil. Consol.*] a confessare i suoi falli. Bello vedere questi due sapienti infelici [*s. e.* Dante and Boethius], che dal dolore deduceno ragione d'umiltà virtuosa e di lagrime sante." (Tommasèo).

† *la mia virtù*: "Intendesi la potenza naturale di usare degli organi corporali." (Brunone Bianchi). Compare Petrarch, *Part. 4, Son. 11*.

"Era la mia virtute al cor ristretta," Compare also *Vita Nuova*, § 15, and the Donnet following it, which in their entirety are an illustration of this passage, though too long to quote in detail.

‡ *voce*. Baguoli compares this passage with Virg. *Æn.* 11, 724. "Obstupens, steterantque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit," and considers the Virgilian line to be far inferior in beauty to that of Dante.

§ *spense*: Compare *Par.* xvi, 124:

"La lingua ch'io parlai fu tutta spenta."

Tommasèo speaks with delight of the beauty of the picture in this scene, where Dante's haughty nature bows down in humility before the loveliness of Beatrice's innocence, while every word in the passage depicts him alike in mind, in gesture, in word, as a helpless child that hardly dares to open its lips.

Poco sofferse,\* poi disse:—"Che pense?†

Rispondi a me; chè le memorie triste

In te non sono ancor dall'acqua offese."—‡

My faculties were so confused, that my voice moved and then died away before it had been set free from its organs. She tarried awhile, then said: "On what thinkest thou? Reply to me, for thy bitter recollections have not as yet been effaced by the water (of Lethe)."

Dante admits his errors by a monosyllabic confession—

Confusione § e paura insieme miste

Mi pinsero un tal sì fuor della bocca,

Al quale intender fui mestier le viste.¶

\* *sofferse*: Cesari smiles at certain Commentators who profess to give a roundabout explanation as to *sofferse* here—saying *Beatrice poco sofferse me così in silenzio*, for he observes *coltivare*, like *sostenere*, signifies of itself *aspettare*, *intendere*. Compare Boccaccio, *Decam. Giorn. ix*, Nov. 9 "Perchè una gran carovana di some sopra mali e sopra cavalcavano, convenne lor sofferir di passar [they had to wait so long] tanto che quelle passate fossero." Cesari gives an instance in the *Vita Santa Elisab.* 369, where *sostenere* is used in the same sense "Lo suo santissimo corpo, anz che si seppellisse, se ne divozione sostenuto quattro di [i. e. kept back four days before was buried]."

† *Che pense?* Virgil roused Dante from his compassionate meditation on the sorrows of Francesca da Rimini and Malatesta with the same words.—See *Inf.* v, 111.

‡ *offese*: According to the *Gran Dizionario*, *offense* is transitive, the same as *offeso*. In this particular passage it is used negatively "per morto, spento, tolto via. AAside alla del'acqua di Lete, le qual nel suo Purgatorio hanno la virtù spegnere in chi ne beve la memoria delle colpe commesse." Biagioli interprets it *vanellite*.

§ *Confusione*: The *Gran Dizionario* interprets the word in this passage (§ 9) as signifying *shame*, and quotes the following passage from one of the celebrated *Prediche* of the 13th century Segneri (preached about 1670). "Fu tanta la confusione che n'ebbe, che cadde inferno."

¶ *Al quale intender fui mestier le viste*: On this line Cesari exclaims: "Sempre è mirabile questo Dante, nel notare e p[er]

Shame and fear mingled together forced out of my mouth such a feeble "yes," that eyesight was requisite for it to be perceived.

Convenuto remarks that Dante's answer was like that of a bride, when asked by the priest if she will take the bridegroom to be her husband, her words can only be read from the lips, but rarely heard by the ear.

Dante now gives way to an outburst of grief.

Come balestro \* frange, † quando scocca  
 Da troppa tesa, la sua corda e l' arco,  
 E con men foga l' asta il segno tocca ;  
 Si scoppia io sott' esso grave carico,  
 Fuori sgorgando lagrime e sospiri,  
 E la voce allentò ‡ per lo suo varco. 20

As a crossbow breaks both its string and the bow, when it is discharged at too much tension, and with diminished force the bolt strikes the mark ; so did I burst out under that heavy burden (of shame and fear), pouring forth tears and sighs, and my voice faltered in its passage.

The voice nearly dies on the lips, which are the passage of the voice.

Beatrice continues her reproaches, and presses Dante to show, if he can, any just cause or excuse for his having gone astray.

particolare particolarità, di che ne riesce la verità viva e visibile. E gli fu un sì tanto merito, che non sentire, ma fu convenuto agli occhi indovinare dal moto delle Labbra senza più \*

\* *balestro*. "Balestro è un fusto di legno, a modo d' archibugio, con arco innestato alla cima, donde si scocca la freccia." (Cesari).

† *frange*. Many commentators take this as having *si* understood = *si frange*. But Tommaseo says: "Costrutto non *frange*, *frase* (egli) intendere. Balestro frange la corda e l' arco, troppo tesi e teso o carica, quando egli scocca il dardo."

‡ *allentò*. Compare Virgil, *Æneid.* xi. 150 :

"Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est.

Ond' ella a me :—" Per entro i miei disiri,\*  
 Che ti menavano ad amar lo bene  
 Di là dal qual non è a che † si aspiri,  
 Quai fossi ‡ attraversati o quai catene  
 Trovasti, per che del passare innanzi  
 Dovessiti così spoghar la spene? §

25

\* *disiri*: Buti interprets the sentence *Per entro i miei disiri*—"ciòè per mezzo dei miei desiderii, cioè desiderii che avran verso me," and Benvenuto: "idest, inter desideria que habebas ad me in pœritia tua, quando me sequebaris." See again in line 54. *Dovessiti per trarre te nel suo disio*,—"since afterwards have attracted thee into loving it."

† *a che*: In *Convito*, iv, c. 22, l. 196, Dante writes: "Ista nostra beatitudine somma." See also Boet., *Phil. Cons.*, lxxxv pros. 10: "Deum rerum omnium principem bonum esse communis humanorum conceptio probat animorum; nam cum Deo melius excogitari queat, id quo melius nihil est bonum esse quis dubitet? Ita vero bonum esse Deum ratio demonstrat perfectum quoque in eo bonum esse convincat. Nam si sit rerum omnium princeps esse non poterit, erit enim præstantius aliquid perfectum possidens bonum, quod hoc prius atque antiquius esse videatur: omnia namque relictis minus integris priora esse claruerunt. Quare ne in tantis ratio prodeat, confitendum est summum Deum summum et fortique boni esse plenissimum sed perfectum bonum esse esse beatitudinem constitutum: verum igitur beatitudinem summo Deo sitam esse necesse est."

‡ *Quai fossi*, etc.: Compare Petrarch, part iv, son. 1.

"E se tornando all' amorosa via,  
 Per farvi al bel desio volger le spalle,  
 Trovaste per la via fossati o poggi;  
 Fu per mostrar quanti' è spinosa calce,  
 E quanto alpestra e dura la salita,  
 Onde al vero valor conven ch' uom pogg."

§ *spene* and *speme* are poetic forms of *speranza* in frequent use. Compare *Inf.* xi, 111:

" . . . poichè in altro pon la spene"  
 And Petrarch, part i, *Canzone* xvii, st. 3

"Or ti solleva a più beata spene."

And Petrarch, part ii, *Ballata* i:

"Quando fiora  
 Mia spene e 'l guidardon d' ogni mia fede

E quali agevolezze o quali avanzi \*

Neila fronte degli altri si mostraro,  
Per che dovessi lor passeggiare anzi? †

Whereupon she to me: "Amidst the love that I inspired thee, which was leading thee on to love that Supreme Good beyond which there is nothing to which Man can aspire, what trenches didst thou find traversing thy path, or what chains (impeding thy bark), that thou shouldst strip thyself of the hope of passing onward? And what allurements or what advantages were displayed upon the face of the others (*i.e.*, temporal goods), that thou shouldst have walked (astray) towards them?"

Benvenuto remarks that Beatrice's argument here is most subtle and ingenious, and may be taken in the allegorical sense that, however difficult the study of holy things may be, as it requires faith in matters that cannot be known to our natural reason; yet, when the Supreme Good was the Instructor of Dante, leading him on to the knowledge of God, every fatigue

\* *avanzi*. See *Gran Dizionario s. v. Avanzo*, § 4, where this passage is quoted. "Per questo, Guadagno, nel proprio e nel figurativo." Compare Boccaccio, *Decam. Giorn. x*, Nov. 8: "Quali stati, qua' meriti, quali avanzi avrebbon fatto Gisippo poter curar di perder i suoi parenti e quelli di Sofronia?"

† *lor passeggiare anzi*: *Anzi* in the *Gran Dizionario*, § 2, is in this passage interpreted. "Per davanti, Alla presenza." The Commentators nearly all give different meanings to the words. Benvenuto has "sequi eas." But thinks it means to go to meet anyone; and I follow that interpretation: "dovessi passeggiando fatti loro incontra." Landino is quite different in his view of it: thinking *passeggiare anzi* means "to walk before," as servants preceding their masters, and, therefore, the sentence would imply that Dante was in the service of the temporal pleasures spoken of. Daniello's idea is that *passeggiare anzi* means *ragheggiarle*, *i. e.* to court or woo them, or to look upon them with the eyes of a lover: "come si suol dire degli innamorati, i quali hanno in costume di passeggiare dmanzi la casa delle amate loro." Blanc *Voc. Dant.* says. "dizione molto oscura."



in acquiring experience of holy things ought to have seemed easy to him. Although the secular sciences have the greatest charm outwardly, yet they are in substance vain and hurtful, because they tend to vain glory, and often lead to covetousness.

In the twelve lines that follow, we learn how Dante replied to Beatrice's questions by a full confession of his weakness, how she commended him for his complete admission of his sin, and gave him hope of forgiveness after he should have heard from her what his conduct ought to have been.

Dopo la tratta d' un sospiro amaro,  
A pena ebbi la voce che rispose,  
E le labbra a fatica la formarò.\*  
Piangendo dissi:—"Le presenti cose  
Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi  
Tosto † che il vostro viso ‡ si nascosse."

\* *la formarò for formarono.* Compare Virg. *A. n.* i. 170. "Quaerenti labibus ille

Suspirans, inique trahens a pectore vocem."

† *Tosto, etc.* Scattered critics cites these Commentators seek to put an allegorical interpretation on Beatrice's words, ll. 22-30. He does not admit that Dante, who was twenty years old when Beatrice died, had, before that time, been given up to the study of the Holy Scriptures, or of Theology, and abandoned it afterwards. Is not the *terza* itself a convincing proof that he continued that study? The word *terza* must not be taken literally. The *terza* is the name with whom Dante fell in love, and in consequence became faithful to the memory of Beatrice, first appeared to him, as relates in the *Vita Nuova*, § xxxv. Norton's Translation of that day on which the year was complete since this Beatrice was made one of the denizens of the eternal. In the *Vita Nuova* he says: "I saw a gentle lady, young and beautiful, who was looking at me from a window with a full of compassion, so that all pity seemed assembled in her face."  
See Norton's on the *Inferno*, vol. i, pp 300, 301. *terza* *P. età . . . piena.*

‡ *il vostro viso* This is the first occasion of Dante's

er the heaving of a bitter sigh, scarcely had I the  
 ce to make an answer, and only by an effort could  
 lips give it utterance. Weeping I said: "The  
 ggs of present life with their false pleasures turned  
 steps astray, so soon as your countenance was  
 den from me."

t false pleasures Dante means the seductions  
 world, namely, the honours, dignities, glories,  
 arts and poetry, which, with their ensnaring  
 ies, absorb the thoughts in the present, and  
 et the contemplation of what is invisible in the

trice, seeing Dante's confusion and evident con-  
 , somewhat relents, and tells him that his con-  
 t has benefited him.

Ed ella :— " Se tacesti, o se negasti

C'ò che confessi, non fora men nota

La colpa tua ; da tal giudice sassi.

Ma quando scoppia dalla propria gota

40

L'accusa del peccato, in nostra corte

Rivolge sè contra il taglio la rota.

Ed she — " Hadst thou been silent or hadst denied  
 t which thou confessest, thy fault would not be  
 less manifest, by such a Judge is it known. But  
 on the accusation of sin bursts forth from the

drive, and we may note that, whereas she had spoken to  
 h the familiar *tu*, he is careful to address her with the  
 ful *voi*, the only mode, in Dante's time, of addressing a  
 r. In modern Italian, *tu* is never used except between  
 et intimate friends, in the family life, or to inferiors.  
 t, or simply consideration, is shown by addressing people  
 hird person with the *ella* or *lei*, called in Tuscany, *dice*  
 . *Lei* in Tuscany is seldom used, except from masters  
 ants, but is in constant use in ordinary conversation in  
 In other parts of Italy, where the *Lei* is less frequent,  
 ate's marked distinction between *voi* and *tu*, see *Readings*  
*Inferno*, vol. 1, pp. 331-333.

sinner's own mouth, then in our (heavenly) Court of Justice, the grindstone turns back against the edge.

The grindstone is usually turned [*sotto il taglio*] with the edge of the Sword of Justice, so as to sharpen Beatrice means that, after the confession of the penitent, it would be made to revolve in the opposite direction [*contra il taglio*], so as to blunt the edge. Divine mercy disarms Divine justice.\*

*Division II.* Beatrice now, by way of proving to Dante that he has no valid excuse to offer for having strayed out of the right path, shows him the emptiness and folly of his transgressions, which, if excusable in an inexperienced stripling, are not so by any means in a man of mature age.

Tuttavia, perchè mo vengogna porte

Del tuo errore, e perchè altra volta

Udendo le Sirene sie più forte,

65

Pon giù il seme del piangere, ed ascolta ;

Si udirai come in contraria parte

Mover doveati mia carne sepolta.

All the same, that thou mayest now feel shame for thy error, and that another time thou mayest be stronger if hearing the Sirens (*i.e.*, the temptations of pleasure), lay aside the source of thy tears (*i.e.*, shame and fear), and listen ; so wilt thou hear how my death (*i.e.*, my buried flesh) should have led thee in the contrary direction (to that of earthly pleasures).

Scartazzini explains that by the seed of weeping<sup>65</sup>

\* " Questo è uno de' tratti maestri di Dante, che trae a forma il concetto con quelle forme che vuole ; e qui quando il peccator si confessa ; e Dio muta la sua sentenza, la colpa non gli è più reputata ; presa la immagine della *whet-stone*, che si mangia il taglio del coltello da sé mangiando di costa." (Cesari).

meant the *grave carico* (line 19), di *confusione e paura insieme miste* (line 13). Beatrice wanted Dante's full attention to the words she was about to address to him. One who is oppressed by confusion and fear is not in the best condition of mind to follow attentively the grave discourse of another.

Benvenuto says that by the Sirens are to be understood the liberal arts and sciences, and poetry. He adds that St. Jerome called finely written words the devil's bait, and said that he was once himself enticed by them, at which time the Holy Scriptures seemed to be rough and uncultivated writing; but that when he abandoned the liberal arts and sciences, and turned his thoughts wholly to religion, the words of the Scriptures seemed the food of the Angels.

Beatrice now argues that love for her was to be referred to love for others, by reason of her excellence.

Mai non t' appresentò \* natura o arte

\* *Mai non t' appresentò et seq.* The poet Alfieri, in one of his unpublished marginal notes quoted by Biagioli, says: "Fu veramente Beatrice una di quelle divine, soprannaturali e straordinarie bellezze, che veggonsi tratto tratto risplendere fra di noi, come stelle, sotto l'corporeo e terrestre velo, immagini più pure della bellezza di lassù, e degne ch'ogni gentil cuor arda in loro altari il purissimo incenso di meraviglia e amore." Alfieri *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri con il commento di Tomaso Casini*, quarta edizione, riveduta e corretta. Firenze, 1825, 16mo' says: "Della bellezza corporea di Beatrice non pochi e delicati accenni nelle poesie di Dante, ma tutti ce presentano come sovrumana e straordinaria, basterebbe addurre anche solo i versi della famosa canzone della *Vita Nuova*, § XIX, st. 4:

    'Dice di lei Amor: Cosa mortale  
    Come esser può sì adorna e sì pura?  
    Poi la riguarda, e fra sè stesso giura

Piacer, quanto le belle membra \* in ch' io      30

Rinchiusa fui, e sono in terra sparte :

E se il sommo piacer si ti fallio

Per la mia morte, † qual cosa mortale

Dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio ? ‡

Never did Nature or Art set before thee such a del'ight  
as the fair members (*i. e.*, form) wherein I was enclosed,  
and they are now crumbled into dust. And if the  
chiefest delight thus failed thee through my death,  
what (other) mortal thing should afterwards have  
attracted thee into loving it?

Benvenuto says that, as Beatrice seemed to Dante more beautiful than any other woman, so in an allegorical sense the science of Theology is the most beautiful of all sciences; and *le belle membra*, from this point of view, would mean all the Theological writings dispersed throughout the world. In the same way, *qual cosa mortale* may signify "what mortal science."

Che Dio ne intende di far cosa nuova.  
Color di perla quasi informa, quale  
Convien a donna aver, non faor misura  
Ella è quanto di ben più far natura;  
Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.<sup>17</sup>

\* *le belle membra*: Compare *Comento* i, cap. 5, l. 91-92  
"Pare l'uomo essere bello, quando le sue membra esse-  
mente rispondono." And *Comento* iv, cap. 25, ll. 128-133  
meaning of what Beatrice says to Dante 8, that it never would  
be possible for him to find greater delight than her beauty  
figuratively or literally, presented to him.

† *Per la mia morte*: Scartazzini begs us to observe that it  
is no doubt that Beatrice is here speaking of her real, not her figurative death.

‡ *nel suo disio*: Scartazzini thinks the whole sense of 29-30  
is this: "My beauty, says Beatrice, offered to thee the  
exalted delight, this delight failed thee at my death, and  
wert left in despair. Thou oughtest not then to have  
be allured by any other earthly love, so as not to be left  
despair a second time."

Beatrice continues her reproaches, telling Dante that, having been once deceived, he ought never to have been led astray a second time.

Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale \* 55  
 Delle cose fallaci, levar suso  
 Diretto a me che non era più tale.  
 Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso,  
 Ad aspettar più colpi, o pargoletta,†  
 O altra vanità con sì breve uso. 60

\* *Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale, etc.* "Questo testo è chiaro. Dice Beatrice poichè la mia carne e le belle membra, che tanto piacere ti rappresentarono, erano fallite il quale fu lo primo strale delle cose fallaci, che più ti punse), tu non dovevi attendere, nè operare, sì che un altro te ne fosse saettato. E dice che nè quella giovane, la quale egli nelle sue *Rime* chiamò pargoletta, nè quella Lisetta, nè quell'altra montanina, nè quella, nè quell'altra li dovevano gravare le penne delle ali in giù, tanto ch'egli fosse ferito da uno simile, o quasi simile, strale." *Ultimo* "Per primo strale, cioè, per primo colpo che ti dette la fortuna quando ti tolse il mio corpo." (Landino.) Scartazzini thinks that lo primo strale certainly meant the death of Beatrice, and therefore she tells him that when thus wounded, and losing the *summo piacere*, i.e. the contemplation of her beautiful form '*le belle membra*', he ought to have understood that all earthly joys are transitory and perishable, and consequently should have ceased to follow after them, for fear of being struck by a second shaft. He should have aspired alone to eternal and incorruptible joys.

† *o pargoletta*: Dante uses *pargoletti* for bambini in *Par.* xxvii, 125. One of his canzoni (*L'allata vi*) begins "Io mi son pargoletta bella e nuova." Scartazzini says that the general consensus of opinions agrees that Beatrice here alludes to a girl. Benvenuto and others think rather that it is Gentucca of Lucca who is meant. But Beatrice is reproving Dante for *past* loves, not for what are in the *future*. Dante had not, at the time of his supposed mystical journey, even seen Gentucca. Scartazzini says that one need not go deeply into all the opinions that are held as to *pargoletta*, but from the context two things seem pretty clear. First, that Beatrice is not speaking of abstractions, but of real persons, secondly, that she is not speaking of any one special person, but of young women generally.

Nuovo augelletto \* due o tre † aspetta ;  
Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti  
Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta. ‡—

Thou shouldst in sooth, (when stricken) by the first shaft of the perishable things (of the world), have soared aloft after me, who (having attained immortality) was no longer of such sort. Nor should thy wings have been weighed down to abide further heart-strokes, whether of a young girl, or other variety of such-like brief enjoyment. Only a sledge-hog awaits two or three (shots): but before the eyes of the full plumaged birds the net is spread in vain or the arrow shot.

Dante is unable to utter a word in self-defence, but stands with his eyes cast down like a child in fault.

Quali i fanciulli ‡ vergognando muti,

\* *Nuovo augelletto et seq.* Talice da Ricaldone (*La vita media di Dante Alighieri col commento inedito di Niccolò da Ricaldone fatto pubblicare da S. M. Umberto I. Re di Sicilia*, cura di Vincenzo Prunas e di Carlo Neppi Modona, Torino 1887) has the following comment on these three lines: "Nuovo augelletto: et adducit comparationem avium, dicens quod avis spectat duas balestas, sed avis pennata et armata spectat ultra. Unde Salomon (*Prov. 1, 17*, Vulgate) *propter rete ante oculos pennatorum*. Quasi dicat: si tu tute errasti, certe debebas te corrigere in virtute, sed tenuisti in istis vanitatibus." Compare also *F. de la V. 1, 2, 3, 4*: "Et inveni amantorem morte mulierem, qua venatorum est, et agena cor ejus." Dante evidently took the *terzina* from these two passages.

† *due o tre*: Benvenuto reads *due otte*. *Otta* is an *ottavo* form of *ora*, and he explains it "usque ad due otte, scilicet per cussiones antequam fugiat vel evadat." Compare *In 11, 112-114*.

"Ier, pi' oltre cinqu' ore che quest' otta,  
Mille dugento con sessanta sei  
Anni compie, che qui la via fu rotta."

‡ *fanciulli*: In the *Comento*, iv, 19, ll 95-98, Dante uses similar words: "Buono e ottimo segno di Nobiltà, ne e imperfetti d' etade, quando, dopo il fallo, nel viso loro v'è dipigne, ch' è allora frutto di vera Nobiltà."

Con gli occhi a terra, stannosi ascoltando, 65  
E sè riconoscendo, e ripentuti,\*

Tal mi stava io. Ed ella disse:—"Quando  
Per udir sei dolente, alza la barba,  
E prenderai piu doglia riguardando."—†

Even as children silent in shame stand listening with their eyes upon the ground, both avowing their fault and repentant, so was I standing. And she said: "Since thou art distressed through hearing, raise up thy beard, and thou wilt feel more grief from looking."

Beatrice commands Dante to raise his *beard*, instead of his face, by way of reminding him that he is a full-grown man, and cannot plead the extenuating circumstances of youth, while she knows besides that to look her in the face will disconcert him still more.

Dante obeys, but relates that his chin had got such a strong downward bend towards his chest, that he scarcely could do so.

\* *ripentuti*: Compare Guido da Montefeltro's description of his contrition for his sins, *Inf* xvii, 83. "... pentuto e confesso mi rendei." And *Comito* iv, 25, ll. 43, 44: "A questa età è necessario d'essere penitente del fallo, sicchè non s'ausi a fallare."

† *riguardando*: "Mirabile fecondità dell'ingegno di Dante! come rinalza la sua materia del mostrare la sua confusione! Fino ad ora era stato sempre ad occhi bassi, et udendo le trafigure di Beatrice, ne avea avuto buona derrata. [This may rather mean *had had a liberal shave of them, or, had got off tolerably cheap*]; ora dee anche sguardar in viso il suo giudice: che vorrà essere? e quanta pena a dover levare il viso verso di lei!" (Cesari). On this passage Gioberti, whose commentary has been almost silent since Canto xxiii, writes: "Che novità di concetto! L'ultimo verso di questa terzina toma inaspettato [takes us quite by surprise], e dà l'esempio questa terzina di quella tragica e sublime ironia che sì bene adoperarono il Shakespeare e l'Alfieri." Gioberti only makes one more comment in the *Purgatorio* after this, and only two or three in the whole of the *Paradiso*! Gioberti's Dante studies suffered from the time he took to politics.





*Division III.* Dante now relates how, after his penitence and confession, he was washed in the river Lethe, and then conducted to the Four Nymphs who represent the four Cardinal Virtues. But first he

nature for her seriously to have intended to reproach Dante with infidelity to her as a woman, except, perhaps, as indicating a censure, under an allegorical veil, for some aberrations of Dante after her death. What was the extent of the relations between them on earth? A look, full of a timid, pure, child like love, a graceful salutation, and nothing else? Dante was bound to Beatrice by no promise to keep for her alone a love which seems never to have been proffered, and, perhaps, never would have been accepted. Therefore we may conclude that, in the scene that takes place in this Canto between Dante and Beatrice, the accusation of infidelity to the real Beatrice is only of secondary importance, and that the reproofs made to him, and his confession of sin and error refer principally to his infidelity to the symbolic and allegorical Beatrice. In Canto lx. 121, she says

"Alcun tempo il sostenni col mio volto ;  
Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti a lui  
Meco il menava in dritta parte volto "

by which she means that Dante walked in the way of eternal happiness, under the escort and guidance of revealed doctrine, taught by the ideal Papal authority which Beatrice symbolizes. In Canto xxx. 124-132, she goes on to accuse him of having withdrawn himself, shortly after her death, from the guidance of revelation in order to trust to guides who do not lead Man to real happiness, nor can they perform what they promise. Dante's sin, then, is Aberration from the Faith, Doubt of its Truth, and Unbelief. This would explain Beatrice's saying:

"Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti  
Alla salute sua eran già corti,  
Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti "

The censure passed upon Dante in the Terrestrial Paradise is for his sin concerning faith, as we may also see from *Purg.* vii. 7-8, where Virgil, Dante's master and guide, says:

"Io son Virgilio; e per null' altro rio  
Lo ciel perdei, che per non aver fé."

That is why Virgil is able to walk in complete security through the regions of eternal and temporal torment, therefore is it granted to him to conduct his disciple as far as the Terrestrial

shows how the Angels, by desisting from their occupation of casting clouds of flowers upon and around the car, gave him an opportunity of seeing Beatrice. He rivets his eyes upon her, and gets full proof ~~how~~ superhuman is her beauty. She, however, does not apparently pay any further attention for the nonce to her faithless lover.

E come la mia faccia si distese,  
 Posarsi quelle prime creature \*  
 Da loro aspersion l'occhio comprese .  
 E le mie luci, ancor poco sicure,  
 Vider Beatrice volta in sulla fiera,      10  
 Ch' è sola una persona in due nature.  
 Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera

Paradise, as far as the left bank of Lethe. But not one ~~step~~ beyond that. In like manner it is not permitted to Dante reach the right bank of Lethe, as we saw in the last lines of Canto xxx :

" senza al uno scotto  
 Di pentimento che lagrime spanda."

The sin, then, which prevents Dante from crossing Lethe ~~is~~ be the same as that ~~sin~~ which excludes Virgil not only ~~from~~ Heaven, but also from the Terrestrial Paradise. In ~~the~~ xxxiii, 82 Dante asks Beatrice how it is that her words ~~are~~ his power of understanding them. She tells him that it is ~~the~~ express purpose of making him fully comprehend that ~~the~~ [sin] he has followed is as far removed from the ~~divine~~ as is the Earth from the Sphere of Heaven called the *Primum Mobile*.\*

\* *prime creature* : See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* pars 1, qu. lxi, art. 3; where, with reference to the *opinio* *Utrum Angeli sint creati ante mundum corporeum*, St. Thomas replies. " Respondeo dicendum quod circa hoc invenitur ~~sententia~~ sanctorum doctorum sententia. Illa tamen probabitur ~~vera~~ quòd angeli simul cum creatura corporea sunt creati." ~~At~~ quoting some words of St. Jerome, St. Thomas adds "~~quòd~~ ~~quòd~~ Hieronymus loquitur secundum sententiam doctorum ~~græcorum~~, qui omnes hoc concorditer sentiunt, quòd ~~angeli~~ sunt ante mundum corporeum creati."

Vincer \* pareami più sè stessa antica,  
Vincer che l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era.

And when my face was turned up again, my sight perceived that those primal Beings (the Angels) had ceased from their flower-sprinkling; and my eyes, as yet but little reassured, beheld Beatrice turned round towards the animal (the Gryphon), that is One Person only (Jesus Christ) in two fold nature (*i.e.*, God and Man). (Even) under her veil, and on the far side of the stream, she seemed to me to surpass her former self (in loveliness), to surpass it more than (she surpassed) all others when she was here (on earth).

The sight of Beatrice's celestial beauty is to Dante the decisive moment; it completes, by resuscitating his love, what fear, confusion, and shame have been preparing in his mind. Now that he feels so much penitence for his past life, he will soon be fit to pass through Lethe. He falls unconscious to the ground.

Di penter sì mi punse † ivi l' ortica,

85

\* *oltre la riviera Vincer*: Scattazzini says that the reading with *vincer* in both lines makes the sense difficult, but the reading has the authority of all the older Codices. Witte has an excellent alternative reading, but unfortunately lacking good authority:

“Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera  
Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica,  
Che vincea l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era.”

Bengel's famous canon of criticism (*Proclama lectioi præstat veritas*) reminds us that the more difficult reading is to be preferred. There is another reading, by which the word *verde* preceding with *verde* is substituted for the first *Vincer*. It is plausible, but lacks authority. One MS. reads *l'oppo* instead of the second *Vincer*. The reading I have adopted is that preferred by Moore in his new text, and which is also found in the *Four First Editions*, the four copies of Witte, in the *Codice Cassinese*, and in the *Veneta*.

† *Di penter sì mi punse*. The *Ottimo* comments happily on this. “Dice l' Autore, che quando il suo viso pose in quello di Beatrice, che allora si videro chiari ed aperti li suoi peccati,

Che di tutt' altre cose, qual mi torse  
 Più nel suo amor, più mi si fe' nimica.  
 Tanta riconoscenza \* il cor mi morse,  
 Ch' io caddi vinto,† e quale allora femmi,  
 Salsi colei che la cagion mi porse

aggravati di tutte circostanze di condizione, di persona, di luogo, e di tempo; che egli fu di tanta penitenza pieno e punto, che quanto ciascuna cosa temporale e mondana allora più l'aveva torto nel suo amore, cotanto li venne maggior odio; perocchè cotanto per quella senti maggiore afflizione, perocchè al fallo fu data corrispondente pena, onde per essere mai più così punto, dice, se odiarle ciascuna, secondo grado ch' egli l' amo.

\* *riconoscenza*. Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, § 2) says that the word in the sense of self-recognition is now solete, but the meaning is preserved in the expression *riconoscimento dei fatti*. See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *riconoscere*, *risconoscere*. " *risconoscere* un errore, un peccato, o simile, vale Confessione". Giov. Volani (vii, 92) when describing the persecution of Templars by Philippe le Bel, uses *risconoscere* severa, in that sense " Il re Luis . . . gli fece tormentare . . . e trovava che niente volessono di ciò confessare nè riconoscer . . . Ammonendogli, che quale di loro volesse confessar l' errore e peccati loro opposti potesse scarsi parte, e in matrimonio confortati [*risconoscere*] di' loro parenti e amici riconoscessono, niuno di loro il volle confessare."

† *caddi vinto*: Scartazzini draws attention to Dante's falling down in a swoon, and says it is a symbol of dying to again to grace. It is the second time that Dante has done so. The first occasion is told in *Inf.* v, 140-142, when, witnessing the anguish of Francesca da Rimini, he says:

" Sì, che di pietade

Io venni men così com' io marcese;  
 E caddi, come corpo morto cade."

He is, perhaps, not only struck with compassion, but with compunction at the sight of the penalty for a sin which he himself not altogether innocent. Here it has the same effect on him as had the sufferings and tears of Francesca. We must take it for granted that, as soon as Dante was fainting on the bank of Lethe, Matelda crossed the opposite bank, and drew him up to the water, and not until she had plunged him up to his eyes to recover his senses.

The nettle of remorse so stung me there (*i.e.*, me on the far side of the stream), that of all other things, whatever (in the past) had most turned me to its love, now became to me the most abhorred. So much self-recognition gnawed my heart, that I sank down overcome, and what I then became, she (Beatrice) knows, who furnished me with the cause (of my swoon by her severe reproofs).

When Dante recovers consciousness, he finds that his immersion in the waters of Lethe by Matelda has already commenced.

Poi quando il cor di fuor virtù rendemmi,\*  
 La Donna ch' io avea trovata sola,  
 Sopra me vidi, e dicea :—"Tienmi + tienmi."  
 Tratto m' avea nel fiume infino a gola,  
 E tirandosi me dietro, sen giva 95  
 Sopr' esso † l'acqua, lieve come spola.

\* *quando il cor di fuor virtù rendemmi*: Compare *Purg.* xv, 115, 116:

"Quando l'anima mia tornò di fuori  
 Alle cose, che son fuor di lei vere," etc.

And *Inf.* vi, 1

"Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse."

Scartazzini explains that, on Dante's feeling the sting of repentance, his heart restored to him *di fuori*, *i.e.* to his outward senses, those powers that had previously been all concentrated within him.

† *Tienmi*. I have never till now heard of any other interpretation of this passage than the one I have adopted, namely, that Dante represents Matelda saying to Dante, "Hold me fast." But I see that Poletto, in his commentary, contends that it must have been Dante, in terror at finding himself in the water up to the chin, who called to Matelda not to let him go. I offer no opinion upon the subject, but follow the usual translation. Anyhow, had it been Dante who was speaking, it would probably have been a more appropriate mode of expressing himself for him to say "*dissi*"—"I said," rather than "*dicea*"—"I (or she) was saying."

‡ *Sopra esso*. Blanc says *Vocab. Dant.* that *esso* in this compound word is an indeclinable pronoun, and, when placed between the preposition and the noun, has no other function

Then when my heart restored to me my outward faculties, I saw standing over me the Lady whom I had found (wandering) alone, and (she) was saying "Hold me fast, hold me fast." She had drawn me into the stream up to my throat, and dragging me after her, was speeding over the water as lightly as a shuttle.

Instead of *spola*, Benvenuto reads *scola*, which he says is a kind of long light vessel, suitable for naval warfare and for war. Buti and nearly all the old Commentators read *spola*.

While yet immersed in the water, Dante hears the soft cadences of a chant.

Quando fui presso alla beata riva,  
Asperges me \* sì dolcemente udissi,

than that of making the phrase more precise, so that *sovra esso* would have the signification, *proprio sopra, sopra* over, right above. Compare *Purg. xxiv, 98*.

"Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due."

And *Purg. iv, 26, 27*:

"Montasi su Bismantova in cacume  
Con esso i piè."

\* *Asperges me*: The words are from *Psalm li, 7*, "Purge me with hyssop, etc.;" in the Vulgate, *Psalm li, 9*, "Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor." The words *Asperges me* are used in the Roman Church, when the priest sprinkles the penitent with holy water after confession, and before absolution. In *Inferno xiv, 17-19*, in answer to Dante's question as to where, in the world of departed spirits, is the river Lethe, Virgil replies

"Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,  
Là dove vanno l'anime a lavarsi  
Quando la colpa pentuta è rimossa."

Poletto, in his commentary, contends at length that Dante was not immersed in Lethe for the purpose of receiving a general absolution, but, in accordance with what Virgil had intended in the above quotation, to have all memory of his repentent and absolved sins extinguished in him: and that the river Lethe is one of the many mercies of God, Who even on earth so operates that the sinner, after long and sincere repentance, loses the

Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva.\*

When I was near the blessed shore, I heard *Asperges* so sweetly (sung), that I cannot recall it to mind, much less can I tell it in writing.

Sweet notes of Casella's song were still sounding Dante's inner being as he wrote his poem after coming to the world [*la dolcezza ancor dentro mi*]; but the song of the Angels is too much for human mind to retain.

It is now made to swallow the water of Lethe.

La bella Donna nelle braccia aprissi,	100
Abracciommi la testa, e mi sommerse,	
Ove convenne ch' io l' acqua inghiottissi ;†	
Indi mi tolse, e bagnato mi offerse	
Dentro alla danza delle quattro belle,	
E ciascuna del braccio 2 mi coperse.	105

Memory of his former sins, in so far as the recollection of them may be an incentive to other sins, or be hurtful to his inward peace. And this blessed forgetfulness of sin is but a foretaste, here on earth, of an anticipated Paradise. This idea may be seen in one of the words of St. Paul *Philipp. iii, 13, 14* : "Brethren, I have not myself to have apprehended but this one thing I desire, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

*Non ch' io lo scriva*: Compare *Par. xxiv, 23, 24* :

"Sì voise con un canto tanto d'ivo,  
Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice."

*Uta Nuova, § xvi, Sonnet vi* :

"Quel ch' ella par quand' un poco sorride,  
Non si può dicer, nè tener a mente."

*inghiottissi* Matelda had told Dante *Purg. xxviii, 130-132* that the water of the Terrestrial Paradise could not be operative to good effect unless it were tasted in both its branches after its partition, namely Lethe for forgetfulness of evil, and Eunoe for knowledge of good.

*Materna del braccio mi copersi* : "i. e., colla sua possanza suo aiuto. Imperocchè il braccio della giustizia difende l'ingiustizia; la prudenza dalla stoltizia; la fortezza dalla timidezza; la temperanza dalla libidine."—(Landino).



The beautiful Lady opened her arms, embraced my head, and submerged me, where I had perforce to swallow the water; she then drew me forth, and presented me drying within the dance of the four beautiful ones, and each of them covered me with her arm.

The four Cardinal Virtues, in the form of four maidens, were dancing by the left wheel of the chariot. The above passage may be taken to mean that, when a man by sacerdotal confession and absolution has been removed from the act and guilt of sin, he is passed on into the company of the Cardinal Virtues, in order that he may behold the happiness of practising these virtues, and may be the better prepared for the three higher virtues, the handmaidens of sacred Theology. And when each of the four maidens covered Dante with her arms, it was as if there were a promise that that particular virtue would from that moment, protect him from the sin to which that virtue is opposed.

The four damsels now address Dante.

"Noi siamo qui misle, e nel cie. siamo stelle,"  
 Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,<sup>1</sup>  
 Fummo ordinate a lei per sue ancelle.  
 Mententi agli oc. li suoi, ma nel g. occidit<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *nel ciel siamo stelle* Spertuzan, thinks it is evident from these words that the four Maidens make Dante to understand that they are "*le quattro belle stelle*" which are the four steps, as he tells in *Purg.* viii. 91, and whose rays are the face of *Cato's Purg.*, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Pria, che Beatrice discendesse al mondo* i. e. at her birth compare what Dante says of her in the *Div. Com.* 3, § 118, 119.

"E, par che sia una cosa venuta  
 Di cielo in terra a miracol mostrare"

<sup>3</sup> *giovando lume* Compare *Vag. An.* vi. 363, 364

"Quid te per celi mundum lumen, et auras  
 Per genitorem oro, per spem surgentis luv."

Lume ch' è dentro aguzzeranno \* i tuoi      110  
Le tre di là, † che miran più profondo." —

"Here we are nymphs, and in Heaven we are stars: before Beatrice had descended into the World we were ordained unto her for her handmaidens. We will lead thee before her eyes, but to behold the joyous light that is within (them), thy sight must be sharpened by the Three on the far side (of the chariot), who discern more deeply."

Before Beatrice, who is Ecclesiastical Authority, descended into the world, which she only did after the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the four Cardinal Virtues were appointed as her satellites, preparing men's minds, by disposing them to virtuous and holy lives, in order that the seeds of Theology might the more readily bear fruit in them.

Scartazzini says: "There can be no doubt whatever that there is an allegory in these lines. But Beatrice, as we have noticed before, does not symbolize Theology in the abstract, but rather ecclesiastical authority, personified by the Supreme Pontiff, the Pope. The business of that authority is, like that of Beatrice in the *Divina Commedia*, to direct Man to Heaven, or to the blessedness of Life Eternal. Now the Cardinal Virtues are those which formerly, in the Gentile world, prepared the way for Christian-

\* *aguzzeranno*: Compare *Inf.* xv, 20, 21:

"E sì ver noi aguzzavan le ciglia,  
Come l' vecchio sartor fa nella cruna."

† *Le tre di là*: In *Comuto*, iii, 14, ll. 136-141, after speaking at length of the three Theological Virtues, Dante concludes by saying: "Per le quali tre virtù si sale a filosofare a quella Atene celestiale, dove gli Stoici e Peripatetici ed Epicure, per l' arte della Verità eterna, in un volere concordevolmente concortono."

ity, of which Ecclesiastical authority is the head. They had then been appointed handmaidens to ecclesiastical authority of old, before the foundation of the Church. The Cardinal Virtues prepare Man, and render him fit to recognize the demonstrations of Truth, driving away from his mind the passions which darken his intellect. To arrive afterwards at a full knowledge of celestial and divine truths, the Theological Virtues are requisite, which refine the mind and fit it to contemplate divine things, because God opens His secrets, as Landino observes, to whoever has sincere Faith, firm Hope, and burning Love.\*

*Division IV.* Dante now relates how he attained a more complete cognizance of Beatrice, and how the Four Handmaidens led him forward and invited him to look at her. We saw in Canto xxx, 61-69, that she was standing on the left-hand edge of the chariot still covered by her veil, and we have just read in l. 80 of this canto, that she had turned round to face the Gryphon. If therefore Dante was right in front of the chariot, Beatrice must have been turned to him also.

Così cantando\* cominciare; e poi  
 Al petto del grifon seco menarmi,  
 Ove Beatrice stava volta a noi.  
 Diss'er.—"Fa che le viste non risparmi"  
 Posto t'avem dinanzi agli smeraldi,†

\* *Così cantando*. This refers to the six foregoing lines, beginning *Nel suam qui misse*.

† *smeraldi*. Some early accounts say that Beatrice's eyes were of a greenish hue, like the colour of the sea. The *com-*

Ond' Amor già ti trasse le sue armi." -\*

Thus singing, they began; and then led me with them to the breast (*i.e.*, in front) of the Gryphon, where Beatrice was standing turned towards us. "See," said they, "that thou spare not thy gaze; we have placed thee in front of the emeralds, whence in days gone by Love drew forth his darts against thee."

marks that "Dante very happily introduces this precious stone, considering its properties, and considering that griffins look over emeralds." The emerald is the prince of all green stones; no gem or herb has greater greenness; it reflects an eye like a mirror; increases wealth; is useful in litigation to orators; is good for convulsions and epilepsy; preserves and strengthens the sight; restrains lust; restores memory; powerful against phantoms and demons; calms tempests; dries blood, and is useful to soothsayers." Longfellow marks that the beauty of green eyes, "Ojos verdes," is prized by Spanish poets; and is not left un-sung by poets of other countries. Compare Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet*, l. iii, sc. 5).

"Oh, he's a lovely gentleman!

Romeo's a dishclout to him: an eagle, madam,

Hath not so green, so quick, so fair an eye

As Paris hath."

one of the Old French Mysteries *Hist. Theat. Franç.* i, 176)

epi describes the child Jesus as having

"Les yeux vers, la chair blanche et tendre,

Les cheveux blonds."

Ond' Amor . . . trasse le sue armi: Compare *Vita Nuova* c. 2, Son. 11.

"Negli occhi porta la mia donna Amore."

*ibid.* § xix, Cane. 1, ll. 70-3.

"Degli occhi suoi, come ch' ella gli muova,

Escono spirti d' amore infiammati,

Che non gli occhi a qual, che allor gli guati,

E passan sì che l' cor ciascun ritrova

Dante, *Canzoniere*, Son. xxvi:

"Dagli occhi della mia Donna si muove

Un lume sì gentil che dove appare,

Si vedon cose, ch' uom non può ritrare

Per loro alterare e per loro esser nuove.

E da' suoi raggi sopra l' mio cor piove

Tanta paura, che mi fa tremare."

By emeralds Dante means either to express the brightness or the colour of Beatrice's eyes.

Dante at once obeys this command, and describes with a wonder which he entreats his readers to realize, how in Beatrice's eyes (*ie* in Divine Theology or rather Ecclesiastical Authority) he saw reflected the Gryphon, by which he means Jesus Christ, at one moment displaying His human nature, at another the divine; at one moment bearing a literal, at another an allegorical sense. Sometimes as the Lamb, and sometimes as the Lion.

Many Commentators think that Dante here wishes to show that Theology ought to contemplate Christ at one time as God, and at another as Man, so as not to confound His two natures.

Mille d'auri \* più che tamma caldi  
 Stinse in \* gli occhi aq. oc. hi rilucenti,  
 Che pur † sopra il gr. l'ne stavan saldi.  
 Come in lo specchio il sol, ‡ non altrimenti.

\* *Mille d'auri* - Compare *Convito* vi, *Canzone* ii, ll. 32-33.

"E gli occhi di color, di quella luce,  
 Ne mandan messi, al cor pien di divini,  
 Che prendon aere e diventan sospiri."

† *pur* is here equivalent to *continuamente*. Compare *Par.* xxv, 15. "Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord."

‡ *Come in lo specchio il sol* - Venturi *Similitudini* *Par.* p. 25. 132 notices that Dante has imitated this simile in *Matth.* vi, 34. 349.

\* Non aliter, quam cum puro nitidissimus (the Oppositus speculi referitur ad imaginem Philon.)  
 Venturi thinks Dante may have taken this simile from the *Wisdom* which he also quotes in *Convito* vi, ll. 132-133. "*Wisdom*, vii, 26. "For like [Wisdom] is the bright mirror of everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness."

La doppia fera dentro vi raggiava,  
Or con un, or con altri reggimenti.\*

Pensa, lector, s' io mi maravigliava,  
Quando vedea la cosa in sè star queta, 125  
E nell' idolo suo si trasmutava.†

A thousand desires more burning than fire riveted my eyes upon the translucent eyes (of Beatrice), that still remained fixed upon the Gryphon. As the Sun in a mirror, even so was that two-fold animal beaming (*i.e.*, reflected) therein, now with the actions of one nature, now with those of the other. Think, Reader, if I marvelled within me, when I saw the thing stay motionless in itself, and yet in its image (reflected in Beatrice's eyes) undergoing transformations.

Dante now relates how the other three Damsels on the right hand side of the chariot came forward. We know that they represent the three Theological Virtues, and he describes them as giving evidence, by their lofty mien, and more noble movements, of being of a higher order than the Four Cardinal Virtues. Benvenuto says that the Three were to the Four, as the tribe of Judah to the other tribes.

\* *reggimenti*: "Dove la divina luce più espeditamente raggia, cioè nel parlare e negli atti, che reggimenti e portamenti sogliono essere chiamati." (Dante, *Convito* 1., 2., ll. 97-100) "In speculatione Theologie cognoscantur et representantur facta Christi, cum diversis actibus et factis." (Lance da Rinaldo).  
† Or con atti d'una natura, ora con atti d'un'altra: perche Cristo, l'uomo-dio, nelle sue operazioni era dimostro natura umana, ora natura divina." (Casini).

† *nell' idolo suo si trasmutava*. On this passage, the *Gran Dizionario* observes: "L'immagine di Gesù Cristo, immota in sè, nella sapienza contemplante riceveva quelle varietà che porta l'umano ragionamento, detto però dagli antichi filosoficamente *Discorso*." The *Gran Dizionario* then quotes the *Ottimo*: "L'idolo, cioè la figura che di lui si mostrava nell'occhi di Beatrice, avea ora una forma, cioè divina, ora un'altra, cioè umana."

Commenting on Dante's declaration of the insatiable longing for still further revelations, Benvenuto remarks that it was well to be understood, for the delight of seeing the nine Muses is as nothing compared with that of beholding the nine Dames who were doing honour to the triumphal car.

The nine consist of the four Cardinal and the three Theological Virtues, together with Matelda and Beatrice.

Mentre che piena di stupore e lieta \*

L' anima mia gustava di quel cibo,

Che saziando di se, di sè asseta; †

Sè dimostrando di più alto tribo ‡

17

Negli atti. I altre tre si tero avanti,

Danzando al loro angelico caribo §

\* *piena di stupore e lieta*: Scartazzini says that Dante was full of awe [*piena di stupore*] at beholding the transfiguration of the Gryphon with the eyes of Beatrice, but at the same time is rejoicing [*lieta*] at the sense of being completely disburdened from the weight of his own sins, and finding himself in the presence of her whom he had loved so well.

† *saziando di se, di sè asseta*: Compare *Ecclus. viii. 20*: "They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty."

‡ *di più alto tribo*: Others read *del più alto*, the superlative, instead of *di più alto*, the comparative. *Tribu* is another form for *tribù*, tribe, race, order, from the Latin *tribus*.

§ *Danzando al loro angelico caribo*: Scartazzini observes that this is one of those passages which still remain obscure. There are numberless explanations and readings. Some read *caribo* instead of *danzando*. The reading depends on the word *caribo*, which is obscure in its meaning and origin. It would seem that the word was one generally understood in the time of Dante, as the oldest commentators never took the trouble to explain it, excepting that Benvenuto, whose idea of it seems to be a mixture of dancing and song, interpreted it "caribò, *caribò*." Butti reads *caribo*, which he derives from *caribò* "al loro angelico modo." Scartazzini thinks the sense of it is

While full of awe and delight my soul was feasting on that food (of Heaven), which though giving of itself satiety, yet for itself creates a thirst; the other Three came forward showing themselves by their actions to be of a more exalted order, as they danced to their angelic roundelay.

The Three unite their voices in a song of intercession in behalf of Dante, beseeching Beatrice to reward his return to fidelity.

— "Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi sant."—

Era la lor canzone,\*—"al tuo fedele †

Best expositors is a proof that, in their time, the word was not known. It is hardly possible that they would pass it over from not themselves understanding it. *Cesari (Belacze, vol. II, p. 574, 575*, after giving what is probably the best interpretation, which I have adopted, mentions another given by the interpreter Luigi Nardi, which is both ingenious and striking, according to which he thinks *tribo* stands for *triso*, and *caribo* for *quadrato*. I prefer the interpretation more generally received. Giacomo Pagnesi, better known as *Il Beato Jacopone* who died in 1306 in one of his poems beginning with the words *Donna, per vostro amore*, st. 3, uses the word *caribo* in the sense of a song which serves to regulate the measure of dance. (In *Scrittori del Primo Secolo*, Firenze, 1810, vol. 1, p. 230).

"Però a voi m' appresento  
A tal convento  
Isto caribo  
Ben dipistibo  
Delle mala cente  
Bono talento,  
Lo stormento  
Vo sonando,  
E cantando, briondetta piacente"

It must be remembered that Fra Jacopone's songs are of an earlier date than Dante's, although he died in Dante's lifetime, and was partly his contemporary.

\* *Fra la lor canzone*: Others read *era la sua canzone*, with *era* meaning *vero*, a practice, according to Scartazzini, which prevailed largely among the early writers.

† *al tuo fedele*: The Three call Dante Beatrice's faithful one, for as a Christian poet he had battled for the Faith,



Che per vederti ha mossi passi tanti.\*  
 Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele  
 A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna  
 La seconda bellezza † che tu cele.†—

"Turn, Beatrice, turn thy holy eyes," was their song, "upon thy faithful one, who to behold thee here travelled so far (*lit.* has taken so many steps). Of thy grace grant us the grace to unveil to him thy mouth, so that he may discern the second beauty which thou hidest."

The Four had promised to conduct Dante to Beatrice's eyes (*Merretti agli occhi suoi*). That was her first beauty. The Three beg her to unveil her mouth, to display her second beauty, and her sweet smile (*dolce riso*). See *Par.* xxx, 26.

We now gather from the context that Beatrice moved by the entreaties of her handmaidens, display-

as no other poet had done. Beatrice herself, in *Inf.* ii. 121 calls him her friend, though he was still lost in the paths of error: "L' amico mio."

Compare also *Inf.* ii. 98, 99

"Or ha bisogno il tuo fedele  
 Di te, ed io a te lo raccomando."

\* *Ha mossi passi tanti*. Benvenuto points out that this is the fact both historically and allegorically, for when Dante rises to the task of ascending to the glory where Beatrice was, that is, to undertake this glorious poem, feeling that he had learned enough of philosophy and poetry, he travelled through Hell, and as an exile; and there, with the greatest perseverance, studied and mastered theology. He then passes through Purgatory, and now, at last, after *tanti passi* he has found his long-lost Beatrice in the Paradise of Delights.

† *La seconda bellezza* of Beatrice was her mouth. Compare *Convito* iii, 8, ll. 96, 97, and ll. 110-112. "L' anima . . . dimostra nella bocca, quasi siccome colore dopo vetro . . . Abi *riso* della mia Donna, di cui io parlo, che mai non si scosta se non nell'occhio."

to Dante's gaze her second beauty, which he declares himself unable to describe.

O isplendor di viva luce eterna, \*  
 Chi pallido si fece sotto l'ombra 140  
 Si di Parnaso, o beve in sua cisterna,  
 Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra,  
 Tentando a render te qual tu paresti  
 Là dove armonizzando il ciel t'adombra,  
 Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti? 145

O (Beatrice) thou splendour of living light eternal, who is there that ever grew so pale beneath the shade of Parnassus, or drank at its fount, that would not seem to have his mind encumbered, were he to attempt to portray thee, such as thou didst appear when thou didst disclose thyself in the open day in that place (the Terrestrial Paradise) where Heaven (even though) in harmony (with that region of innocence), can but faintly shadow thee forth?

Various have been the interpretations of this very difficult passage, observes Casini. By far the most general opinion is, that Dante is here (as in *Purg.* xxx, 93) indicating the Platonic theory of the harmonious sound produced by the heavens in their motion, and that the words in the passage signify: *là nel paradiso terrestre, dove le sfere risonando con la loro armonia ti circondavano.* But Antonelli justly observing that, in that case, Dante would have said *adombrava* instead of *adombra*, explains the passage in a different way, which I follow, as does Scartazzini in his newest edition (Milan, 1896). Antonelli thinks that *adombrare* must be taken as *simboleggiare, rappresentare*, and that *t'adombra* is to be paraphrased, *rende*

\* *isplendor di viva luce eterna*: Compare *Wisdom vii, 26*: "For she is the brightness of everlasting light," etc.

*immagine di tue bellezze divine.* He thus interprets the passage: "O Splendour of living and Eternal Light, who, amongst those dearest to the Muses, would not appear to have his mind confused and unformed, were he to attempt to describe thee as thou didst appear, when thou didst appear if to the open day, there where Heaven opens with the land of Innocence, with dawns forth the emblem of thy Divine Be-

## CANTO XXXII.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (*continued*).—THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE.—ASCENT OF THE GRYPHON.—TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHARIOT.—THE GIANT AND THE HARLOT.

IN the last Canto Dante gave a description of the beauty of Beatrice. In this he relates how the procession of the Church Militant turned about and retraced its way; how he followed the chariot with Beatrice and her handmaidens; how an eagle struck the chariot, and divers other strange events.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante is warned not to look too fixedly at Beatrice. The procession returns through the forest, Dante and Statius following.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 60, they stop at the Tree of Knowledge, to which the Gryphon fastens the chariot.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 61 to v. 99, Dante falls asleep, and, on awaking, finds Beatrice, Matelda, and the seven handmaidens alone by the tree.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 100 to v. 100, Dante describes, in figurative language, the more notable persecutions which the Church Militant had suffered.

*Division I.* At the conclusion of the last Canto,

Dante had at length been accorded the privilege of beholding Beatrice's countenance in its glorified state. He gazes upon it with such rapture that all other objects around him are forgotten. Now that his eyes see the beloved object, his other senses are in abeyance. His concentrated gaze is interrupted.

Tanto eran gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti  
A disbramarsi la decenne sete,\*  
Che gli altri sensi m' eran tutti spenti ;  
Ed essi quindi e quindi avean parete †  
Di non caler, così lo santo riso  
A sè traeah con l' antica rete ; ‡

\* *la decenne sete* · Beatrice had died in 1290, ten years before 1302, the year in which the scene is supposed to take place, and therefore Dante's ten years' thirst means the longing that he had had to behold her again. Tommaso says that the *prima* passage, as well as the opening words of *Purg.* vii, are imitated by Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vi, st. 110.

† *Così costei, che dell' amor la sete,*  
Onde l' inferno core è sempre ardente,  
Spegnei nelle accoglienze sueste e hete  
Credeva, e riposaì la stancamente.

‡ *non pare di non caler* · Biagioli says this is a phrase of Dante alone, and the construction is, "tanto erano miei occhi fissi ed attenti a lei, che il non calerme il non era di nulla altra cosa, m' faceva quindi e quindi come un muro che m' rendea impossibile ogni altra veduta." Buti considers this word of indifference was the steadfastness of mind that made Dante continue living in the resolution that he had set himself, so that he cared neither for the prosperity of the world as signified by the right hand side, nor for the adversity of the world as signified by the left. Compare Dante, *Convivio* *Settima* ii, st. 4 (p. 160 in Dr Moore's text).

† *Dagli occhi suoi mi vien la dolce luce,*  
Che m' fa non caler d' ogni altra donna †

‡ *l' antica rete* · By this Dante means the same as in *Purg.* vii, 41, 42 :

"l. alta virtù, che già m' avea trantto  
Prima ch' io fuor di puerizia fosse."

Beatrice is again compared to the Sun in *Purg.* iii, 1

"Quel sol, che pria d' amor m' scaldò il petto."

Quando per forza mi fu volto il viso  
 Ver la sinistra mia da quelle Dee,  
 Perch' io udia da loro un . . . "Troppo fiso."

So fixed and intent were my eyes on satisfying their ten years' thirst, that my other senses were altogether rendered null; and on every side they (*i. e.*, my eyes) had a wall of indifference, so much did the saintly smile (of Beatrice) draw them to itself in its long known toils; when my face was perforce diverted towards my left hand by those goddesses (*i. e.*, the Three Divine Maidens), for I heard from them a sound of "Too fixed (a gaze)!"

In verse 116 of the previous Canto, we saw that Dante had been placed in front of the emerald eyes of Beatrice, who was still standing upon the mystic chariot, and turned towards the Gryphon. Dante is therefore standing in front of the chariot, and on his right hand the four nymphs dressed in triple (xxix, 130, *i. e.* the Cardinal Virtues, and on his left the three others (xxix, 121, *i. e.* the Theological Virtues. The latter are, therefore, the goddesses who speak to him the words: "*Troppo fiso.*" They invite him to look at other things that are passing around him, and notably they would seem to be drawing his attention to the procession of the Church militant now about to retrace its steps. Benvenuto thinks that they wish to modify the admonition of the other four damsels, who (in xxxi, 115) told him *che le viste non risparmi.*

Dante now explains how impossible it was for him at first to see anything at all, so soon as he withdrew his gaze from Beatrice's eyes, which had completely dazzled him; but, as soon as he had somewhat recovered his sight, he beholds the Chariot and the

whole Procession turn round on its right, and move back again towards the East.

E la disposizion ch' a veder ee 10  
 Negli occhi pur te-ti dal sol percossi,  
 Senza la vista alquanto esser mi lee ; \*  
 Ma poi che al poco il viso riformossi,  
 Io dico al poco, per rispetto al molto †  
 Sensibile, onde a forza mi rimossi, 11  
 Vidi in sul braccio destro esser rivolto  
 Lo glorioso esercito, e tornarsi  
 Col sole e con le sette fiamme al volto.

And that condition of the visual faculties which exists in eyes that have but recently been smitten by the Sun, bereft me of my sight for a while. But when my vision readapted itself to the lesser (splendour)—I say the lesser, as compared with the greater dazzling radiance (*i.e.* the eyes of Beatrice), from which I had by force torn myself away—I saw that the glorious army had wheeled upon its right flank, and was returning back again with the Sun and with the seven flames in its face.

\* *see*: Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, p. 620) repudiates the assertion of certain Commentators, who say that Dante substituted *lee* for *te* for the sake of the rhyme, a contention which through his works is vehemently denied by the great philologist. He denies it *first*, because the termination *ee* is to be found among prose writers, e.g. Fra Girolamo, whom he quotes: "Quella notte lucee secondo che dicono i santi," and Scartazini, *Dial.* 1, 4. "Con sala la parola gli ten-lee la salute." Nannucci denies it *secondly*, because the second *e* in *lee* was not added for any poetic license, but because the rule for the terminations of the persons singular of the perfect tense required it. Instead of *io tenee*, the early Italians said *io teneo*, and in the third person singular, *egli tenee*.

† *al molto sensibile*. Scartazini thinks these words are equivalent to *la soverchia luce*, *i.e.* the overpowering light. Both Poletto and Tommaseo maintain that *il sensibile* is here used as a substantive, meaning the object that attracts our sense and here means the light that emanates from Beatrice. Boccaccio explains it: "splendore che per li occhi e atto ad essere venturo."

The right wheel of the Chariot (that of the New Testament) was the first to move. Up to this time, the procession had been marching towards the West, meeting Dante, who had been walking towards the East, as we gather from Cantos xxvii and xxviii. The Chariot now wheels about, and they all proceed together towards the East.

Benvenuto and Buti hold that *tornarsi* does not mean *volgersi*, but *tornare indietro*, return back again. Antonelli observes that if we reflect upon the facts narrated during this day, from the ascent of the stairway up to this point, we shall be led to the conclusion that it was now about ten o'clock in the morning. Therefore, the majestic procession, in wheeling upon its right flank, described a semicircle from West to East, by the North, and thus the personages composing it were struck full in the face by the rays of the Sun, as they wended their way up the stream along its right bank. Lana remarks on what follows, and says that, as when hosts are about to change their camp, all await the standards, and do not march in a straight, but in a circular line, and in such wise that the shields shall always be on the outside, so this mystic host set itself in motion behind its first standards, and the Chariot did not move until the whole of the procession had passed Dante.

Come sotto gli scudi \* per salvarsi

Volgesi schiera, e sè gira col segno,

20

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\* *Come sotto gli scudi*: Compare Tasso (*Ger. lib. xi, st. 33*):  
"La gente Franca impetuosa e ratta



Prima che possa tutta in sè mutarsi, †  
 Quella mazza † del celeste regno,  
 Che precedeva, tutta trapassone  
 Pria che piegasse il carro il primo legno ‡

As a troop of soldiers to protect itself wheels under (cover of) its shields, and moves round with the standard, before it can wholly change its front. 309 the soldiery of the celestial kingdom, that formed the vanguard, had all of them passed beyond a

Allor quanto piu parte affretta i passi  
 E parte s'udia a scudo insieme adotto,  
 E di qu'occhi un copereh non capo lassù. †

Venturi (p. 210, *line* 354) says the same is quite exact in all parts, and corresponds to what Dante calls, in *l. 22*, *colonna celeste regno*. A long column must wheel in any time when the whole of it has changed its front. First the vanguard, then the standard; then the main body by degrees, and last of all the rear-guard. In like manner here, first the standard, then the front, then the band of the saints, and last of all the chariot.

• *in sè mutar*. Tommasèo interprets this *coltra statura*. The *Fazio Bionaccio* says that a troop changing front moves by the right "in sul braccio destro, sacche gli scudi rimano dal lato di tuon in difension delle loro persone." In *Purg.* *l. 22* Dante uses similar words in describing the gyrations of a heaven-soul revolving upon its own axis.

"E nel suo giro tutta non si volse," etc.

† *mazza*: Tommasèo remarks that *milite* in Dante's text meant a knight. We may see this in *Pur.* *lxv*, 110, 140, where Caecilius uses *milizia* to mean knightlyhood, when he relates how he was made a belted knight by the Emperor Conrad.

"Poi seguita lo imperador Conrado,

Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia

and in *Pur.* *lxv*, 43, where the Angels and the Saints of Heaven are termed "l'una e l'altra milizia." In the *Terrestrial Chivalry of Heaven* the four-and-twenty Elders form the vanguard of the

‡ *il primo legno*: There are two interpretations of this. First, that the pole bent the Chariot round to the right; and that *carro* governs the construction, and must be understood that the chariot, as if animated, turned its own pole. Second, that the first of these interpretations, as the *Commentary* simple and natural, deserves the preference, and it is the one that I follow.

before the front beam (*i.e.* the pole) had turned the chariot.

When the long line of the Elders had passed by, the Gryphon also began to draw the Chariot after them. The calmness of his movements seems to indicate that the operations of Divine Power are set in motion by the sole exercise of the Divine Will. No other external means or instruments are necessary for Christ to guide His Church, than His Word alone, and His Holy Spirit.

Dante himself, with Matelda and Statius, close the procession. It may be noticed that, from the time that Statius enters the Terrestrial Paradise, he never utters a word, but becomes perfectly passive.

Indi alle rote si tornar le donne,\* 25

E il grifon mosse il benedetto carco,  
Si che però nulla penna crollonne.

La bella donna che mi trasse al vereo,

E Stazio † ed io seguitavam la rota

Che fe' l'orbita sua con minore arco. 30

Then did the Ladies return unto the wheels (*i.e.* the Four to the left wheel, and the Three to the right), and the Gryphon set his holy burden in motion, but

\* *le donne*: The four damsels had left their appointed post for the purpose of conducting Dante towards Beatrice's eyes (xxxii, 109); while the other three had come forward, *danzando ad uno angusto circho*, to entreat Beatrice to display her features (xxxii, 132).

† *Stazio*: Scartazzini remarks that there is no means of conjecturing what part Statius is now made to serve in the great vision. As a soul purified from every sin he might have ascended direct up to Heaven, without waiting to behold the mysteries which are shown to Dante in order that they may be related to the living (xxxii, 52, *et seq.*). Dante certainly must have had some reasons for mentioning Statius up to the end of the *Purgatorio* (xxxiii, 134), but, what the reasons were, is not evident.

in such wise (*i.e.* so smoothly) that not one of his feathers quivered. The fair Lady (Matelda), who had drawn me through the ford, and Statius, and I, were following the (right-hand) wheel which made its orbit with a lesser arc.

As the procession wheeled on its right hand, the <sup>6<sup>th</sup></sup> wheel had to make the longest turn, and the <sup>7<sup>th</sup></sup> wheel, consequently, a much shorter one.

Dante now finds himself on the side of the three Theological Virtues between the Chariot and the bank of Lethe. And he adds that the holy strains of Angels singing keep time with their footsteps.

Si passeggiando l'alta selva sola,  
Colpa di quella \* ch' al serpente crese,\*  
Temprava i passi un angelica nota.

Thus as we passed through the lofty forest, uninhabited through the fault of her (Eve) who put trust in the serpent, an angelic strain regulated our steps.

*Division II.* We now read how the mystic procession, followed by Dante and Statius, comes to a

\* *quella*: Dante here repeats the censure which he first passes on Eve in xxix, 23-30. In the *De Monarchia* iii, 10, v. 487 Dante says that by the Terrestrial Paradise is figured the emptiness of this life. By saying that the forest is empty, Statius means, through the fault of Eve, Dante means to express that by reason of sin no one occupies himself in the pursuit of virtue, as in the words of the Psalmist *Eccl* iiii, 31. There is no note that doeth good, no, not one. Dante implies in the literal sense, that, owing to the fault of our first mother, the Terrestrial Paradise is uninhabited. Man having been expelled therefrom on account of sin; and, in the allegorical sense, that from the faults of bad government, there is no one in the world who practises virtue, and follows out his own real happiness in this life.

*crese*: for *crede*. In the middle ages, *crese*, *crece*, *crevere*, were freely used both in prose and in verse.

stop at a tree denuded of its foliage. This is the Tree of Knowledge, and to it the Gryphon fastens the Chariot.

Beatrice alights when the company has reached the Tree, which, as we shall see, is the symbol of Obedience, and she then sits down on its roots under the boughs. The act of alighting is essentially one of homage to Obedience. But more than that, the Tree is also symbolic of the Empire, and thus Beatrice's descent from the Chariot will signify the deference and submission of the ecclesiastical to the civil authority, in accordance with St. Paul's injunction (*Rom. xiii, 1*), "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." And these two interpretations of the Tree, being symbolic both of Obedience and of the Empire, are not antagonistic to each other, because deference paid to Imperial authority is precisely homage rendered to Obedience.

The whole company murmur against Adam, through whose disobedience sin entered into the world, and by sin death (*Rom. v, 12*). This murmuring involves censure on any one, even a pope, who is guilty of disobedience. Brunone Bianchi (9<sup>th</sup> ed<sup>n</sup>) says that we have here a tacit comparison between the sin of Adam, who, having been placed in the Terrestrial Paradise, touched the tree forbidden by God, the Supreme Emperor, on the one hand; and on the other, we have the Pope, who, placed in Rome, and under the protection of the imperial throne, withdraws himself from obedience to the Emperor, whose authority derives from God, and lays his hands upon the secular jurisdiction belonging to the Em-

peror, and that in direct opposition to the express commands of Christ.

Forse in tre volti \* tanto spazio prese  
 Disfrenata saetta, quanto eramo 55  
 Rimossi, quando Beatrice scese.  
 Io sentii mormorare a tutti: "Adamo!"—  
 Poi ceterchiaro una pianta † dispogliata  
 Di fiori e d' altra fronda in ciascun ramo

\* *tre volti*. Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 83, 84—

"ed al trar d' un balestro

Trovammo l' altro assai piu fiero e maggio."

And *Purg.* iii, 67-69:

"Ancora era quel popol di lontano,

Dico dopo li nostri mille passi,

Quanto un buon gittator tratta con mano, etc.

And *Ovid.* *Metam.* viii, 695, 696

"Tantum aberant summo, quantum semel ire sagitta  
 Missa potest."

And *Statius.* *Theb.* vi, 354:

"Quale quater jaculo spatium ter arundine vineas"

† *una pianta*: Scartazzini observes that, to explain arduamente accurately all the divergent opinions as to the allegorical meaning of *una pianta*, even a long dissertation would not suffice. First and foremost there is no doubt but that *la pianta* in its literal sense is the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil planted by God in the Garden of Eden or Terrestrial Paradise. In describing the tree the Poet had also under his eye *ivy* (mentioned in *Daniel*, iv, 20-22), that was great and strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and which King Nebuchadnezzar saw in "the visions of his head in his bed" (*ibid.* iv, 10). In many passages in Holy Scripture the tree is also used as an emblem of power and royal majesty. A tree stretches up above all other plants so the supreme power is elevated above its subjects, and just as a tree gives shade to the supreme power protects its subjects. Many Commentaries think that the tree of the Danteanque vision is a symbol of obedience, but that is only part of the full sense. Two other symbols stand out prominently in the great vision, namely the Tree and the Chariot. The Chariot is the emblem of the Church. The Terrestrial Paradise is a figure of the happiness of this life. But in this life we can have no happiness without *well-being*. *Well-being*. And, to secure well-being in this world, temporal monarchy is necessary, as Dante maintains in the *Divine*

Perchance an arrow loosened from the string had in three flights traversed as great a space as we had moved onward, when Beatrice descended (from the chariot, I heard murmured by all, "Adam") Then they encircled a tree that was despoiled of blossoms and other leafage on every bough.

Dante next describes the extraordinary height of the Tree, and we learn that, like the tree on the Sixth Cornice (see *Purg.* xxii, 133-135), its foliage was abundant at the top, but that it diminished in the lower parts, so as to offer no opportunity of access. This passage (says Scartazzini) is intended above all things to symbolize the inviolability of the Empire, which, according to the Will of God, must not be touched. In *De Monarchia*, iii, ch. 10, ll. 39, 40, Dante says that it is not even lawful for the Emperor himself "scindere imperium."

La coma sua,\* che tanto si dilata

40

*Monarchia* i, ch. 5. If Empire be necessary to the well-being of the world, and if the Terrestrial Paradise be a figure of the world in a state of well-being where Man is happy (*Purg.* xxx, 75), it follows of necessity that Dante, true to his system, was bound to introduce the symbol of the Empire into his vision with the others. The only symbol of the Empire admissible is the Mystic Tree. Besides this, it is not at all rare to find a tree, amongst the poets, used as a symbol of the Empire or of a reigning house. Hence Dante could with reason take the Tree as the symbol either of the monarchy or of the Roman Empire. And in truth all that Dante says of the Tree fits in very well with the Empire.

\* *COMA SUA*. This tree would seem to be similar in form to the one described on the sixth Cornice (*Purg.* xxii, 130-135). Dante there explains the shape, saying of it:

"Cred' io perchè persona su non vada."

In *Purg.* xxxii, 58, Beatrice says that whosoever robs or injures the Tree sins against God; and then, after mentioning the punishment of Adam, who ate of its fruit, she adds (v. 64):

"Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non estima

Più quanto più è su, fora dagl' Indi \*

Nei boschi lor per altezza † ammirata.

Its crowning boughs, which widen out the more according as they are higher up, would have been wondered at for height (even) by Indians in their woods.

Dante, having shown how all the company censured the disobedience of Adam, now shows how they commended the obedience of Christ, Who restored the Tree which Adam had despoiled.

— "Beato sei, grifon, ‡ che non discendi

Col becco d' esto legno dolce al gusto,

Posciachè mal si torce § il ventre quandi" — ¶

Per singular ragione essere eccelsa

Lei tanto, e si travolta nella cima

The words *travolta nella cima* describe how that the tree was inverted on its summit to render it more difficult of access. *Cima* is a Latinism for *chioma*. Others read *chioma*. The *Ottimo*, who reads *chioma* in the text, and *cima* in the notes, suggests *vell. t.*

\* *dagl' Indi*: Compare Virg. *Georg.* ii, 122-124.

" . . . . . gerit India lucos,

Extremi sinus orbis, ubi aera vincere summum

Arboris haud ulli r' jactu potuere sagittæ."

† *per altezza*: Scartazzini says there is a complete parallelism between the two trees as described by Daniel (ix, 7-10) and the tree described by Dante. With Daniel the tree is at the top of the Babylonian Empire, with Dante, of the Roman Empire.

‡ *Beato sei, grifon*: The Gryphon (i. e. Jesus Christ) is blessed because he does not rend the Tree, meaning the Empire, which our Lord willed that due homage should be rendered. He gave the command, "Render, therefore, unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." (*St. Matt.* xxii, 21). According to Dante He resigned and confirmed the authority of the Empire, first submitting Himself to the Census ordained in the reign of Caesar Augustus, thereby registering Himself as a subject of the Empire. At His condemnation He said to Pilate "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above," thereby recognising his power as legitimate. (*St. John* xix, 11).

§ *mal si torce*: The more common reading is *mal si torce*,

Così d' intorno all' arbore robusto

Gridaron gli altri; e l' animal binato : \*

— " Sì si conserva il seme d' ogni giusto. " —

" Blessed art thou, Gryphon, who with thy beak does not rend this Tree (whose fruit, as Eve found) is sweet to the taste, since by that taste (*quindi*) the belly is contorted with anguish (*i. e.*, Man still suffers). " Thus around the mighty Tree cried the others (*i. e.*, the Saints of the Church Militant); and the animal of twofold nature (replied): " Thus is preserved the seed of all the just. "

These words, put into the mouth of the Gryphon, may be a paraphrase of those spoken by Christ to St. John the Baptist: " For thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness, " [in the *Vulgate* " justice "]. *St. Matt.* iii. 15.

The Gryphon now draws the Chariot up and binds it to the tree, which throws out fresh blossoms.

E volto al temo ch' egh avea tirato,

Trasselò † al pie della vedova frasca ; ‡

50

E quel di lei a lei lasciò legato.

but *torce* is the reading of the *S. Croce, Vatican, Cassinese* which reads *torce*, MSS. and of the editions of Mantua, A. d'ine, Witte, and others. Lana interprets the line: " Chi ne gusta mal torce sua voglia. " Compare *Gen.* x. 9. " And he said unto me, Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey. "

\* *animal binato*: The usual interpretation, which I follow, and which is much to be preferred, is that the Gryphon was of twofold nature, both God and Man; but the *Ultimo* derives *binato* from *bis* and *nascere*, " twice born, " namely, once, *ante secula*, and again, the original is: " quando prese carne umana di Nostra Donna. "

† *Trasselò* " Come lo dimonio separò l' omo da l' obediencia di Dio facendoli mangiare del pomo di quella pianta vietatoli; così Cristo tirò l' omo a l' obediencia di Dio, ponendo l' umanità sua a morire per la verità. " (*Butt*).

‡ *frasca*, is properly speaking " a bush, a bough "; but



And turning to the pole which he had drawn, he dragged it to the foot of the denuded Tree, and left bound to it (the Tree) that which was of it (i.e., the pole made of its wood).

Scartazzini thinks that by the pole is meant the sacred seat of the Church, and that, as the Gryphon drags the Chariot by the pole, so Christ guides His Church by means of the Sacred Seat. The tree then is, literally: The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; allegorically, the Empire.

The Cross of Christ, derived from the Tree of Knowledge, is the origin of the Papal Seat. If the Cross is made from a branch of the Tree of Knowledge, and the Papal Seat originates in the Cross, it can well be said that the Papal Seat was formed from a branch of that Tree. Christ joins the Papal Seat, Roman in its origin, to the Roman Empire, and that not only in externals, as shown by both Papacy and Empire having their central abode at Rome, but also inwardly, in that, according to Dante, both Pope and Emperor ought to go hand in hand in guiding the human race to its two-fold object and end.

Dante now describes the marvellous change that came over the Tree after the Gryphon had bound to it the pole of the Chariot.

Come le nostre piante, quando casca  
Giù la gran luce mischiata con quella  
Che raggia a retro alla celeste lasca,\*

Tommasèo says it must here be taken to mean the latter  
[*albero ignudo*].

\* *lasca*, which properly means a roach or mullet, here signifies the Constellation of the Fish. Aries follows after it, and when the sun is in Aries we are in spring. On this Antonelli in Tommasèo's Commentary: "Nel moto appi-

Turgide fansi,\* e poi si rinnovella † 55  
 Di suo color ciascuna, pria che il sole  
 Giunga li suoi corsier sott' altra stella ;  
 Men che di rose,‡ e piu che di viole

sapere celesti la costellazione dei Pesci precede l' Ariete. La luce pertanto, cioè la solare, si troverà mischiata con quella che raggia dall' Ariete, quando il sole appariva in questa costellazione, cioè quando per noi sarà primavera, quando le gemme si fanno turgide per il dilatarsi delle loro gemme, e poi si riveste di fronde e di fiori, prima che il sole attacchi il suo corso sotto altra costellazione, cioè avanti per percorso tutta quella dell' Ariete e così prima che passi l'ese di tempo.

*Turgide fansi* : "Swell with sap." Compare Virg. *Bucol.* l. vi, 48

"Jam lato turgent in palmite gemma."

*Georg.* , 315 :

"Fruventa in virid. stipula lactentia turgent

*rinnovella Di suo colore ciascuna* : Compare Petrarch, *Son. viii* in some editions 9.)

"Quando i pianeta che distingue l' ore,

Ad albergar col Tauro si torna,

Cade virtu dal' infiammate corna

Che veste il mondo di nove colore

*Men che di rose, etc.* . For a mixture of colours as described we have an apt illustration in Virg. *Georg.* iv, 273-275 .

"Namque ano ingentem tollit de campate silvam,

Aurea ipse ; sed in foliis, quae plurima circum

Fludantur, violae subluet purpura nigra."

An *Med. Painter*, vol. iii, 226 says : "Some three arrows farther up . . . to the wood we come to a tall tree, which is at barren, but, after some little time, visibly opens into flowers of a colour less than that of roses, but more than that of violets. It is certainly would not be possible, in words, to come nearer to the definition of the exact hue which Dante meant than the apple blossom. Had he employed any simple colour name, as a 'pale pink,' or 'violet pink,' or any other such lined expression, he still could not have completely got the delicacy of the hue he might, perhaps, have indicated had, but not its tenderness ; but by taking the rose leaf for the type of the delicate red, and then enfeebling this with violet grey, he gets, as closely as language can carry him, a complete rendering of the vision, though it is evidently by him to be in its perfect beauty ineffable ; and rightly

Colore aprendo, s' innovò la pianta,  
Che prima avea le ramora \* sì sole.

60

As when (in Spring) the Sun's great light falls downward mingled with that (of Aries) which beams behind the celestial Roach (*i.e.*, which comes next after the constellation of Pisces), the plants of our world begin to swell, and then each is renewed in its own special hue, before the Sun yokes his steeds beneath another star (*i.e.*, the constellation of Taurus), so in like manner did the Tree, which before had its branches so desolate, renew itself, disclosing a tint less (vivid) than that of roses, but more than that of violets.

Scartazzini remarks that here again we have one of those passages which have not yet found their interpreter. Speaking generally, he has no doubt that the allegorical sense of this passage is, that the virtue infused by the mystic Chariot into this Tree, that is by the Church into the Empire, was so great, that the Tree was seen in a short time to renovate itself entirely, and to clothe itself with foliage and fruit, implying thereby that the Empire, when converted to Christianity, was endowed with new life. As soon as the Church was joined to the Empire, the latter began at once, at least *potentially*, to prosper.

*Division III.* Dante relates how he fell asleep, and on awaking, found Beatrice, Matelda, and the seven

so felt, for, of all lovely things which grace the springtime of our fair temperate zone, I am not sure but this blossoming of the apple-tree is the fairest."

\* *le ramora*. This is an early form in the neuter plural that stands for *i rami*, so we have *le campera* for *i campi*, *le pedera* for *i prati*; *le borzora* for *i borghi*. These forms are now obsolete, but they are fully discussed by Nannucci in his *Trattato dei Nomi della Lingua Italiana*, pp. 359-362.

Damsels alone by the Tree. He misses the glorious Procession of the Church Militant, and learns that, in company with the Gryphon, it has re-ascended to Heaven. He first tells how the whole of the celestial beings present before him chanted a hymn so sweet, that overwhelmed with emotion he fell asleep.

Io non lo intes', nè qui non si canta \*

L' inno che quella gente allor cantaro,†

Nè la nota soffersi ‡ tuttaquanta.

S' io potessi ritrar come assonnaro

Gli occhi spietati,§ udendo di Siringa,

65

Gli occhi a cui più veggliar costò sì caro ;

\* *qui non si canta*: Compare St. Paul in II Cor. xii, 3, 4: "... he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." Others read *nè quaggiù si canta*; others *e qui non si canta*. Compare also Rev. xiv, 3: "They sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand."

† *quella gente allor cantaro*: Observe the construction, by which *gente* as a collective noun is made to agree with *cantaro* (poetic form for *cantarono*). Giovanni V.iani (lib. xii, cap. 17) uses *Arezzo* in the same way to signify the people of Arezzo governing the plural: "Arezzo sentendo come il duca era . . . assediato . . . nel palagio, incontanente si rubellarono." Compare also Tibullus, lib. iv, *Carm.* 4, 25, 26.

‡ *soffersi*. Here Dante's ears are unable to endure the exquisite melody of Heaven. In *Par.* i, 58, we learn that his eyes cannot endure the light—

"Io nol soffersi molto, nè sì poco," etc.

§ *Gli occhi spietati*: The hundred eyes of Argus, Juno, having cause to be jealous of Io, had placed her under the guardianship of Argus, whose hundred eyes watched without intermission. Jupiter, having ordered Mercury to carry off the young nymph, Mercury slew Argus, after lulling him to sleep by telling him the story of Syrinx, the nymph of Arcadia, who was changed into a reed. See Ovid, *Mét.* i, 568-721.

| *a cui più veggliar*: Others read *a cui fur veggliar*. Others *veggliar*, *a cui veggliar*; and some *a cui non veggliar*.

Come pittor che con esemplo pinga

Disegnerei com io in addormentai ; \*

Ma qual vuol sia che l'assonnar beninga.

I did not understand, nor here on earth can be sung,  
the hymn which that assembly then chanted, nor  
could I endure the whole melody throughout. If I  
could describe how the unrelenting eyes (of Argus)  
sank into slumber, on hearing tell of Sirens, those eyes  
whose too much wakefulness cost them so dear like  
an artist who paints from a model, I would portray  
how I fell asleep; but whoever wishes to do so, let  
him be one who can well depict slumber.

Dante here implies that he has not himself this power,  
and that he will therefore only describe what he saw  
when he awoke.

Però trascorro a quando mi sveglai,

E dico ch' un splendor + mi squarcò il velo †

Del sonno, ed un chiamar. "Surgi, che fa . . ."

Therefore I pass on to when I awoke, and I say that  
a dazzling light rent aside the veil of my slumber, and  
(likewise) a crying out. "Arise, what quest thou?"

The dazzling light is the now distant glory of the  
Gryphon, the Elders, and the Angels re-ascending to

\* *in addormentai*. Scartazzini thinks that perhaps this term, asleep symbolizes that perfect peace and happiness which, according to Dante, reigns in the world, when the temporal authority of the Emperor and the Pope are united, and come up to the ideal state inspired to by Dante.

† *splendor*. The description of the dazzling light has a close analogy to that of the Transfiguration. The three disciples fell asleep. *St. Luke*, ix, 32. "But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep, and when they were awake they saw His glory and the two men that stood with Him. And in the description by *St. Matthew*, xvii, 7, we find their semblance to "Surgi, che fa . . ." And Jesus came and touched them, and said, "Arise, and be not afraid."

‡ *mi squarcò il velo*. *Del sonno*. Compare *Inf.* xxviii, 26

"quand io feci il mal sonno

Che del futuro mi squarcò il velame."

ten. It would seem to be Matelda who spoke the words, and Dante finds her standing over him in his sleep, even as she had hovered over him in his swoon in Canto xxxi, 91-96. Up to this point (says Scartazzini) the great vision has presented a picture of the tranquillity, universal peace and happiness, that reigned in the world during the first ages of Christianity. But henceforward Dante will show us, as in a mirror, how from that time to this the golden garment was rent and torn by the talons of sin and misery. He goes on to compare himself to the disciples at the Transfiguration, who on awaking found Our Lord alone, and his two heavenly attendants vanished.

Dante asks Matelda what has become of Beatrice, and she tells him to look at the foot of the Tree, where Beatrice is sitting on the roots with her attendant handmaidens.

Quale a veder dei fioretti del mele,\*

Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti,†

E perpetue nozze fa nel cielo,

75

Pietro e Giovanni e Jacopo condotti

*mele*: Compare *Song of Solomon*, ii, 3: "As the apple among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the maidens." This passage is interpreted as referring to Christ, and here calls the Transfiguration on the blossoming of that "Casini" says that, by *fioretti del mele*, is to be understood the glimpses of beatitude which the three Apostles enjoyed in the sight of the glorified body of Our Lord during His Transfiguration.

*ghiotti*: lit. "greedy," but constantly used by Dante to signify "eager to see." Compare *Purg.* vii, 85.

"Gli occhi miei ghiotti andavan piate al cielo."

Poliziano, *Stanza*, lib. i, st. 41:

"E fatto ghiotto del suo dolce aspetto

Grà mai gli occhi dagli occhi levar puote."

E vinti ritornaro alla parola,  
 Dalla qual furon maggior sonni rotti,  
 E videro scemata loro scuola,\*  
 Così di Moisè come d' Elia, 80  
 Ed al Maestro suo cangiata stola : †  
 Tal torna' io, e vidi quella pia  
 Sopra me starsi, che conductrice  
 Fu de miei passi lungo il fiume pria ;  
 E tutto in dubbio dissi. — " Ov' è Beatrice ? " — 85  
 Ond' ella — " Vedi lei sotto la fronda ‡  
 Nuova sedere in sulla sua radice  
 Vedi la compagnia che la circonda ;  
 Gh' altri dopo il grifon sen vanno suso'  
 Con piu dolce canzone e piu profonda." — § 90

As when Peter, and John, and James were led to see  
 (on Mount Tabor) the blossoming of that Apple tree  
 (i.e., the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ) which makes

\* *scuola* is used for "company," because the disciples were in presence of their Divine Master. In *Inf* iv, 94 95, Dante uses the word to describe the group of poets under the leadership of their sublime leader, Homer.

" Così vidi adunar la bella scuola  
 Di quei [i. e. quelle] signor dell' altissimo canto  
 Che sopra gli altri con' aquila vola."

And in line 148 of the same Canto we have the word *scuola* used to express the separation of the group of poets, and corresponds to the present passage *scemata loro scuola*.

† *cangiata stola*. This means that Our Lord's vesture, which had been changed when He was transfigured, was, when the vision was over, changed back again to His ordinary habit.

‡ *sotto la fronda*, et seq. Beatrice is sitting beneath the foliage and upon the roots of the mystic tree. We have seen that the tree is a symbol of the Empire. Therefore, its roots speaking allegorically, can only signify the spot on which the Empire itself was situated, and from which it stretched forth its branches, and that spot is Rome.

§ *più dolce canzone e più profonda*. *Dolce* is thought to refer to the melody, and *profonda* to the lofty concept of the heavenly song. The ascent of the Gryphon to Heaven would seem to symbolize the Ascension of Jesus Christ.

the Angels greedy for its fruit, and makes a perpetual marriage-feast in Heaven (*i.e.*, the full glory of Christ, of which the Transfiguration was but a foretaste), and after falling into a trance were aroused at His Word, by which far deeper slumbers had been broken (namely, those of the dead recalled to life by Jesus), and saw their company diminished alike by (the disappearance of) both Moses, and Elias, and (saw) the raiment of their Master changed (back again). so came I to myself, and saw standing over me that compassionate Lady (Matelda), who had before been the conductress of my steps along the river-bank; and all in doubt I said: "Where is Beatrice?" And she: "Behold her beneath the new-grown foliage (of the Tree) sitting upon its root. Behold the company that surrounds her; the others are ascending on high after the Gryphon; with a song that is sweeter and of deeper import."

Commaséio thinks that the Angels and the seven Virtues were standing round Beatrice, but Scartazinni points out that, as the Angels were mentioned before, and not now, it is reasonable to suppose that they were included in the glorious host that was following the Gryphon up to Heaven.

Dante relates that he was so absorbed in his contemplation of Beatrice, that he did not notice whether Matelda said anything further.

E se piu fu lo suo parlar diffuso

Non so, perocchè già negli occhi m' era

Quella ch' ad altro intender m' avea chiuso.

Sola sedeasi in sulla terra vera.

Come guardia lasciata lì del plaustro,

95

Che legar vidi alla biforme hera.

And whether her (Matelda's) speech was further poured forth, I know not, for I had now before my eyes her (Beatrice) who had shut me to all thoughts. She was sitting alone upon the bare earth, left there



as guardian of the Chariot which I had seen bound  
(to the Tree) by the animal of two-fold nature.

Most of the Commentators take *la terra vera* to mean the soil of the Terrestrial Paradise, that pure soil, uncontaminated by original sin. Scartazzini argues that Beatrice was sitting on the roots of the Tree (v. 86), which was supposed to signify, that spiritual authority has its seat in Rome, the root of the Empire. Here we find two things said of Beatrice. She is sitting alone, and sitting on *la terra vera*. *Vera* must be taken in the sense of *nuda*. Beatrice sits alone; she has no other court than the seven Virtues. She sits on *la terra vera*; she has no other throne than the bare earth, thereby imitating Him, who had not where to lay His head. Beatrice symbolizes the spiritual authority, the ideal Papacy of Dante's aspirations. The Bishops of the Primitive Church sat alone in the Imperial City, without any retinue of cardinals, courtiers, or servants. They were poor; the papal throne had not as yet been set up; the temporal wealth of the Church had not yet been amassed; they assembled their flocks in the Catacombs; therefore they sat upon the bare earth. In describing Beatrice as alone, and sitting on the bare earth, Dante portrays the humility and poverty of the primitive Vicars of Christ, and satirizes the splendour and worldly pomp of the later Popes besides those of his own time. Therefore Beatrice may be considered to figure either the primitive successor of St. Peter, *i. e.* of the ideal Pope, imagined by Dante.

Dante now describes Beatrice's retinue of handmaidens.

In cerchio le facevan di sè claustro  
 Le sette nuse, con quei lumi in mano  
 Che son sicuri d' Aquilone e d' Austro.

In a circle the seven Nymphs were making of themselves an enclosure for her, with those lamps in their hands that are secure from Aquilo and Auster (*i.e.*, which neither North nor South wind can extinguish).

The Virtues formed the sole escort and ornament of the first successors of St. Peter, and the ideal Vicar of Christ should be surrounded by them alone.

It may be inferred that, when the Gryphon and the Elders had departed, the seven lamps of gold, which had before that time been preceding the procession, were taken in charge by the Nymphs representing the Virtues. Allegorically it may mean that, subsequently to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples of Christ on the day of Pentecost, the Virtues were no longer to be separated from the Sevenfold Spirit of God.

Buti, who, as we before noticed, considers that the seven lamps of gold are the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit—instead of the Sevenfold Spirit itself, as we take them to be—thinks that each Damsel had held the lamp of the Virtue she represented, all through the progress of the procession. But, we repeat, the lamps had been moving in front of the four-and-twenty Elders, and it could only have been during Dante's lumber that the change could have taken place.

*Division IV.* In the concluding division of the canto, Dante gives a description, in figurative language, of the more notable of the tribulations through which the Church Militant would have to pass.

Beatrice again addresses Dante, admonishing him that his sojourn in the Terrestrial Paradise will be but short; but that when, after his return to earth, his life ends, he shall be with her an inhabitant of the Kingdom of Heaven, where Christ, as Man, is a citizen, and where God reigns as Emperor. She exhorts him to watch the Chariot attentively, and for the good of Mankind, after his return there, to write what he has seen. She adds that the world is living ill, both socially and morally, because neither of the two leaders assigned to it by Heaven, the Pope and the Emperor, is performing his proper functions.

Dante relates how he at once obeyed Beatrice's injunction.

— "Qui sarai tu poco tempo silvano,\* 100  
 E sarai meco senza fine eive  
 Di quella Roma † onde Cristo è Romano ;  
 Però, in pro del mondo che mal vive,  
 Al carro tieni or gli occhi, e quel che vedi,  
 Ritornato di là, fa che tu scrive." — ‡ 105

\* *silvano*: Both Scartazzini, Casini, and Poletto are convinced that *qui . . . silvano* means an inhabitant of this forest of the Terrestrial Paradise, referring to the fact that Dante was very shortly to leave it to ascend into Paradise. Some contend that the sentence foretells Dante's early death, and that *quoniam* "on earth." But the world is always spoken of by Dante as *di là*, and we actually have this very contrast given in line 105: *Ritornato di là*, "when thou art back in the world." Casini thinks Beatrice's meaning is that the present condition of Earth is only transitory, but it is difficult to explain this extremely obscure passage very clearly.

† *quella Roma*, et seq.: On this Tommaseo remarks: "Da chiamar Roma il Cielo, vedasi che alta idea gli sedesse in mente di Roma."

‡ *fa che tu scrive*: Compare *Rev.* i, 11. "What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven Churches which are in Asia."

Così Beatrice ; ed io, che tutto ai piedi\*  
De' suoi comandamenti era devoto,  
La mente e gli occhi, ov' ella volle, diedi †

"Here in this forest (the Terrestrial Paradise) shalt thou be a dweller but for a brief while, and shalt be with me for evermore a citizen of that Rome whereof Christ is a Roman citizen (*i. e.*, thou shalt be a fellow-citizen of Christ in Heaven). Therefore, for the good of the world which liveth evilly, keep thine eyes fixed upon the Chariot, and what thou seest, when thou art back in the world yonder, see that thou write." Thus Beatrice, and I, who at the feet of her commandments was all devoted, directed my mind and my eyes whither she willed (*i. e.*, upon the Chariot).

Dante now begins to describe the persecutions of the Church ; the first that he mentions are those of the early Roman emperors : Nero, Domitian, Diocletian and others. These persecutions are figured by an Eagle swooping down on the Chariot with such great force as to make it totter.

Non scese mai ‡ con sì veloce moto

\* *ai piedi De' suoi comandamenti* is like *le ginocchia della mente*, in Petrarch ; and *alle mani della sua grazia*, in Boccaccio, though I am unable to give the references.

† *La mente e gli occhi . . . diedi* : Compare *Purg.* iii, 14 :  
"E diedi il viso mio incontro al poggio"

‡ *Non scese mai*, et seq. : "La velocità del volo dell'aquila era più che d' un fulmine, quando cade la pioggia da quell' estremo confine superiore, nel quale può questa formarsi già ch'è e già ci ha detto esser le regioni aeree a grande altezza sui bassi lidi, nelle quali non avvengono meteore di pioggia, di vento e simili. La ragione poi che questa circostanza nel intendimento del Poeta par debba accrescere la volontà del fulmine, potrebbe essere questa, che quando piove dalle più remote regioni pluviali, e però vengono via a formarsi nuove, queste si trovano nel massimo avanzamento alla supposta sfera del fuoco, la quale credesi potesse influire su quelle, nel far loro concepire e concentrare maggior copia di calore ; il perchè il divampare di questo in luce e fuoco, e quindi il precipitare del fulmine, fosse

Foco di spessa nube, quando piove \* 110  
 Da quel confine che più va remoto,  
 Com' io vidi calar l' uccel di Giove  
 Per l' arbor giù, rompendo della scorza,  
 Non che dei fiori e delle foglie nuove .  
 E ferì il carro di tutta sua forza, 115  
 Ond' ei piegò, come nave in fortuna,  
 Vinta dall' onda, or da poggia † or da orza.

Never descended with so swift a motion fire from a dense cloud, when it is raining from that region (the Sphere of Fire) which is the most remote, as I beheld the bird of Jove swoop down through the Tree, rending off part of its bark, as well as of its flowers and of its young leaves; and he smote the Chariot with all his might, whereat it reeled like a ship in a tempest, driven by the waves, now to starboard, now to port.

The eagle not only smites the mystic Chariot, but

in tal caso e più fragoroso e più violento, in ragione appunto di quel più grande concentramento per cui doveva prodursi una tensione che oggi diremmo straordinaria tensione. Tale interpretazione pare che possa confermarsi e illustrarsi dalla terza 14. del 22. del xxiii del Paradiso.

\* Come loco di nube si disserra,

Per diatarsi sì che non vi cape,

E fuor di sua natura in più s'atterra.

ov' è da vedere accennato il concetto delle esplosioni, e l'Es non poteva ignorare il ritrovato e le esperienze del celestino Fra Ruggiero Bacone intorno alla polvere pirica, o da schiacciare o da mine; il quale migliore dottore premedette di mezzo secolo nostro Angliani. (Antonelli ap. Tommaseo.)

\* *quando piove* Scartazzini thinks that, in this passage Dante most probably follows the teaching of Aristotle, who in his second book of the *Meteor*, teaches that lightning is generated by fire being confined in the clouds, when the air rises to the level of the sphere of fire.

† *poggia*, starboard, *orza*, larboard or port. These words signify "right" or "left," as in Aristotle, *Org. Fur.* xxvi, st. 7.

"Passò il ferro crudel l'omero bianco."

Piegò Aldigier ferito a poggia e ad orza."

wise seriously damages the mystic Tree. The persecutions of the Emperors against the Christians not only injured the young church, but the Empire itself, depriving it in part of that new life which it had acquired by its union with the Church; depriving moreover, of many of the most loyal and faithful, the cause the most virtuous and holy minded, of its subjects. The next tribulation of the Church is that which it sustained from false prophets and heretical teachers, and these are symbolized here by a fox, hungry and lean, who leaps into the body of the chariot.

Poesia vidi avventarsi nella cuna\*  
 Del trionfal veicolo una volpe,†  
 Che d'ogni pasto buon pare a digiuna.‡ 120

*cuna*: The poetic and occasional form for *culla*, which is the word for "cradle" in general use all over Italy then comes to mean "abode," "dwelling place," as in *Dante*, *Par.* xiv, 100, 101

"Rea la scelse già per cuna fida  
 Del suo figliuolo."

*Gran Dizionario* says that, in the present passage, *cuna* signifies the middle of the Chariot, where one would sit, which shaped somewhat like a cradle. *Avventarsi nella cuna* means more than simply to leap into the car. The word implies an attack. The fox haled itself head foremost into the chariot for the purpose of attacking the structure itself.

*volpe*. "La volpe simboleggiava, come già nella Bibbia, l'eresia che venne a perturbare la Chiesa dopo le persecuzioni penali, e fu tradita dalla parola dei dottori" (*Cosimo*); compare *Psalms*, lxxi, 10. "They shall fall by the sword: they shall be a portion for foxes. And *Lam.* v, 18: "Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it. And *Ezek.* xiii, 4: "O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts."

*d'ogni pasto buon . . . digiuna*: As heresies are founded on vain doctrines, those who follow them are deprived of wholesome spiritual sustenance.

Ma riprendendo lei di laide colpe,\*

La Donna mia la volse in tanta futa,†

Quanto sofferson l'ossa senza polpe.

Then I saw leap into the body of the triumphal Car a fox that (from its leanness) appeared to be tasting from all wholesome food. But upbraiding it for its evil faults, my Lady put it to as swift a flight as its fleshless bones would allow.

Its extreme weakness did not admit of a very rapid flight.

Scartazzini observes that the fox leaped into the Chariot from without, and therefore signifies a heresy that did not take its origin within the body of the Church, but from the outside. He says that Dante, in this part of his vision, seems to follow a chronological order, and that, if in verse 124 there is an allusion to the gift of Constantine to the Church, it is evident that he here refers to a heresy which took place before that time. It can neither be the heresy of Arius, of Mahomet, of Anastasius II, nor of Novatian. He is convinced that the heresy here alluded to is that of the Gnostics. Gnosticism did not spring up within the Church, but had its origin in Oriental philosophy. The fox is put to flight by Beatrice; and Gnosticism was victoriously combated by the Fathers of the Church.

Dante now goes on to describe the Third Tribula-

\* *riprendendo lei di laide colpe*: Faith demonstrates the error of false tenets, and, by combating them, obtains the triumph of true doctrine. Compare *Inf.* vii, 82. "laid opra."

† *futa*: the same as *fuga*, was formerly in common use. A mountain on the road between Bologna and Florence is said to have been called *Montagna della Futa* on account of its being the rout and flight of the Ghibellines at that place.

of the Church, namely, its rich endowment by Roman Emperors.

Poscia, per indi ond' era pria venuta,  
L' aquila vidi scender giù nell' arca 125  
Del carro, e lasciar lei di sè pennuta.\*

*Lasciar lei di sè pennuta*: This is generally understood to mean that the Emperor Constantine impoverished himself to bestow rich endowments on the Church when he moved the seat of the Empire to Constantinople. Compare *Inf.* xix, 115:

"Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,  
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote  
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!"

the passage in the text Pietro di Dante writes: "Aquila rat impensilem largitatem Constantini, qui replevit curium, & Ecclesiam, plumis, idest temporalibus bonis. Et legitur: fere [probably fuisse] auditam vocem in aere Romae intenti hodie infusum est venenum in Ecclesia Dei." Lana, *Amorino Fiorentino*, and other old Commentators, narrate the legend in greater or lesser detail. In the great commentary of Giovanni da Serravalle (stated to have been completed by its author and his patrons Cardinal Amidei, Nicolaus Bubb, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, were in attendance at the Council of Constance 1417, recently published at Prato, 1891, one vol. folio, the editor, a Franciscan friar, is careful to disavow an opinion solely to be financially prejudicial to his Order. He says that, in all respect to Dante, he cannot agree with him that endowments are destructive of the Church; that the people are taxed and addicted to avarice, are unwilling to pay their dues, and even kings and potentates are desirous of getting the Pope to remit their tithes and all other dues of the Church. If the poor are despised, to be poor is looked upon as a disgrace, and that therefore, were the priesthood to be impoverished, it would without doubt be brought into contempt. Besides, ecclesiastics are less good, perfect, and exemplary than they were in the times of the Apostles, and are not of such a report as they should be; consequently, if the wealth of the Churches should be taken from them, there would certainly be a deficiency of men willing to take Orders, and so divine worship would diminish. Although there are no doubt many prelates, whose lives are evil, and who make a bad use of the goods of the Church, yet there are also many good ones, of holy lives, and who give largely to the poor, according



E qual esce di cor che si rammarca,

Tal voce uscì del cielo, e cotal disse :

— "O navicella mia, com' mal sei carica !" —

Then, by the same course whereby he had come before (*i. e.*, through the Tree), I saw the eagle swoop down into the body of the Chariot, and leave it covered with his feathers. And there came a voice from heaven, such as issues from a heart that is mourning, and thus it spoke : O my little bark, how ill art thou laden !"

Nearly all the Commentators agree that Dante is here making allusion to the riches and luxuries bestowed on the Apostolic Seat by the Roman Emperors, and more especially to the "Donatio Constantini." Whereas the Church had come victorious out of all its previous tribulations and trials, this last was far more insidious and fatal, and the Church was put to the same temptation which Satan attempted with Jesus Christ, when he showed him all the kingdoms of the Earth and the glory of them. With our Lord he failed, but with the Church he was successful. Gold, power, and earthly glory were objects of admiration on the part of the ministers and servants of the Living God.

Poi parve a me che la terra s' apusse 110

Tr' ambo le rote, e vidi uscirne un drago,

Che per lo carro su la coda fisse

E come vespa che rattragge l' ago,

A sè traendo la coda maligna,

Trasse del fondo, e gissen vago vago. 115

Then methought that the earth opened between the two wheels, and from it I saw issue forth a dragon, who thrust his tail upward through the Chariot, and

to report. "Unde puto quod, pro certo, tempore isto <sup>110</sup> currenti, non expedit quod Ecclesia perdat bona sua, <sup>115</sup> possessiones, atque dominium, ullo modo."

like a wasp that draws back its sting, so did he, drawing back his envenomed tail, tear off a part of the bottom (of the Chariot), and went his way in malignant eagerness (to work further evil).

Some Commentators interpret *vago* as rejoicing, exulting, but Scartazzini does not agree with them, and thinks Dante nearly always uses the word to mean eager (*see Purg.* xxviii, 1, and many other passages). The dragon was far from going away satisfied, but like the wolf (*Inf.* i, 99) who *dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria*, it departed as departs the devil, who having worked one evil, is eager to work another worse one. Now what is this dragon? The figure is most probably taken from *Rev.* xii, 3-4: "And behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth." In the dragon of the Apocalypse, Scartazzini says that modern Biblical exegesis sees figured the Roman Empire, antichristian, the enemy and persecutor of the Church. Its seven heads are the seven hills of Rome, the ten horns are the Roman emperors from Augustus down to Nero: the tail that casts away the third part of the stars of Heaven figures the oppression and desolation of the Church. The dragon is "that old serpent, the Devil and Satan," as in the Apocalypse. The dragon issues from the earth, whereas the Gryphon, or Christ, descended from heaven; and consequently the dragon is the infernal antithesis to the celestial Gryphon. Up to the time of the appearance of the dragon, the body of the Chariot had escaped injury; but from this point it

begins to degenerate. The dragon in attacking it with his envenomed tail, typifies the Devil, who instilled corruption into the Church, and despoiled it of all its virtues. And the dragon coming forth between the two wheels of the Chariot is thought to imply that the demon of cupidity of worldly possessions arose in the hearts of the clergy, the two wheels typifying the two Orders, the secular and the monastic clergy.

Casini, one of the most recent of modern Commentators, says that, as to the Dragon of the Dantesque vision, three interpretations hold the field: (1, that of Lana, accepted by Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, and many moderns, who think it symbolizes Mahomet, as the founder of the religion which withdrew so many people from the Christian faith; (2) that of Pietro di Dante, adopted by many moderns, which sees in it, the Antichrist, or the concupiscence after temporal goods, which acted as the first incentive to the ruin of the Church; and (3) that formulated by Lombardi, followed by Scartazzini, which I have adopted. On these three interpretations Casini offers no opinion. Tommaséo thinks it means every schism that was first promoted and then aggravated, from the time that a part of the Imperial power fell into the hands of the Priesthood, and a part of the Ecclesiastical power was arrogated by the Princes. Serravalle takes it to be "*quarta persecutio Ecclesie quam fecit ille porcus Machomettus.*"

In the next six lines, Dante relates how the plumage of the eagle covered every part of the Chariot in an instant of time.

Quel che rimase, come di gramigna \*  
 Vivace terra, della piuma, offerta  
 Forse con intenzion sana e benigna,†

Si ricoperse, e funne ricoperta  
 E l'una e l'altra rota e il temo, in tanto 140  
 Che piu tiene un sospir la bocca aperta.

What remained (of the Chariot)—even as fertile soil with grass—clothed itself again with the plumage, offered perchance with holy and beneficent intent; and both the wheels, as well as the pole, were again clothed with it in just so much time as a sigh doth longest keep the lips apart.

This evidently alludes to the rich endowments of the Church. Up to this point the mystic Chariot has had the symbolical meaning of the Church universal, inasmuch as it owns the Pope for its head, but thenceforward it seems to have signified the Papal throne. It is now transformed into a monster of terrible appearance.

Trasformato così il dificio santo ‡  
 Mise fuor teste per le parti sue,  
 Tre sopra il temo, ed una in ciascun canto.

\* *come di gramigna*: "Pars vero que remansit, fuit venenata, qui pastores Ecclesie et vii haeclesastes, qui remanserunt, vestierant se illas pennas, quas dimisit aquila, idest pompas dommandi, et divitias, et dederunt se vitis mundanis, unde facti sunt pravi et mali." (Berravalle).

† *sana e benigna*: This is the reading of all the early commentators, and nearly all the MSS. The Aldine was the first to read *casta e benigna*, and nearly all the modern Commentators, with the exception of Beartizan and Casini, read *casta*. It must be noticed that Dante only says that the Donation of Constantine was *offered* with a holy and beneficent intent. He only exculpates the giver. Not so those who accepted the gift.

‡ *il dificio santo*: Compare *Inf.* xxxiv, 7.  
 "Veder mi parve un tal 'dificio allotta."

Le prime eran cornute come bue ; 145  
 Ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte :  
 Simile mostro visto ancor non fue.\*

Thus transformed, the holy structure put forth heads on all its different parts, three above the pole, and one at each corner. The first (three heads) were horned like the monster with the seven heads and the passage is a symbol of the degeneration of the church, and more especially of the corruption of the Papal throne.† Lana is of opinion that the seven heads imply the seven capital sins which entered into the Church as soon as it became possessed of worldly riches :

Scartazzini says that the monster with the seven heads and the passage is a symbol of the degeneration of the church, and more especially of the corruption of the Papal throne.† Lana is

of opinion that the seven heads imply the seven capital sins which entered into the Church as soon as it became possessed of worldly riches :

Pride,	}	which, offending against God and	
Anger,		against one's neighbour, are two-	
Avarice,		horned sins.	
Envy,	}	which, only offending one's neighbour	
Luxury,			are one-horned sins
Sloth,			
Gluttony,			

\* *visto un. or non fue* : Others read *in vista un. or non fue*. Compare *Inf.* xxv, 75 :

" . . . Membra che non fur mai viste.

† Compare *Inf.* xiv, 109-110 :

"Quella che con le sette teste nacque,  
 E da le dieci corna ebbe argomento."

and *Inf.* 115-117

"Ah, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,  
 Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote  
 Che di te prese il primo ricco padre !"

Most of the principal Commentators give this interpretation.

Dante, having now passed rapidly over the vicissitudes of the Church from the earliest epoch of its existence, proceeds to notice its condition in his own times. He carries on the allegory by relating how he beheld upon the Chariot, now transformed into a monster, a bold shameless woman, and beside her a giant, who appeared to guard her; and at times they exchanged caresses. But when she turned her eyes upon Dante, the giant scourged her, loosed the Chariot from the Tree to which the Gryphon had bound it, and dragged it and the woman so far into the forest, that they were lost to Dante's sight.

Sicura quasi rocca\* in alto monte,  
Seder sopr' esso una puttana sciolta †  
M' apparse con le ciglia intorno pronte.‡ 150

\* *Sicura quasi rocca*. Casini observes that this simile indicates that the Church, however much corrupted, rested upon sure foundations. Compare *St. Matt. v. 14*. "A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." I am surprised to notice that some translators have fallen into the error of rendering *rocca* as "rock." *Rocca* is a citadel, a fortress, or the keep of a castle (Latin *arca*). Rock is *rocca*, though in some rare and quite obscure instances *rocca* has been used for "rock." The Rook in chess is derived from *rocca*, which is the regular word for "citadel" in all the best writers. Even Cary and Longfellow have not escaped making this slip, but Dugdale, Norton, Butler, and Haselfoot have rendered it correctly.

† *sciolta* primarily means ungirdled, dishevelled; hence, loose, licentious.

‡ *le ciglia intorno pronte*. See Cesari on this: "Ogni parola ha guizzar qui la protervia dell' atto e dell' guardar meretricio; quello *ciglia intorno pronte* scolpisce lo sbalestrar degli occhi, che attorno saettano." Compare *Vicinus* xxvi, 9: "The whoredom of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids."

E come perchè non gli fosse tolta,

Vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante,\*

E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta :

Ma perchè l'occhio cupido e vagante †

A me rivolse, quel feroce drudo

153

La flagellò ‡ dal capo innn le piante.

Poi di sospetto pieno e d'ira crudo,

Disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva

Tanto, che sol di lei mi fece scudo §

Alla puttana ed alla nuova belva.

160

Secure as a citadel on some lofty hill, methought there sat upon it (*i.e.*, the Chariot transformed into a monster) a dishevelled harlot rolling around her bold glances. And, as if in order (to guard) that she should not be taken from him, I saw standing at her side a giant, and ever and anon they kissed each other. But because she turned on me her wanton and roving eye, that savage paramour scourged her

\* *dritto un gigante* : *i.e.* a giant standing on his feet, *in contrast to soker . . . una puttana scolta* in l. 149. In my former edition I was criticised because in the episode of Beauty (Canto iv, 104 I had not translated *che si stava in piedi* "she was standing in the shade" in contrast to *Belacqua sculto*. But as I have since explained in a note on that passage, *sculto* does not mean "to stand." *Dritto* does mean "standing on the feet."

† *l'occhio cupido e vagante a me rivolse* : "quasi dicat, quod Bonifacius voluit respicere ad gentem italicam, dimissa gratia, quia nolebat amplius pati servitutem Philippi." *Tommasèo*. On this Lana remarks that, whenever the Popes did turn their eyes towards Christian people, or, to continue the allegory, attempted to withdraw from their adultery, the *claves* were sent to the kings, that is the kings of the House of France have scourged them, put them to death, and bent them to their will. The *sospetto* (l. 157) implies the jealousy these kings felt lest any other power but France should have influence in Italy.

‡ *la flagellò*. Tommasèo says that the woman with the wanton glance reminds one of *la luffa . . . di tutta l'aroma*, l. 49, and her roving eye of *la bestia senza paura*, *Inf.* i, 58.

§ *mi fece scudo*. "quasi dicat, quia inter me et monstrum interposita est sylvæ." *Bem: enuto*).

from head to foot. Then, full of jealousy and fierce with rage, he unloosed the monster (from the Tree to which the Gryphon had bound the Chariot before its transformation), and dragged it off through the forest so far, that he made of that alone a shield from me of the harlot and the newly-formed beast.

The giant made of the forest an impediment to Dante being the strange group any longer.

Dante has here been giving, in allegorical language, a sketch of the events that happened in his own time, which Scartazzini considers to be perfectly clear. There are two personages: the harlot and the giant. The harlot, styled *fuja* in xxxiii, 44, is that harlot of *Eccl.* xvii, 1-2, "that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication," and is also "that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth" (*ib.* 18), evidently meaning Rome. In the allegory of this Canto there is a symmetrical arrangement, which makes each personage and component part have its antitype or antithesis. Now Dante has taken Beatrice as the ideal type and symbol of the spiritual and papal authority, and therefore the harlot must be the antitype of Beatrice, and must signify the papal authority, degenerate, corrupt, and transformed into the contrary of what it ought to be, and consequently deserving of the same censure. Such were in Dante's eyes the Popes of his time, and notably so Boniface VIII, who, in *Par.* xxvii, 22, is called by St. Peter "*quegli eh' usurpa la terra il loco mio.*" The harlot is therefore the papal Curia degenerate and corrupt, and is the symbol of the two Popes contemporary with Dante, Boniface VIII and Clement V.



The giant, who appears to be an imitator of the kings of the earth that have committed fornication with the great Whore, symbolizes the Royal House of France, and especially Philippe le Bel, whose contests with Boniface VIII are well known.\*

In recapitulation, the interpretation of the allegory may thus be summed up :

The Monster is the antitype of the Triumphal Chariot.

The Seven Heads form the antitype of the Seven Nymphs or the Seven Candlesticks. The Ten Horns are the antitype of the Ten Paces (see *Purg* xxix 81, note).

The Harlot is the antitype of Beatrice.

The monster being loosed from the Tree, and dragged through the forest, is the antitype of the Chariot being led to the Tree and bound to it.

The Giant, as Paramour of the Church, is the antitype of the Gryphon, who, as the symbol of Christ, is the Bridegroom.

In the Gospel History, Pontius Pilate is taken to an antitype of Christ. But in *Purg* xx. 91, Dante calls Philippe le Bel "il nuovo Pilato".

This argument speaks in favour of the common interpretation. The episode of the giant dragging the transformed Chariot through the forest out of sight, is an imaginary prophecy of Dante relating to the translation of the Apostolic Seat from Rome to Avignon in 1305, Dante supposing himself to be looking five years in advance of 1300, when the vision is supposed to have occurred.

\* Sometimes the two seemed to be in accord (*Amorosa insieme*, l. 153).

**Canto XXXII. *Readings on the Purgatorio.* 625**

Pietro di Dante observes : " Et hoc est quod dicit, scilicet, quomodo traxit eam secum per silvam, idest quod fecit ut Curia romana tracta est ultra montes in suo territorio de Roma."

END OF CANTO XXXII.

## CANTO XXXIII.

THE TERN  
PROPH  
DRED  
EUNOE

DISE (*concluded*) — THE  
ICE.— THE FIVE HUN-  
D FIVE.— THE RIVER  
ST PURIFICATION.

AS in the last canto we described at very great length the persecutions of the Church Militant, he now relates how Beatrice and her attendant ladies mourned over the indignities that the Church was suffering from the Kings of France.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante relates the plaintive dirge over the Church, sung by the seven Damsels

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 63, Beatrice foretells, for Dante's consolation, the swift retribution that is coming, in the person of one who will set the Church free from its persecutors.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 64 to v. 102, Beatrice enjoins Dante not to be careless about the Vision he has witnessed, and remonstrates with him on his ignorance as to the things he has seen connected with the Tree.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 103 to v. 145, Dante relates how he is led by Matelda to drink of the water

of Eunoe, after which he is made fit to ascend to Heaven.

*Division I.* The seven Damsels break forth into a plaintive strain of psalmody, of which the responsive verses are sung alternately by the three Evangelical and by the four Cardinal Virtues. Beatrice listens with deep emotion.

*Deus, venerunt gentes,\** alternando

Or tre or quattro, † dolce salmodia

Le donne incominciaro, e lagruando

E Beatrice sospirosa e pia

Quelle ascoltava sì fatta, che poco

Piu alla croce si cambiò Maria.

5

*Deus, venerunt gentes.* This sweet psalmody the Ladies commenced singing in alternate choirs, now of three, now of four, weeping the while: and Beatrice listened to them with sighs of compassion, (and) with such an aspect (of woe), that Mary at the cross was but little more changed (in appearance).

Dante, in the above passage, uses the words of the Psalmist lamenting over the desolation of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, and applies them to the tribulations of the Church, which he described under an allegory in the last canto. Beatrice had been standing on the Chariot of the Church, when the Gryphon, Jesus Christ, bound it to the Tree, *i.e.* the Empire. The scene has now entirely changed. The place of Bea-

\* *Deus, venerunt gentes*, is the beginning of *Psalm lxxvii*, of the *Vulgate*. "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps."

† *Or tre or quattro*: "Le tre donne diceano l'uno verso del Salmo, e le quattro diceano il seguente, e così procedevano per lo Salmo." (*Ottimo*).

trice, the representative of the *ideal* ecclesiastical authority, has been usurped by the shameless harlot that typifies *corrupted* ecclesiastical authority, and as such, is the antitype of Beatrice. The brutal giant has dragged his wanton paramour out of sight, that is to say, Philippe le Bel has transferred the Papal Seat to Avignon. The *ideal* authority can only rule in Rome, and therefore Beatrice, its representative, is here depicted as standing by in desolation and woe.

Having described Beatrice's appearance and expression, Dante tells how she at length broke silence.

Ma poichè l'altre vergini dier loco

A lei di dir, levata dritta in piè

Rispose, colorata come foco

*Modicum,\* et non videbitis me,*

10

*Et iterum, sorelle mie dilette,*

*Modicum, et vos videbitis me.*

But when the other maidens had given place for her to speak, rising up upon her feet, she answered (with a countenance) crimsoned like fire: *Modicum et non videbitis me, et iterum, my beloved sisters, Modicum, et vos videbitis me.*

These words of Our Lord (*St. John*, xvi, 16) are spoken by Beatrice, partly as a prophecy, partly as an inspiration for the speedy restoration of the Papal Seat to Rome. Her face is burning with indignation at the wrongs suffered by the Church of which she is guardian.

The company now moves on. The seven Damsels

\* *Modicum, et seq.*: "Con queste parole intende l'autore che avvegna che la Chiesa sia in privazione di ~~abbati, monaci, e tanto~~ presente, el verrà tempo che essa sarà in atto di ~~obediencia~~ e così si mostrerà a tutti." (Lana).

walk in front, then Beatrice; while Matelda, Dante, and Statius, bring up the rear.

Poi le si mise innanzi tutte e sette,

E dopo sè, solo accennando, mosse

Me e la Donna, e il Savio che ristette.

15

Then she sent on all the seven before her, and, by a mere sign, motioned me and the Lady (Matelda), as also the sage who still remained (*i.e.*, Statius) to follow her.

In this new procession, diminished in numbers, the same kind of order is observed as in the greater procession that had proceeded to the tree. The candlesticks are borne aloft in the front by the seven Damsels.

Before they have walked ten paces further, Beatrice invites Dante to draw nearer to her, the better to hear her words. Dante obeys her commands, and she then encourages him to take heart and converse with her.

Così sen giva, e non credo che fosse

Lo decimo suo passo \* in terra posto,

Quando con gli occhi gli occhi mi percosse :

E con tranquillo aspetto : — " Vien più tosto, —

Mi disse, — " tanto che s' io parlo teco,

20

Ad ascoltarmi tu sie ben disposto."

Si com' io fui, com' io doveva, seco,

Dissemi : — " Frate, perchè non ti attenti

A domandarmi omai venendo meco ?

Thus she (Beatrice) moved on, and I do not believe that her tenth step had been planted on the ground,

\* *decimo suo passo* Tommasèo thinks that Dante speaks of these ten paces merely from love of mathematical exactness, but Scartazzini believes that, in this number, Dante has again concealed some allegory, which we do not know how to unravel. These ten paces of Beatrice remind us of the ten paces' distance, by which the candlesticks were separated from the mystic procession, of which they were the standards.

when with her eyes she encountered my eyes; and with a tranquil mien: "Come on more quickly," said she to me, "so that if I speak to thee, thou mayest be well placed for listening to me." So soon as I was, as in duty bound, by her side, she said to me: "Brother, why dost thou not venture to question me now that thou art walking with me?"

Benvenuto thinks Beatrice is hinting that Dante wishes to ask her how long such offences shall remain unpunished. Dante feels encouraged to ask her what is in his heart, but does so with much timidity, expressing his assurance that she knows how much information it is good for him to have. In reply Beatrice exhorts him to lay aside this timidity, and no longer to talk like one in a trance.

Benvenuto remarks that, from this point up to the end of the *Paradiso*, we never again find that Dante loses consciousness, or dreams within his vision.

Come a color che troppo reverenti \* 23  
 Dinanzi a' suoi maggiori parlando sono,  
 Che non traggon la voce viva ai denti,  
 Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono †

\* *reverenti Dinanzi a' suoi maggiori*, etc. Compare the answer of Telemachus to Mentor, when exhorted to pay a visit to Nestor, *Odys.* iii, 27. Lord Carnarvon's translation:

"It do becometh youth to question eld."

Compare also *Purg.* i, 51:

"Riverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio."

It has been well said that Dante must be commended on his of reverence, which we will take in his own words: "Io parlavo ramo che dalla radice rationale consurga si è la *diversione*. Uno dei più belli e dolci frutti di questo ramo è la *reverenza* che debbe al maggiore il minore." And ill. 100, 101: "*Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono*." "Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono."

† *senza intero suono*: Compare Ariosto, *Orland. Fur.* xli. 98.

Incominciai : — "Madonna, mia bisogna  
Voi conoscete, e ciò ch' ad essa è buono." — 30

Ed ella a me : — "Da tema e da vergogna  
Voglio che tu omai ti disviluppe,"\*

Si che non parli più com' uom che sogna.†

As befalls those who in such excessive reverence speak in the presence of their superiors, that they fail to force any distinct utterance through their teeth, so it befell me, for without any perfect sound I began : "My Lady, thou knowest my necessity, and that which is good for it." And she to me : "I will that henceforward thou disentangle thyself from timidity and shame, so that thou mayest no more speak like one who dreams.

*Division II.* Beatrice now foretells the swift retribution that is about to befall the persecutors of the Church from the hand of one who will set her free. She says that the eagle will, in its turn, have an heir,

"Spesso la voce, dal desio cacciata,  
Viene a Rinaldo sin presso alla bocca  
Per domandarlo : e quivi raffrenata  
Da cortese modestia, fuor non scocca."

\* *Da tema . . . ti disviluppe* : Compare *Inf* iii, 14, where Virgil says to Dante :

"Qui si conven lasciare ogni sospetto ;  
Ogni viltà conven che qui sia morta."

And *Par.* xi, 67

"La voce tua sicura, balda e lieta  
Suoni la volontà, suoni il desio,  
A che la mia risposta è già decreta."

And *Par.* xvii, 7

"Manda fuor la vampa  
Del tuo desio, 'mi disse,' sì ch' ella esca  
Segnata bene della interna stampa."

† *com' uom che sogna* : Compare Petrarch, *Rime*, p. 1, son. 34 (in some editions 31) :

"Se parole fai,  
Sono imperfette, e quasi d' uom che sogna."

And Tasso, *Ger. Lid.* xiii, 30 :

"Gli ragiona in guisa d' uom che sogna."



and is not ; but let him witness  
that the vengeance of God  
by sops.

Let not him, Philippe le B.  
destruction of the Church (r

\* *vaso* : This properly means  
= *la cuna del carro*, but is us  
itself.

† *serpente*. In Canto, xxxii, 1  
*un drago* which transixed and th  
Car. Dante now calls the Drag  
*Rev. xii, 9* : "And the great dr  
pent, called the Devil, and Sat  
world." Wherefore we may con  
Dragon in Dante's vision, the  
signified.

‡ *Fu, e non è* : Barelli (*L' All*  
p. 279) says that these words,  
*videbitis me*, etc., prove, *first*,  
by wealth, and alienated from  
longer as holy, as perfect as i  
efficacious in the sanctification  
before long would be literally  
allegory, of the carrying off of  
gradation of the Church was bu  
*modicum et videbitis me*. Her  
*non è* in two senses ; *first*, Il va

who broke up the hollow body of the car with his tail) hope to appease the anger of the Deity by any outward act of religious, or rather superstitious, ceremony; such as was, in Dante's time, performed by a murderer in Florence, who imagined himself secure from vengeance, if he ate a sop of bread steeped in wine upon the grave or upon the corpse of the murdered victim within nine days. Corso Donati, Benvenuto tells us, acted on this belief, and the *Falso Boccaccio* relates that when Charles Sansterre defeated and captured the youthful Conradin, son of the Emperor Conrad IV, with young Frederick of Austria, and the two Lancias, and had them beheaded at Naples, it was reported that Charles and his barons caused sops to be prepared, and they ate them over the dead bodies, saying that thenceforward there could be no vengeance carried out against them. Scartazzini states that, out of sixty-four commentators whom he has quoted, forty-nine are agreed in referring this passage to the popular superstition of the times, and some mention it as actually occurring in their days.

Paulo Emiliani-Giudici (*Storia della lett ital.*, vol. i, 215) observes that the present passage is one of the most sublime touches of the Dantesque pencil, a mode of speech mysterious to us, which, although it bears in our eyes the obscurity of the answer of an oracle, must have been perfectly clear and intelligible to Dante's contemporaries, while to the Anjous it must have contained a bitter sarcasm, denuding their superstitions, and threatening vengeance for their crimes. We have here one of the many buried treasures, with

which the whole poem would glitter, were it to be illustrated by a commentary rigidly historical.

Beatrice now shows how vain is such fancied security on the part of Philippe *le Bel*, because the outrage on the Church will be speedily avenged by a special emissary of God.

Non sarà tutto tempo senza creda \*  
 L' aquila che lasciò le penne al carro,  
 Per che divenne mostro e poscia preda ;  
 Ch' io veggio certamente, e però il narro, 40  
 A darne tempo già stelle propinque,  
 Sicure d' ogni intoppo e d' ogni sbarro ;  
 Nel quale un cinquecento dieci e cinque,  
 Messo da Dio, anciderà la fuia  
 Con quel gigante che con lei delinque. 45

Not for all time shall he without an heir the eagle that left his plumage in the Car, whereby it became a monster and afterwards the prey (of the giant) ; for I can assuredly discern—and therefore I tell it—stars even now close at hand, secure from any impediment or hindrance (*i.e.*, no power can avert such a conjunction of planets), that will give us a time in which a FIVE HUNDRED AND TEN AND FIVE, sent from God, shall slay the abandoned woman together with the giant who is her accomplice in guilt.

The above passage is one of the most obscure and

\* *senza creda* L' aquila, *i.e.* the vacant Imperial throne. The vision is supposed to have taken place in 1300, in which year the Imperial throne was not really vacant, but only so in *beating* eyes. In the *Comita* he speaks of Frederick II as the Emperor and King of the Romans. Dante evidently meant that, in a short time, an Emperor after his ideal would be elected. Scartazzini thinks that the *Purgatorio* was written subsequently to the death of Henry of Luxembourg, in 1313, and that, therefore, he cannot be the monarch on whom Dante founded his hopes.

uted in the whole of the *Divina Commedia*. In first place, Dante has again imitated the mystic of the *Revelations* (xiii, 18), "Here is wisdom. him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred three score and six." This is not thought to be a difficult enigma, as St. John was a Jew, and, written in Hebrew letters, the number 666 exactly makes

#### NERON CAESAR.

to decipher the number given by Dante, Scartazzini thinks, one ought to know whether he was thinking of the symbolic value of the Latin letters, or only of the letters themselves, D. X. V., which would suppose give the word D. V. X., *i. e.* a leader or captain. Whichever way one takes it, the passage evidently implies the hope that a personage would suddenly appear, who would reform the Church, and re-establish the imperial authority. It would also follow from the context that Dante is pointing to a well-known contemporary personage, on whom he could found his hopes.

By far the larger number of Commentators agree that the *Veltro* in *Inf.* i, and the D. X. V. in this passage, are one and the same person. From the time of Vellutello to the present day, most authorities have contended that in both cases Dante meant Can della Scala, Lord of Verona. This may have been so, and I confess it had always been the view which I preferred (see *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, 26-33); but, although there is no proof to the

remain mysteries that D  
ever to be solved.

Beatrice explains that  
obscure, it will soon be n

E forse che la mia n  
Qual Temi e Sfi  
Perch' a lor mo  
Ma tosto fien li fatti  
Che solveranno  
Senza danno di

---

\* *Temi e Sfinge* : Themis v  
oracles. The fable of the Sp

† *attua* : This word only oc  
The older Commentators nev  
lates "obscures the intellect,"  
as signifying *offuscare*, which  
the *Accademia della Crusca*.

‡ *Naiade* : It will be obse  
word *Naiade* occurs, I have  
It is a very curious episode in  
this opportunity of thanking  
warned me of the passage.  
was evidently suggested to  
*Met.* vii, 759-761 :

Carmina Laiades  
Solverat ingentis ;  
Immemor ambag;

In Dantes time a chrysalis

And peradventure my obscure utterance, like Themis and the Sphinx, will be less able to persuade thee, because it clouds the intellect after their fashion (of speaking ambiguously); but before long the facts (that will occur) will be the Laiades (*not* Naiades, but Laiades, *i.e.*, Oedipus the son of Laius), which will solve this difficult enigma, without destruction of flocks or of harvests (such as was wrought by the Sphinx in the country round Thebes).

Beatrice exhorts Dante to relate what he had observed when he returns to the world, and especially not to omit to mention the condition in which he saw the Tree in the Terrestrial Paradise.

Tu nota ; e sì come da me son porte,  
 Così queste parole segna ai vivi  
 Del viver ch' è un correre alla morte ;  
 Ed abbi a mente, quando tu le scrivi,  
 Di non celar qual hai vista la pianta,  
 Ch' è or due volte dirubata quivi.

55

Mark thou this ; and even as these words are uttered by me, so do thou teach them to those who are living that life which is a hastening unto death ; and bear in mind, when thou writest them, not to conceal in what plight thou hast seen the Tree, which has already in this place (the Terrestrial Paradise) been twice pillaged.

All the ancient Commentators agree that the first

"Protinus Aonnis immittitur altera Thebis  
 Pestis ; et ex alto multi pecorumque suoque  
 Rurigenæ pavere seram."

Forthwith a second plague is sent to Thebes in Bœotia, and many rustics supplied food to the monster, by the destruction of their flocks, and of their own persons : while the line

"pre-iptata jacebat  
 Immemor ambagum vates obscuræ suorum"

meaning that the propheticess of obscure utterance forgot her iddles, and hurled herself down from a high cliff, can only refer to the Sphinx and not to the Naiades.

tion beyond any possible  
line 61 of this Canto, Bea  
penalty had befallen Adam  
Tree. None of the attacks  
or the dragon, robbed the T  
it, or the Chariot. But t'  
Chariot, and carrying it a  
wood of which it is was fo

Beatrice draws a gener  
that not only Adam, but  
Tree, incurs the wrath of

Qualunque ruba \* que  
Con bestemmia d  
Che solo all' uso  
Per morder quella, in

---

\* *Qualunque ruba*: We re  
Canto, that the Chariot is the  
Seat, and the Tree, in its alleg  
The Tree is robbed by whom  
as did the Giant: or when an  
belong to the Empire are us  
clerical hierarchy, who ought t

Cinquemili' anni e più \* l' anima prima  
Bramò Colui che il morso in sè punio.

Whoever robs it (the Tree) or rends off its boughs,  
with blasphemy of deed offends against God, Who  
created it holy for His use alone. For tasting its  
fruit, the first-born soul (Adam) in pain and in desire  
for five thousand years and more had to long for the  
advent of Him Who punished on His Own Self (the  
sin of) that tasting

*Division III.* Beatrice now remonstrates with  
Dante on his ignorance as to the things he has seen  
connected with the Tree.

Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non estima  
Per singular cagione essere eccelsa † 65  
Lei tanto, e sì travolta nella cima.

torment, that they abide for ever longing and without hope.  
(See *Inf.* iv, 41-42.)

\* *cinquemili' anni e più*: In *Par.* xxvi, 118, Dante makes  
Adam say that he passed 4302 years in *Limbo*, and 930 years  
on Earth; for Adam's age see *Gen.* v, 5. According to Eusebius,  
Jesus Christ was born 5200 years after the creation of the world.  
The other chronologists differ greatly as to this date, but Dante  
has evidently followed that given by Eusebius. If Christ was  
born in the year 5200 from the Creation, and died in the thirty-  
third year of his age, the date of His descent into *Limbo* would  
be 5232, which is the exact date given by Dante. See *Par.* xxvi,  
118-120:

"Quindi, onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio,  
Quattromila trecento e due volami  
Di Sol desiderai questo concedo."

If to the figures 4302 we add the 930 years that Adam lived on  
Earth we obtain 5232, which is the date of our Lord's death,  
according to the calculations of Eusebius.

† *eccelsa*: Giraziani (*Interpret. dell' allegoria della Divina  
Commedia*, p. 348) says: "The prodigious height of the Tree  
gives an exact image of the vast size of the Empire, and the  
inversion of it at the top, that is, tapering downwards in the  
contrary way to what pine and fir trees do, is perhaps stated for  
many reasons, but we will confine ourselves to Dante's descrip-



prehend that for a special reason  
lofty, and so spreading at the  
thoughts had not been as the  
the Elsa round thy mind, and  
(had not stained thy mind) as  
berry (with his blood), by so  
alone thou wouldst, in the me  
nized the justice of God in the i

Beatrice means that had not  
hardened with worldly cares, &  
pleasures, he would have seen  
God in prohibiting access to t  
had been shown to him in sc  
gories, he would assuredly hav

tion of another and similar Tree (a  
its significance: '*Cred' io perchè*  
symbolizing, in the passage now be  
the Empire should be inviolate."

\* *acqua d' Elsa*: The Elsa is a  
the mountains near Colle, and flow  
between Florence and Pisa. Its  
incrust or petrify anything left in th

† *un Piramo alla gelsa*: Alluding  
which Pyramus and Thisbe died, &  
from which circumstance the mull  
red fruit instead of white.

\* *moribundus*. In *Cont. d' u*, cap

signification of the justice of God in the precept given by Him to our first parents, almost as if it had borne the identical meaning of what was His Will as to the inviolability of the Empire.

Beatrice, in reproving Dante for the vain thoughts that cloud his intellect, is evidently speaking of his past life, and that his purification can only be complete and perfect after that he shall have tasted of the waters of Eunoe, which will render him, as we shall read in the concluding words of the *Purgatorio*, "renewed as are young trees with new foliage, pure, and disposed to mount up to the stars." He had been absolved and made free from sin, he had drunk forgetfulness of it in the waters of Lethe, but the consequences of his sin, a darkening of the mind, still remained. The waters of Lethe take away sin, while those of Eunoe waft away the darkness that, after sin, overclouds the soul.

Beatrice now tells Dante that she wishes him, at all events, to take back to the world what she has just said, and, as she sees his mind is too hardened and impenetrable for her words to be clearly engraved in it, she desires that he should carry away a rough outline of the general sense of what she has said.

Ma perch' io veggio te nello intelletto

Fatto di pietra,\* ed, impietrato, tinto †

\* *Fatto di pietra*: Compare this with *Jer* v, 3: "Thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction: they have made their faces harder than a rock, they have refused to return." And *Ezek* xxxvi, 26: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh."

† *impietrato, tinto*: "Quasi dica, io veggio e' d, che io ho detto

course dazzles thee, it is if  
thou bear it (my discourse  
written down, at least out)  
the same reason that the  
home enwreathed with palm

A conversation now ensues  
trice. First assuring her  
foundly impressed in his n  
discourse soars so far abov  
gence. She tells him that  
understand how little the  
lowed by him is of a char  
level of her lofty conceptior  
do not remember that I  
thee." "Naturally," replie  
this day hast thou drunk  
Lethe."

Ed io:—"Sì come cer  
Che la figura impr  
Segnato è or da ve

---

di sopra di te (cioè parlando d  
... ..

Ma perchè tanto sopra mia veduta

Vostra parola dissiata vola,

Che più la perde quanto più s' aiuta?"—

— "Perchè conoschi,"—disse,— "quella scuola

85

Ch' hai seguitata, e veggi sua dottrina

Come può seguitar la mia parola ;

E veggi vostra via dalla divina

Distar cotanto, quanto si discorda

Da terra il ciel che più alto festina."—

90

And I: "Even as wax which does not change the figure stamped upon it by a seal, so is my brain (*i.e.*, memory) now imprinted by you. But why is it that our longed-for words range so far above my ken, that the more it (my intellect) looks for aid, the more it loses it?" " (It is in order) that thou mayest now," said she, "that school which thou hast followed (philosophy), and mayest see how (little) its teaching is able to follow my discourse ; and that thou mayest see that the way of you (philosophers) is as widely removed from the way of God, as is distant from the earth the heaven that speeds round highest of all."

means the *Primum Mobile*, the farthest off and highest of the moveable heavens, beyond which is supposed to be the Empyrean, ever at rest.

The conception of this passage is taken from *1st* lv, 89: "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

---

o esistente sigillo, cera impressa de illo quamvis occulto notitiam manifestam." And *Corr.* i, 8, ll. 91, 92. "l'utilità della memoria dell' imagine del dono." And *Purg.* xviii, 1:

"Non ciascun segno  
È buono, ancor che buona sia la cera."

Et se dal fummo foco  
Cotesta oblivion  
Colpa nella tua v

Whereupon I answered  
that I ever estranged my  
any conscience of it tha  
thou canst not remembe  
smile, "recollect how t  
drunk of Lethe; and if f  
be inferred, this forgetful  
fault in thy will (for being

In the above words, Beat  
excuse in l. 93, *Nè honne* .  
now promises that thenc

---

\* *Come bevesti di Letè anco  
tini* and *La Crusca* read : *Sì*  
Vatican, and Mantua : *Come d*  
equivalent to *ancora oggi*.

† *dal fummo foco* : This mea  
back to the cause. The water  
past sin, but not of deeds tha  
forgetfulness, after drinking of l  
past life, is a distinct proof, it is  
sinful one. "Qui esemplifica  
quando si vede fummo e ali è

him in good hope, will only speak to him in clear words, and will lay aside all enigmatical language.

Veramente oramai \* saranno nude  
Le mie parole, quanto convertassi  
Quelle scoprire alla tua vista rude." †

Truly from this time forth, my words shall be undraped, so far as is befitting to lay them open to thy rude vision."

By drinking of Lethe, Dante has lost all memory of sin committed, but his mind is still in a state of confusion and his faculties dull and clouded. The water of Eunoe will clear up and illuminate his intellect.

*Division IV.* In this concluding Division of the last Canto of the *Purgatorio*, Dante relates how he is led by Matelda to drink of the water of Eunoe, thereby acquiring the blessing of perfect virtue.

He begins by relating that it was mid-day.

E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,  
Teneva il sole il cerchio di merzage, ‡  
Che qua e là, come gli aspetti, fassi,

105

\* *oramai*: Tommaséo observes that, in other places in this Canto (see ll. 24 and 32), we have *orai*, which, like *oramai*, means "henceforward." It may be an accidental series of repetitions, but is more likely to have been intentional on Dante's part.

† *vista rude*: Compare *Purg.* x, 121-123.

‡ *O superbi, e rissan messeri lassi,  
Che, della vista della tacente inferni,  
Fidanza avete ne ritrosi passi.*

‡ *cerchio di merzage*: On this passage Dr. Moore has a note wherein he alludes to two others, namely, *Purg.* xxii, 151, and *Par.* xxvii, 85, which some Commentators have strained to prove to be allusions to time, still subsequent to Easter Wednesday. I do not consider, therefore, that the discussion of these passages falls within the scope of our present subject. At the same time I admit (as I have already said) that Dante intends

Quando s' affisser, sì come s' affigge  
 Chi va dinanzi a gente per iscorta,  
 Se trova novitate a sue vestigge,\*  
 Le sette donne al fin d' un ombra smorta,†  
 Qual sotto foglie verdi e rami nigrì  
 Sopra suoi freddi rivi l' Alpe ‡ porta.

112

to give us generally to understand that, though himself being the limits and conditions of time, still the time passing while on this earth was such that, when he returned to witness his ecstatic vision of Paradise, it would be found to be the evening of Thursday, April 14th" (*Time References*, pp. 127-28). With regard to *più lento passo*, Biagioli observes that at mid-day we seem to see the Sun move more slowly on account of the immensity of the distance of the highest point of the meridian from the horizon, and for the same reason, if we see it rise after sunrise, or just before sunset, we fancy we see it moving upwards or downwards with increased rapidity. That this idea was a favourite one with Dante we may realize from his repeating it in *Pur.* xxxi v. 10-12:

"Così la Donna mia si stava eretta  
 Ed attenta, rivolta inver la plaga  
 Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta."

\* *vestigge* for *vestigie* is here equivalent to *camino*; 731.

† *ombra smorta*, . . . *rami nigrì* . . . *freddi rivi*: Compare *Virg. Georg.* 11, 332-334.

"Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus  
 Ingentes tendit ramos, aut s'cab. myrtus.  
 Herbus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra."

And *Hor.* iv. *Carm.* Od. iv, 57-60.

"Dixit at illex tansa lepennibus  
 Nigrae ferit croud's in Alcido  
 Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso  
 Dicit opes an munque ferro."

And Poliziano, *Stanze* lib. i, st. 80:

"S' avressa il verde colle alza superba  
 L' ombrosa ch' omnia il sol mai non arriva:  
 E sotto vel di spessi rami serba  
 Fiesca e gerata una fontana viva."

On *ombra* Lana writes: "Per questa ombra intende la tenebrosità in che rimangono le virtù: quando della Chiesa c'è tal mal governo.

‡ *l' Alpe*: The word is used here as a general term for all the mountain. Benvenuto remarks that, though Dante had *cauo-*

Both more resplendent, and with slower paces, the Sun was keeping along the meridian circle (*i.e.*, it was noon), which (noon) takes place here (in our hemisphere) and yonder (in the other hemisphere) according to the aspects (of the heavenly bodies), when—even as one who walks in front of a company by way of escort, if he encounters anything new upon his way, comes to a halt—the seven ladies came to a stand-still at the edge of a pale shadow, of the same kind as the high mountains cast upon their icy torrents beneath their dark-green foliage and their gloomy branches.

The above allusion to the time of day is the last that occurs in the *Divina Commedia*, and is intended to refer to noon on Easter Wednesday, 13 April, 1300. Dr Moore (*Time References*, p. 113) remarks that it is hardly necessary to add that Dante gives us no such marks of time in the *Paradiso*, since there he has passed from time to eternity (*Par.* xxxi, 36). Also there they have no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it, for there is no night there.

Dante now sees two rivers, which are Lethe and Eunoe, issuing from one source, and, remembering the rivers of Eden recorded in *Genesis*, thinks he sees Euphrates and Tigris.

Dinanzi ad esse Eufrates e Tigris\*  
 Veder mi parve uscir d' una fontana,  
 E quasi amici † dipartirsi pigris.

less witnessed Nature, as here described, in many places on the Alps, he had especially done so on the Apennines near Florence, in the upper Val d' Arno. Here, between Fiesole and Arezzo, is a most fertile territory, through which Hannibal marched.

\* *Eufrates e Tigris*: Dante had evidently in his mind the following passage from Boethius, *Philos. Consol.* v, metr. 1:

"Tigris, et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt,  
 Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis."

† *e quasi amici*: On this simile, Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 114,



In front of them (the seven ladies) methought I saw  
Euphrates and Tigris issue forth from one spring,  
and like friends about to part linger at their separa-  
tion.

In *Inf.* ii, 76-78, Dante had told Beatrice that, through her alone, the human race surpassed all within that heaven which has the smallest circles, meaning the heaven of the Moon, the lowest in the rank of the Spheres of Paradise, and which immediately contains the Earth. Addressing her now as the Light of the human race, he asks her what this bifurcation of waters imports.

- "O luce, o gloria della gente umana,  
Che acqua è questa che qui si dispiega  
Da un principio, e sè da sè lontana?" -

"O Light, O glory of the human race, what water is this which gushes forth from one source, and then separates itself far away from itself?"

Scartazzini says this would be quite exaggerated language, if Dante only intended to speak of the daughter of Folco Portinari. But Beatrice is, in this Canto, an eminently symbolic and allegorical personage. *La Luce della gente umana* is the word of God, Divine Revelation. "Thy word is a light unto my feet and a lantern unto my path" (*Ps.* cxix, 105). As she symbolizes the authority that is in possession of Divine Revelation, and who, according to the doctrines of that Revelation, ought to guide the human race to the highest felicity, Beatrice is really the light of the human race, she who walks before

*sim.* 182), remarks: "Que' due fiumi mostravano d' apparire  
per il dispartimento doverli divider, come sogliono gli affetti  
Concetto affettuosamente geniale

with the light of Revelation, with the lamp of the word of God in her hand, and gives light unto whoever follows it. Jesus Christ said: "I am the light of the World" (*St. John*, viii, 12). So that the person called here *lucc della gente umana* must be either Jesus Christ Himself, or His vicarious representative on earth. Now the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, according to the teaching of the Church to which Dante belonged, was the Pope. Therefore, in this passage, as in others, it is made clear that the Beatrice of the *Divina Commedia* symbolizes supreme ecclesiastical authority, which may further mean the Pope, who represents on Earth Him who is the Light of the World.

Beatrice tells Dante to ask Matelda, who now for the first and only time is spoken of by name, to answer his question.

Per cotal prego detto mi fu:—"Prega  
 Matelda \* che il ti dica;" e qui rispose,  
 Come fa chi di colpa si dislega,† 120  
 La bella Donna:—"Questo, ed altre cose  
 Dette gh son per me; e son sicura  
 Che l'acqua di Letè non ghel nascose."

\* *Matelda*: Scartazzini remarks that not only does Beatrice refer Dante to Matelda to answer his questioning about the water that he sees, but we shall find her also in the *Paradiso*, referring him in the same way to the glorified souls of the great Doctors of the Church, instead of solving his doubts herself. The ecclesiastical authority (Beatrice refers the faithful children of the Church to the Priesthood symbolized by Matelda) and to the learned Fathers of the Church.

† *di colpa si dislega*: Matelda, on being commanded by Beatrice to explain certain matters to Dante, answers that she had already done so. "La colpa è nodo che avvince l'animo; e, come tale, lo slegarsene è più di stogliersene. Vale lo stesso tanto nel senso proprio, quanto nel figurato." (*Venturi, Simil. Dante*, p. 156, nm. 265).

To such entreaty reply was made to me : " Entreat Matelda to tell it thee." And hereupon, like one who clears himself from blame, the beauteous Lady replied (to Beatrice) : " This, as well as other things have been told to him by me ; and I am certain that the water of Lethe has not hidden them from him."

Matelda has not only given him the information he desired (*Purg.* xxviii, 88-144) about the Terrestrial Paradise, but likewise about the wind of that elevated region, and the various conditions of it, and finally had given him *un corollario ancor per grazia*. She felt quite assured that the waters of Lethe had not effaced from Dante's memory the information she had supplied him about the wind and the water, because the only thing that they are capable of effacing is the recollection of past sins ; and as we read in Canto xxx, 142, *et seq.* Lethe cannot be passed until the sins in question have been repented of and atoned for. All the information she had given him would remain in his memory.

Beatrice now tells Matelda that Dante's mind and memory have undergone a great strain, considering the various incidents of his vision, which may well account for his forgetting what he saw and heard when he first entered into the Terrestrial Paradise. She accordingly directs Matelda to lead him to Eunoë.

E Beatrice :—" Forse maggior cura,  
 Che spesse volte la memoria priva,  
 Fatta ha la mente sua negli occhi oscura.  
 Ma vedi Eunoë che là deriva :  
 Menalo ad esso, e come tu sei usa,  
 La tramortita sua virtù ravviva."—

125

And Beatrice : " Perchance some more pressing

care, which oftentimes takes away the memory, has darkened the eyes of his mind. But behold Eunoe which gushes forth yonder; lead him thereto, and, as thou art wont, revive in him again his fainting powers."

Scartazzini fancies that the words *come tu sei usa* allude to former friendship in life between Dante and Matelda, whom he takes to be some Florentine lady, a friend of Beatrice, and Dante's confidant about his love for her, and who is probably mentioned, though not by name, in the *Vita Nuova*. He thinks that, in her lifetime, she must often have restored Dante's *virtù tramortita*.

Matelda hastens to perform Beatrice's behests, with every loving proof of good will.

Com' anima gentil\* che non fa scusa, 130  
 Ma fa sua voglia della voglia altrui,  
 Tosto ch' ell' è per segno fuor dischiusa;  
 Così, poi che ad essa preso fu,  
 La bella Donna mosse, ed a Stazio  
 Donnescamente † disse:—"Vien con lui"— 135

Like unto a kindly soul that makes no excuse, but makes the will of another its own, as soon as that (other will) has been manifested even by a sign; thus, after she had taken hold of me, the beauteous Lady moved on, and with the courtesy of a high-born dame said to Statius: "Come thou with him."

\* "*l' anima gentile* è piena di virtù e così è piena di carità, e però imbastata o richiesta a bisogno altrui, non si scusa, ma adopera quello che sa e può" (Buti)

† *Donnescamente*: The *Gran Dizionario* interprets this "After the manner of a lady *Donna* in the sense of *Domina*, combining a slight tinge of haughtiness with dignified courtesy. Let it be remembered that, in the Italian of Dante's time, *Donna* meant "lady," and the word "woman" was expressed by *femmina*, which latter word is occasionally used by some of the great personages in the world of spirits who converse with Dante, somewhat as a term of contempt.

All through the great vision, and the passage through the Terrestrial Paradise, Statius has borne but a passive and secondary part, and even here Matelda shows a marked difference between Dante, whom she takes by the hand, and Statius, whom she bids follow after. Scartazzini thinks that the Latin poet is only an allegorical personage in this Canto, without much reality. Most of the old Commentators take it for granted that he too drank of the water of Eunoe, and was bathed in it, but Dante does not mention the fact.

Dante now brings the *Cantica* of the *Purgatorio* to a conclusion, relating how he was taken to Eunoe, and how he returned from it regenerate, and fitted to ascend to Paradise.

S' io avessi, lettore, più lungo spazio  
 Da scrivere, io pur canterei in parte \*  
 Lo dolce ber che mai non m' avria sazio ;  
 Ma perche piene son tutte le carte †  
 Ordite a questa *Cantica* seconda, 142  
 Non mi lascia piu il lo fren dell' arte ‡  
 Io ritornar dalla santissim' onda

\* *pur canterei in parte*. The word *pur* in this line and case which of two disputed interpretations is to be preferred, and which Trissino well paraphrases as follows: "S' io avessi piu spazioso luogo da scrivere, io pur canterei per parte e possibile al bisogno e semon nostro ratatti la dicitia dell'acqua d' Eunoe, etc." This interpretation I have adopted by translating in "part at least" *laubard* and a few others, including Casini, interpret, "in disparte," "in un altro canto."

† *tutte le carte ordite*. On the divisions by Dante of his poem, and their symmetrical arrangement, see the *Preliminary Chapter*, p. xxx.

‡ *lo fren dell' arte*. This Casini explains "il codice de numero servato sempre sin qui."

Rifatto sì, come piante \* novelle  
 Rinnovellate † di novella fronda,  
 Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle.‡

145

If, Reader, I had a greater space for writing, I would, in part at least, sing of that sweet draught which never would have satiated me; but inasmuch as all the sheets allotted to this second Canticum are now full, the curb of my art lets me go no further (*i.e.*, I may no longer give the rein to art). From that most holy water I returned (to where Beatrice was awaiting me) renewed as are young trees with new foliage, purified, and made fit to mount up to the stars.

The thirty-three cantos destined for this second *Cantica* have now been completed. In the division of his poem, Dante scrupulously observes the laws of symmetry. Each of the three *Cantiche* has thirty-three Cantos, inasmuch as the first Canto of the *Inferno* must be regarded as the Introduction or Preface to the whole poem. And in fact, in the *Inferno*, the Invocation to the Muses is not in the

\* *come piante*: Compare Pindar, *Nemean Ode* VIII, Antistr. III (Moore's Translation):

"Virtue exalted by the Muse,  
 As the tall pine refresh'd with dews  
 Lifts to the fostering heaven its branching head,  
 Among the just in glory thrives."

† *Rifatto*, and *Rinnovellate*: Compare *1<sup>st</sup> Ep.* iv, 23: "And be ye renewed in the spirit of your minds." And *Hebrews* vi, 6 "to renew them again unto repentance." Compare also *Virg. Æn.* xii, 788-790.

"Olli sublines, armis animisque refecti,  
 Hic gladio lidens, hic acer et audax hasta,  
 Assistent contra certamine Martis anhel."

‡ *stelle*: Dante, after drinking the water of Eunoe, is so renewed and refreshed that he feels himself fit to ascend to Heaven. Compare *St. John* iv, 14: "the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

first Canto, as it is in the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, but in the second.

Each of the three *Cantiche* ends with the word "*stelle*." "Perhaps," says Scartazzini, "Dante does so to indicate to his readers what is the ultimate end of his Poem. The eye of the poet does not ignore its lofty origin and noble purpose and aim. With the word "*stelle*" Dante proclaims: 'I point ought to be directed to Heaven! To Heaven!'"

END OF THE PURGATORIO.



## INDEX.

- A guisa di leon*, i, 211  
*Abate del Collegio*, ii, 409  
Abel and Cain, i, 538  
Abnadh, i, 443  
*Abinthum*, wormwood, ii, 285  
Abstinence, angel of, ii, 334  
Abydos, ii, 464, 465  
*Acidie* (spiritual sloth), ii, 39-98,  
102-106, 104, 115  
*Acto, f. e si fele*, ii, 169, 171  
Achan, ii, 175, 176  
Acheron, the river, i, 75, 76  
Achilles, i, 334, 335; ii, 208  
*Aqua d' Fira*, ii, 640  
*Adamo, quel d'*, i, 327, 328, 407  
*Addormentat. m'*, Dante's sleep  
after the mystic procession, ii,  
604  
*Adhuc pavimento anima mea*,  
ii, 124  
*Adige*, the river, ii, 32  
Adrian V, Pope, i, xxvii; ii, 107;  
his speech, ii, 128, 134, 382  
*Ad' o em t'nti sensu*, ii, 521  
Aeneas, ii, 10  
Africanus, P. C. Scipio, ii, 506,  
507  
Agathon, famous Greek poet, ii,  
251  
Agluros, the nymph, i, 539  
*Agnel di Dio, f.*, ii, 6  
*Agnus Dei*, ii, 3, 6  
*Agobbio, Odesu d'*, i, xxvii: 416,  
424
- Abasuerus, ii, 46  
Alaga, wife of Morocello Maia-  
spina, ii, 137  
Alagna, town of, ii, 168, 171  
Albert of Hapsburg, i, xxvi: 218,  
219  
Alberto della Scala, ii, 100, 101  
Albia, the river Elbe, i, 258, 259  
Alcmæon, i, 445  
Aldighiero Audighieri, Dante's  
great grandfather, i, 403  
Aldobrandeschi, Guglielmo, i,  
411  
Aldobrandeschi, Omberto, i, 392;  
408-414  
Alessandria, city of, i, 272  
*Alphonse*, son of Pedro III, king  
of Aragon, i, 265  
Alps, Dante and the, i, xvi; ii,  
646  
*Ammiragli*, meaning of, i, 499,  
500  
*Ammiraglio*, simile, ii, 533  
*Amer che nell' amto mi ragiona*,  
*Cinzano* of Dante, i, 78  
*Anferi gola d' Inferno*, ii, 193  
*Anastogli*, i, 530  
*Anella testa*, time reference, i, 453  
*Anelle*, handmaidens, ii, 576, 577  
*Anchise*, ii, 104  
Angel, i, xxv: 30, 38, 48, 60, 185,  
371, 542, 551; the Pilot, i, 44;  
48; 59; approach of Angel, i,  
49; his brilliancy, i, 52, 60;



brow, i, 462; the Messenger,  
i, 490; of brotherly Love,  
546-553; of Peace, ii, 38-4  
Dante's purgation by, ii, 11;  
of the Love of God, ii, 11;  
position of, ii, 119; Vic-  
of St. Peter, ii, 198; of th  
Fifth Cornice, ii, 222; pur-  
fies Dante from Gluttony, i  
298; 333-337; of Abstinence  
ii, 334; pointed out by Virgi  
ii, 417-428; of Purity, or, c  
the Terrestrial Paradise, ii, 42  
*Angel benedetto*, i, 554  
*Angel di Dio*, i, 53, 185, 345; ii  
418  
*Angeli, gli*, i, 306; ii, 522, 537  
605  
*Angeli, tuoi*, i, 397  
*Angelico, Fra*, i, 287  
*Angeliche, mani*, ii, 526  
*Angelico carità*, ii, 582-587  
Angels, the seven, of the Cornices,  
i, xxii; 338-353; 451-464; 540-  
553; ii, 48-52; 115-118; 222,  
225; 417-420; many appear-  
ances of, i, xxvii, xxviii, with  
flaming swords and green rai-  
ment, i, 282-284; special duties  
of, i, 284; their defence of the  
flowery valley, i, 306; the holy  
ones and the evil ones, i, 454;  
their names

- mission to the departure  
 and of spirits as of birds,  
 i, ii, 566  
 Augustus Caesar, ii, 506  
 month of, i, 166, 167  
*Umaggio*, iii, 336  
 dawn of day, i, 48  
 i, ii, 604  
 and Editions, list of, i,  
 i, 131, 133, 168, 185, 229,  
 2  
 7, the devil, i, 304  
 the heathen god, ii, 95  
 ii  
 Aljo, town of, i, 532, 533  
 his jurisdiction, i, 22  
 Tales of Purgatory, i,  
 i, 338  
 tender to Dante that he  
 full-grown man, ii, 567.  
*La*, mountainous region  
 inia, ii, 287  
 a, Emperor, ii, 99  
 women of, ii, 289  
 vehicle for travelling, ii,  
 i, the, i, 461 ;  
*Beati pauperes spiritu*,  
 461 ;  
 and, *Beati misericordes*,  
 ;  
 i, *Beati pauperes et sic non  
 fra mala*, ii, 52 ;  
 th, *Qui ugent*, ii, 117 ;  
*Beati qui esuriunt*, ii,  
 15 ;  
 a, *Beati cui alluma, &c.*  
 ;  
 ath, *Beati mundo corde*,  
 ;  
 xv, xxviii ; first men-  
 i, 20 ; name in text, i,
- 206 ; 566 ; ii, 82, 88 ; 295 ; 423,  
 426 ; 535 ; 583 ; 606 ; as theo-  
 logy, ii, 82 ; 104 ; 426, 527,  
 where Dante is to find her, ii,  
 295, 296 ; understanding his  
 thoughts, i, 343, in the Ter-  
 restrial Paradise, i, 436 ; sum-  
 moned to appear, ii, 518, 519 ;  
 first appearance and attire, ii,  
 523-527 ; recognised by Dante,  
 and influence on him, ii, 527,  
 529 ; dignified men, i, 533,  
 537, early acquaintance with  
 Dante, ii, 547-551, as Eccle-  
 siastical Authority, ii, 577, 580,  
 beauty, ii, 575, 586. her death,  
 ii, 588  
 Beatrice of Provence, married to  
 Charles of Anjou, i, 269  
 Beatrice d'Este, i, 298  
 Beatrice, daughter of Charles of  
 Anjou, i, 167  
 Beggars, the blind, in Italy, a  
 simile, i, 484  
 Beacqua, a friend of Dante, i,  
 xxxii, 150-160 ; 428 ; ii, 282  
*Bella, quattro*, the four cardinal  
 virtues, ii, 575, 576  
*Bellina, la seconda*, ii, 584  
*Benedictus qui uenit*, i, 522  
 Beatovento, bridge of, i, 118  
 Benvenuto da Imola, i, viii ;  
 xvi, xvii, i ; lectured in the  
 University of Bologna in a  
 popular form of Latin, i, 30,  
 intimate friend of Boccaccio,  
 i, 451. lecturer and professor  
 at Bologna, i, 563, 564  
 Bernardi di Tesco, i, 528, 529  
*Beati o inghi*, i, 81  
*Bianchi e Neri*, political parties,  
 i, 227, 230, 231, 518 ; ii, 321  
*Bi in. h' bende*, dress of widows in  
 Dante's time, i, 299  
*Biscia*, the serpent, i, 305  
 Bismantova, rocky height of, i,  
 xv, 132, 133  
 Boccaccio, intimate friend of

nonracc	viii, ii, 168-172	Ca
<i>Bonifazio</i> , Archbishop of Ravenna,		Ca
	ii, 306, 307	i
<i>Bordon, di palma cinto</i> ,	ii, 642	Ca
<i>Botoli</i> ,	i, 514	Ca
Briareus, Giant,	i, 439-441	é
Brettinoro, small town,	i, 531	Ca
<i>Brolo</i> ,	ii, 513	ii
Bruges, the city of,	ii, 152, 153	Ca
Brundisium,	i, 91, 92	Ca
Brunetto Latini,	i, 378	o
<i>Bucolici carmi</i> ,	ii, 239	Ca
<i>Buc</i> , the heads of the chariot,		i,
seven in all, with ten horns,		Ca
	ii, 620	51
Buonconte da Montefeltro,	i, 158,	63
	159, 164, 170, 178, 192-196	Ca
<i>Buio d' Inferno</i> , darkness of hell,		xx
	ii, 3	Cast
Butterfly, the Angelic,	i, 388	Cast
		Cato
Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great		mi
grandfather,	i, xxii ; 403	34.
Cain,	i, 536-538, with Abel,	i, 538
		ga
<i>Calboli, casa di</i> ,	i, 525	Case
<i>Calendi</i> , the month,	ii, 8	on
<i>Callaia, la</i> ,	ii, 341	wh
Calliope, the muse,	i, 5, 6	Cava
<i>Cammin santo</i> ,	ii, 181	Cera
Campagnatico, the castle of,	i,	64
	412, 413	Cer
Campaldino, the battle of,	i, 159 ;	47
the plain of,	i, 182, 183	Ca

- three different kinds, i, 475  
 of Anjou, king of Naples  
 Sicily, i, 262-264; 425-430;  
 ii, 162, *et passim*  
 of Valois, surnamed *Sans*  
 ii, 162, 163  
 II of Naples and Apulia,  
 of Charles of Anjou, ii,  
 367  
 i, 1, 19  
 ii, 1, xi  
 i, ii, 450  
 iii, i, xv; ii, 128  
 the keys, i, 349-352  
*la* i, 457, 459; *la santa*,  
 24  
 ii, 409  
 i, 354, 335  
 enclosure of sheep, simile  
 103  
 our Lord, ii, 168, 188, 189,  
 409, 610  
 ans, i, 387, 388; the early,  
 vii, ii, 245-247  
 the late Dean, Introduc-  
 tion, i, xi-xix  
*la*, *Ugo*, Hugh Capet, ii, 153  
*in*, a stork, simile of, ii,  
 345  
 ii, 391, 576, 577, 585  
 the colour, i, 380  
 ue, the painter, i, 414, 419,  
 50  
 Dante applies this term  
 terraces in the Ante Pur-  
 gatory, i, 138; on y instance of  
 word as applied to one of  
 cornices, i, 478; *nel primo*,  
 50  
*cento anni*, time of Sta-  
 penance, ii, 203  
*cento, dieci e cinque*, ii,  
 50  
*anni*, ii, 639  
 i, 513  
 ii, 470, 471  
 or cornices of punishment  
 souls, guilty of the seven  
 sins, seven in number, i, 2; of  
 Hell, i, 354  
 Clement IV, Pope, i, 117-120  
 Clement V, i, xxx  
 Cho, the muse of history, ii, 239,  
 240  
 Clotho, ii, 192, 193  
 Cloud of flowers, signification of,  
 ii, 525, 527  
*Coler*, Pasiphae, ii, 396, 397  
*Colle*, battle of, and fortress, i,  
 494  
 Colonna Sciarra and Nogaret,  
 likened to the thieves crucified  
 with Our Lord, i, 169  
*Color*, *limbo*, symbol of, i, 468, 469  
*Color*, the act of blushing, i, 162  
*Colur*, ii, 633  
 Comparison, the tombs of the  
 buried dead, i, 437  
 Compline hymn, i, xxxii; 273-280  
*Conductrice*, Matelda, ii, 606  
*Contra*, town of, i, 533  
 Conrad ii, i, 161  
 Conrad Malaspina, i, xxvii, 273,  
 294-296, 307-322  
 Contrasts in the Divina Comme-  
 dia, i, 186, 187  
 Count Orso, i, 201, 202  
 Cornices, of Purgatory, the seven,  
 i, xxii, xxiii, 17, 18; the first, i,  
 357; the main, i, 365; the ter-  
 races, i, 366; their various  
 names, i, 366; sins to be pun-  
 ished on them, i, 370; the spirits  
 on the first, i, 391, 403; fourth  
 cornice, no requests for the  
 intercessory prayer of others,  
 ii, 106; all circular, ii, 122  
 Cornici, term for the seven cor-  
 nices, i, 478  
 No. 1, i, 357  
 No. 2, i, 467  
 No. 3, i, 560  
 No. 4, ii, 52  
 No. 5, ii, 118  
 No. 6, ii, 222  
 No. 7, ii, 339

Cranes, simile of, ii, 388	e
Crassus, i, 176, 177	ii
<i>Creationism</i> , theory adopted by	F
Dante, ii, 355	a
<i>Crocifisso</i> , <i>un</i> , ii, 46	ai
Cross of Christ, ii, 600	ii
<i>Cruna</i> , ii, 194	b
<i>Cuna</i> , see the note on the word,	th
ii, 613	ci
Cyrus, King, i, 447, 448	5.
Cytheræa, ii, 433	Dat
	Dat
Daniel, Arnaut, ii, 403-406	Dav
Daniel, the prophet, ii, 260, 261	Da
Dante, his age when writing the	ir
<i>Divina Commedia</i> , i, xxiii,	De
xxiv; his admittance through	Dec
Gate of Purgatory, i, xxii; xxvii;	Dec
time spent in ascending from	De
centre of Hell to the surface	ii
of the Southern Hemisphere,	Dec
twenty-one hours, i, 3; time	Dei
spent in Hell, twenty-five hours,	Dei
i, 3; his use of the word <i>qui</i> , i,	ii
6; he always turns to the right	Dei
in Purgatory, i, 10; his intense	2
reverence for Cato of Utica, i,	Del
12-15; explanation why his	Del
journey was undertaken, i, 20,	Del
22; thirty-five years of his life	Den
a prey to Avarice and Con-	Deo
cupiscence, i, 21; astonishment	Du
of the shades at his being above	Du

- 294, 383, 414, 418, 494, 496, 499, 523; ii, 9, 126, 130, 189, 191, 241, 278, 284, 387, 475; *color di*, ii, 551, 638
- Divino Poeta*, Virgil, i, 287
- Donato*, Douai, ii, 152
- Dolce Duca*, title of Virgil, i, 212; *dolce padre*, i, 137
- Dolce Maria*, the Virgin Mary, ii, 144
- Domitian, Emperor, ii, 245, 246
- Dona'ti, Forese de', i, xxxvii, ii, 263, 327
- Donati, Piccarda de', ii, 297-302
- Donna di Brabant's*, Mary Queen of France, a daughter of the Duke of Brabant, i, 202
- Donna*, title of Beatrice, i, 20; ii, 456, 458, 479, 484, 495, 526, 534, 549, 573, 575, 614, 629; *la bella*, ii, (4), 651
- Donne*, *le*, ii, 593
- Donne, in intelletto d'Amore*, ii, 315
- Donna innamorata*, ii, 481
- Donna, della*, Matelda, ii, 593
- Donna, mente*, ii, 451
- Dottore, la*, book of praise from Dante about Virg., ii, 74
- Dottor, mio*, title of address to Virgil, i, 162, 216
- Drage*, the dragon, ii, 616
- Duca mi* (*de Virg.*), i, 34, 235, 335; i, 5, 52, 97, 141, 187, 249, 254, 372
- Du r'avevo*, ii, 205, 424
- Duc, oche del cielo*, ii, 179
- D. X. V., i, xxxvii, ii, 635, or D. V. X.
- Eagle, the, i, xxii, 330-333, ii, 615, 616, *Romance*, i, 379, 380
- Earthquake, in Purgatory, ii, 179, 194-204
- Easter Sunday, i, xxiv, 316
- Easter Monday, i, xxiv, 329; ii, 89
- Easter Tuesday, i, xxiv, ii, 115
- Easter Wednesday, i, xxiv; ii, 437
- Ebro*, "from the Ebro to the Ganges" ii, 417
- Ebrei*, the Hebrew nation, i, 145; ii, 331
- Ede an' illi Dei*, i, 372
- Eden, the garden of, i, xxiii
- Editions and Authors, list of, i, xlvii, iii
- Edward I (of England), i, 270
- Ebro, river, i, 256, 259
- Elders, the, 24, ii, 500, 501, 515, 518, 519
- Eletti di Dio*, spirits in Purgatory, ii, 124
- Eli, ii, 282
- Elias, ii, 606, 607
- Elsa, the river, ii, 640
- Embryology, theory of, ii, 538-503
- Emeralds, ii, 578, 580
- Empyrean, heaven, ii, 643
- Enéide*, the *Iliad*, ii, 209
- Envy, the vice, or sin of, i, 466-375
- Eno*, Folco King of the Lipari Isles, ii, 451
- Equator, the, i, 145
- Erasm'us, ii, 270, 270
- Ermo*, *l'*, the hermitage of, i, 184, 186
- Erudina*, starway, ii, 413
- Esca*, *la*, the army, ii, 590
- Ester, Alamerus's wife, ii, 46
- Estre*, *Arz*, VIII, Marquis of Este, i, 176, 177
- Etruscans and Poenines, ii, 240
- Etiopa*, i, 383
- Euno*, the river, i, xxiii; ii, 453, 462, 651
- Euphrates, the river, ii, 647, 648
- Euripides, famous Greek, ii, 250, 251
- Europe, i, 312, 314
- Eye, the mother of all living, i, 305, *inno da*, ii, 329, 486; *matre*, ii, 551
- Evangelico*, *nto*, ii, 136, 137
- Ezekiel, ii, 503

- Fabricius, Caius Luscinus, a vir-  
 tuous heathen, ii, 146  
 Fabbro de' Lambertazzi, i, 528  
*Facelle, quelle tre*, i, 302  
 Faenza, city of, i, 528, 533  
 Faggiuola, Uguccione della, i,  
 xxvi, xxvii  
 Faith, Hope, and Charity, i, 239:  
*tre donne*, ii, 507, 508  
*Falca, su' friso*, ii, 94, 95  
 Falcon, flight of the, Dante's pro-  
 gress upwards compared to it,  
 ii, 120-122; *sparsi ter selc' aggio*,  
 i, 486  
 Falterona, the mountain, i, 506-  
 509  
 Fame, its emptiness, i, 423, 424  
*Fanciulla*, Amata, Queen, ii, 47  
 Fancy, the power of, *immagina-  
 triva*, ii, 43  
 Fano, place of Jacopodel Cassero's  
 birth, i, 175, 195  
*Fantolin, U' poian de'*, i, 534  
*Farfalle*, butterfly, type of the  
 soul, i, 388  
*Farinata degli Scormigiani*, i,  
 200-202  
*Farsi avanti*, well known Tuscan  
 idiom, ii, 381  
*Fatta*, ii, 9  
*Fittore*, Creator, ii, 25, 417  
 Federico, i, 266, 267  
 Federico Noveolo, i, 200-202  
 Federico Ignoto, i, 529, 531  
*Fiammelle*, ii, 497  
*Fiamme, sette*, ii, 590  
*Fiera*, the trumpet, ii, 570, 571  
*Fiera, bitum'*, ii, 602  
*Fiera, badioppa*, ii, 581  
 Fieschi, Ottobuono de Pope  
 Adrian V., ii, 127  
*Figli d' Adamo*, ii, 501  
*Figliuol*, i, 302  
*Figliuol*, ii, 265  
*Figliuoli d' Eva*, sons of Eve, i,  
 450, 451  
*Figliuol mio*, i, 137, 568  
*Figliuolo*, ii, 354  
*Filippi*, ii, 153  
*Filippeschi e Monaldi*, i, 220, 221  
*Fioravante*, fleur de lys, ii, 168-171  
 Fire of Flagatory, ii, 421  
 Fishes, Constellation of, ii, 600-  
 602  
*Florentine*, ii, 288  
*Fiorotti del mio*, ii, 605  
*Fittiso*, note on the word, ii, 10  
*Fiume scilicet*, the Arno, i, 190  
*Fiume scilicet*, ii, 554  
*Fiume*, the river Lethe, ii, 571  
 Five hundred, ten and five.  
 xxviii, ii, 634-636  
 Florence, first mention, i, 224-  
 229; *Florentina*, ii, 173, 174  
*Florentinami*, i, 225; its women,  
 ii, 288-290  
 Flowers, crowd of, ii, 522-527, 533  
 Flowery valley, i, 241-202  
*Fozz*, Entrances to Cornices,  
 225, 226  
*Fozz*, ii, 419, 420, 612  
 Foese, de' Donati, ii, 275-283, 307  
 Forza, i, 503, 523; ii, 308  
 Fortitude, ii, 509  
 Fosco, Bernardin di, i, 528, 529  
 Four maidens, ii, 605, 609  
 Four stars, i, xxvii: 16-17  
 Fourth day in Purgatory, ii, 41  
 Fox, the, i, 613, 614  
*Fra Angeleco*, i, 267  
*Francia*, France, i, 155-157  
*mil di pecc'* of France, ii, 262-  
 262; kings of, ii, 124-130  
 Franco Bolognese, i, 417, 418  
*Francia*, 159; i, 159  
*Frato*, i, 155, ii, 15  
 Frederick II, Emperor, i, 287  
 his *De Arte Litteraria*, i, 287  
 Frederick I, Barbarossa, i, 97, 101  
 Free will, ii, 16, 18, 20, 60, 82, 83  
*Freschi mai*, ii, 456  
*Fresco smeraldo*, i, 252  
*Fusa*, ii, 634  
 Fulvetti da Calboli, i, 518-520  
*Fummo*, thick smoke in Purga-  
 tory, i, 577

- il, the Archangel, ii, 372  
 daughter of Gherardo, ii, 37  
 w, *Grailo di*, i, 299, 300 ;  
 Nino Visconti  
 a, the river, i, 47, 48 ; ii, 417  
 Aede, son of a king of Troy,  
 i, 332  
 n of Paradise, ii, 453  
 of Purgatory, i, 335, 354,  
 ; ii, 460, 470  
 the mulberry, ii, 424  
 f, the constellation of, i, 141  
 g, Dante's wife, ii, 271, 287  
 h, i, 3  
 meaning of, i, 100 ; ii, 93 ;  
 its in Purgatory, ii, 123, 386,  
 496 ; *gente venice*, ii, 518 ;  
*perduti*, ii, 550  
 zo, *di Luc.* i, i, xxvi ; ii, 309  
 its, explanation of, ii, 108,  
 ii, 421-423  
 the city of, ii, 153  
 do, ii, 33-35  
 i Tacco, i, 193, 200  
 i, ii, 331, 332  
 e, the giant, ii, 622-634  
 il, the city, i, 260, 261  
 h, mount of, i, 443  
 rgramo, ii, 234  
 painter, i, 414, 420  
 ma, Countess of Gallura,  
 daughter of Nino Visconti, i,  
 298  
 ma da Montefeltro, i, 179.  
 mi, ii, 504  
 i, 223, 507 ; *Uccel di*, ii,  
 de Borneil, ii, 403-406  
 of fishes, i, 30-38  
 rim for the seven Cornices,  
 ; ii, 286  
 cornice, ii, 55, 123, 222  
 Cornice, i, 506 ; ii, 55,  
 terraces of Purgatory, i,
- Giuda*, Judas, ii, 163, 164  
*Giudice*, God, i, 561  
*Giudice*, the judge Nino Visconti,  
 i, 291, 309  
*Giunco schietto*, i, 30, 31  
*Giustizia e pietà*, i, 406  
*Gli occhi spietati*, the hundred  
 eyes of Argus, ii, 603  
*Gloria de Latin*, title of Virgil, i,  
 237, 238  
*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, i, xxiii ;  
 ii, 178, 180, 181  
*Gosti tu scherzava*, i, 554  
 Gomorrah, ii, 306  
*Grato superno*, ii, 440  
*Greci*, the Greeks, ii, 246 ; *ii*, i,  
 334, 335 ; famous Greeks, ii,  
 250, 251  
*Gregorio*, St. Gregory, i, 378-380  
*Grimaldi Maria*, i, 285, 286  
*Grainan alto*, see note, ii, 374  
*Grado tre vesti*, i, 511  
*Grison*, ii, 505, 578, 598 ; *id*, ii, 593,  
 606  
*Grifone*, ii, 518, 580  
 Green, the colour of Hope, i, 283  
*Guascogna*, Gascony, ii, 161, 162  
*Guano* or *Guano de' Fariati*, of  
 Arezzo, i, 196, 200  
 Guglielmo Marchese, i, 271, 272  
*Gualtanna*, Virgil, ii, 119  
*Gualtucci*, see note, ii, 427  
 Guido di Carpigna, i, 527  
 Guido da Castell, ii, 34  
 Guido Cavalcanti, i, 414 ; poet and  
 friend of Dante, i, 421  
 Guido del Duca, i, xxvii ; 503 ;  
 522, 523  
 Guido Guinicelli, poet of Bologna,  
 i, 421 ; ii, 397  
 Guido da Prata, i, 529  
 Gattone, Fra, ii, 316 ; 408  
 Haman, ii, 45, 46  
 Harlot, the, ii, 621-625  
 Hazard, the game of, i, 198  
 Hebrews, the, i, 145, 146 ; ii, 331,  
 332



- Helice, ii, 374, 375  
 Helicon, ii, 489  
 Heliodorus, ii, 176, 177  
 Hell, laws of, i, 17; shape of, ii, 193  
 Hellespont, ii, 463-465  
 Hemisphere, our, the southern, i, xxi, xxvii; 87, the northern, i,  
 Henry VII of Engl  
 xxvi, xxviii; 215  
 Henry III of Engl  
 Henry of Navarre,  
 Heraclitus of Eph  
 Hero, ii, 463-465  
 Hippocrates, ii, 51  
 Holofernes, i, 448  
 Holy Spirit, ii, 488  
 Homer, ii, 248-250  
 Honey and locusts, ii, 262  
 Hope, green the colour of, i, 283  
 Hope, Faith and Charity, i, 239  
 Horace, i, 465  
 Hosannah, ii, 492  
 Hugh Capet "the great," i, xxvii, ii, 144-178  
 Hymn, St. Ambrose's, i, 278; the Angels, ii, 537, 538  
 Hypsypyle, ii, 252, 398  
*Isidore*, i, 111-112, ii, 568  
*Ibica*, ii, 417  
 Ida, mountain, i, 332  
 Iddio, i, 474  
*Il cielo non ha più di colora*, ii, 22  
 Herda, of Spain, i, 46, 97  
 Ithon, i, 447  
*Imperatrice*, Empress Constance, i, 115  
 Indico, ii, 251  
*Inde*, Indan, i, 383, *Indi*, ii, 508  
*In cuncta loca*, *In cuncta*, i, 58, 59  
*Inferno*, the, all gloom and dark, ii, 531-534  
*Inferno*, i, 37, 183, 227, 238, ii, 3, 195, 227  
*Inghiottissi*, see note, ii, 575  
*Inno*, the hymn of the mystic procession, ii, 603  
*In su*, stairway to fifth Cornice, ii, 117, 118  
*Intagli*, the sculptures of Purgatory, i, 369-382  
*Inte, Domine, speravi*, ii, 537  
 Introduction to the poem, i, xxv  
*Isidra*, Envy, i, 478-565  
 Is, ii, 197  
 Ismene, famous Greek woman, ii, 251-252  
 Ismenus, river of Boeonia, ii, 64  
*Italia*, i, 223, 224, 257, 491; ii, 161, 162; *serena*, i, 213, *il dosso*, ii, 538  
 Italy, outburst against the feuds and factions of, i, xxvii  
 Giacomo, King of Aragon, i, 266, 267  
 Jacopo del Cassero, i, 104, ii, 168, 169  
 James, Saint, the Apostle, i, 1, 60  
 Jerusalem, city of, i, xxv, 27, 28, the Green City of David, i, 4, ii, 282, 283, 287, 270  
*Jocasta*, i, 273, 278  
 John the Baptist, *In cuncta*, ii, 212  
 Jordan, ii, 103  
 Joshua, i, 176  
 Jove, ii, 50  
 Jubilee of the late VIII., i, 75, 75  
 Judas Iscariot, ii, 103, 104, 28  
 Judith and Holobernes, i, 47, 448  
 Julius Caesar, i, 4, 115, 118  
 Jupiter, i, 449, 451  
 Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, the five virtues, i, 115  
 Justan, Empress, i, 217, 217  
 Juvenil, ii, 227, 228

- Keys, the two, their description, i, 349-352  
 Klopstock, the German Poet, on Angels, i, 287  
*Là*, the sphere of the Moon, ii, 79  
*Labia mea, Domine*, i, 266  
 Lacerta, St. James, dedication of work to him, i, v; lecturer on Dante, i, vii, xvii, xxi; 307  
*Lacca*, a circle of Hell, i, 249  
 Lachesis, ii, 193, 363  
*Lake*, explanation of, ii, 327  
*La Gente Verace*, ii, 518  
 Landes, instead as *Naudes* in Dante's time in the MSS of Ovid, ii, 636, 637  
 La Mira, a small town, i, 177  
 Lamb Charles, i, x  
 Lambertazzi, Fabbro de', i, 528, 529  
 Landscapes, deal, ii, 447  
 Langra, the river, ii, 252  
*La prima gente*, observe note on Adam and Eve, and the place of their abode, i, ii, 12  
*Lasca*, the constellation of the fish, ii, 600  
 Last word in each of the *Canti*, *he*, ii, 654  
*Latino* applied to Umberto Aldobrandes, hi, i, 410  
 Latini, brinetto, i, 378  
 Latmus, king, ii, 46  
 Latona, ii, 179  
 Lavagna, the river, ii, 129  
 Lavinia, daughter of Amata, wife of King Latinus, ii, 46, 47  
 Law of Purgatory, i, 339  
 Leah, symbol in a dream of the real Matelda, ii, 434-437; and symbol of the active life, ii, 436, 437  
 Leander, ii, 464, 465  
*Legno*, the tree, ii, 598  
*Le membra d'oro*, ii, 596  
 Lentino, Jacopo da, *Il Notajo*, ii, 316, 317  
*Le quattro anelle del giorno*, time reference, ii, 253  
 Letra, near Sperza, i, 97  
 Lethe, the river, i, xxiii; ii, 401, 476, 552, 644; the water of, ii, 649, 650  
*Letter*, address to the reader, i, 280, 339, 383; ii, 40, 503  
 Levi, the sons of, ii, 35, 36  
 Libra, constellation of, ii, 417, 418  
 Libya, sands of, ii, 388  
 Lille, the city, i, 152  
*Limbo*, i, 26, 96; ii, 347; explanation of, i, 239, 240; the throat of Hell, ii, 193; and the first circle of Hell, ii, 193, 252  
 List of political charges in Florence between 1113, 1248 and 1327, i, 250, 331  
*Lo Fanc, God*, ii, 558, 559  
*Lo ciclo vostro movimento intua*, ii, 19  
 Liso of Valbona, Lord of Ravenna, i, 527  
 Limoges, Giraud de Bornel a native of the province of, ii, 408-408  
 Litany of the Saints, ii, 481, 482  
 Living, *Leopoldo*, ii, 502, 503  
 Locusts and honey, ii, 262  
 Lombarda, Marco, i, xxvii  
 Lord's Prayer, i, 375-393, a charm against pride, i, 423; ii, 411  
 Love, i, 59-82  
 Lucca, the town of, i, xxvi; ii, 309  
*Luc. O. O. gente della gente umana*, ii, 648  
 Lucia, representative of Divine Grace, i, 322; the same as the Faglie, i, 329-338; symbol of truth, i, 112, 113  
 Lucifer, i, xvi; alluded to as the morning star, the harbinger of sun-rise, i, 6; Chief Angel, i, 437; his fall, i, 438, 439  
*Luz*, allusion to God, i, 24  
 Luigi, the Louises, ii, 153

- Luke the Evangelist, ii, 188, 189, 509-512  
*Luce, l' alto*, God, i, 489, 490  
*Luna*, the moon, ii, 89, 493  
*Lupa, antica*, the she-wolf of  
 avarice, ii, 142, 143  
*Lustru*, ii, 485  
 Luxury, the vice of, i, 565; ii, 427
- M**, the letter m and the human  
 face, ii, 264, 270  
*Madre, comune*, ii, 412; Beatrice  
 likened to a mother, ii, 537  
*Madonna*, address to Beatrice, ii,  
 631  
*Maestro*, Jesus Christ, ii, 606  
*Maestri, i' gin*, ii, 436  
*Maestro mio*, term of address to  
 Virgil, i, 99, 101, 107, 343, il  
 dolce, i, 373, 485, 435, 463, 556;  
 ii, 7, 55, 75; il buon, ii, 115, 180,  
 215  
 Maglianardo Pagani, i, 533, 534  
*Magra, val de*, i, 311  
 Maguardi, Art 20, i, 527  
*Matechelli*, the Centaurs so styled,  
 ii, 331  
 Malaspina, Conrad, i, xxv i, 307,  
 315, note on him, 316-322  
*Malis, alchi, gran*, Virgil and Sta-  
 tius, ii, 326  
*Mamma*, ii, 209  
 Man in cloth of grey, ii, 157-159  
*Mandrea*, famous simile of the  
 flock of sheep, i, 105  
*Mandrian*, the herdsman, ii, 411  
 Manfred, King of Sicily, i, xxii,  
 xxvii; 83, 105-131, 167, 428, 429  
*Mancuro diti hinc plenis*, ii, 522  
 Manna, i, 399  
 Mantle, Beatrice's green, ii, 527  
 Mantles, livid colour, ii, 481  
 Mantua, i, 91, 212, ii, 92, 93  
*Marcia d' Ancona*, territory of, i,  
 174  
 Marcellus, i, 224  
*Marchese*, ii, 308  
 Marcia, wife of Cato, i, 76  
 Marco Lombardo, i, xxvii; ii, 7, 18  
 Maremma, the, i, 194  
 Margaret of Anjou, i, 268, 269  
 Maria, the Virgin Mary, i, 64, 95,  
 185, 186, 374, 481; ii, 96, 252,  
 627  
 Marim, ii, 270  
 Marseilles, ii, 96, 97  
 Mars, the god, i, 50, 51, 241  
 Martucco of Pisa, i, 201, 202  
*Misnida*, company or band, 181  
 Matelda, i, xxviii, ii, 455-483,  
 605, 607; 642, 642  
*Matre, l' antica*, Eve, ii, 531  
*Melanese*, ii, i, 299, 300  
 Meleager, ii, 144, 147  
*Mensola*, architectural term,  
 390  
*Messagger, le portu olive*, 164  
 Messo, an Angel, i, 353  
*Messo da Dio, un misterioso*  
*discepolo e cinque*, the mysterious  
 leader, ii, 634  
 Metellus, i, 354  
 Michael, St. the Archangel, i, 21  
 Mical, Saul's daughter and Da-  
 vid's wife, i, 377, 380  
 Midas, king of Lydia, ii, 175  
 Midan, ii, 331, 332  
*Migliori di Lunari*, ii, 231  
*Milan, de ente inest*, ii, 90  
 Mioton, on the subject of Arges,  
 ii, 287  
 Minerva, heathen goddess,  
 534, 536  
*Ministri e messa, per*, the Angels  
 on the Triumphal Arch, i, 82  
 Minos, the judge of Hell, ii, 267  
*Misereere*, the, i, 164  
 Mite, ii, 442, 444  
*Modicum et non conturbabit vos*  
 628  
 Moldau, the river, i, 248, 259  
 Mule, the breed, i, 41, 42  
 Monaldi, the family of the, i, 224,  
 221  
 Monferiato, Marquis of, i, 271  
 Monks, their customs, ii, 189

- Monster, the Triumphal Car trans-  
 formed into a, 620-624  
*Montagna della Fata*, i, 614  
 Monte alle Croci, i, 460  
*Monte*, the Mountain of Purgatory,  
 ii, 179, 446, 466, 538-540; the  
 height of, i, 135-138  
 Montecchi, the family of, i, 220,  
 221  
 Monte Corvo, i, 397  
 Montefeltro, Buonconte da, i, xxvii,  
 179-192  
 Montefeltro, Guido da, i, 186  
 Moon, the, i, 325; ii, 89-91; 108,  
 493  
 Moore, Dr. his text adopted i, x;  
*et passim*  
*Montoni*, Zodiacal sign of Aries,  
 i, 314, 315  
 Mordocai the Jew, ii, 46  
 Morning star, i, 455-457  
 Morning Sun, ii, 106, 107  
 Morocco, i, 157  
 Moses at the Transfiguration, ii,  
 606, 607  
*Mostro*, the beast which the chariot  
 was changed into, ii, 622  
*Motor primo*, ii, 359  
*Muro*, i, 141  
 Muses, the nine, ii, 249, 250  
 Mystic Procession, the, i, 484-609  
 Nauades for Latades, ii, 636, 637  
 Naples, the town of, i, 91, 92  
 Aostello, Philip III, King of  
 France, surnamed *le Hardi* and  
*le Camus*, i, 259-262  
*Nazuto*, Charles of Valois, i, 269  
 Nella, la, wife of Forese de'  
 Donati, ii, 285  
*Neque nubent*, ii, 136, 137  
*Neri*, the political party, i, 227,  
 230, 231, 518, ii, 272  
*Neron Caesar*, ii, 635  
 Nicholas, St., ii, 147, 148  
 Night-fall, ii, 53, 54  
 Nile, the river, ii, 318  
 Nimrod, i, 441, 442  
*Ninna Nanna*, lullaby song, ii,  
 290  
 Nino Visconti, Justiciary of Gal-  
 lura, i, xxvii, 233, 273, 288-301  
 Niobe, daughter of Tantalus, i,  
 442  
*Nipote*, Fulcieri, grandson of Rin-  
 ieri, da Calbo, i, 518-520  
 Noli, i, xvi, 132, 133  
 Normandy, ii, 161, 162  
*Nostral vento*, the Tramontana,  
 ii, 568  
 Notary, the, Jacopo da Lentino,  
 ii, 316, 317  
 Novello, Federico, i, 200-202  
 November, i, 228  
*Nuvola di fiori*, ii, 525-527  
*Nuvole d'agosto*, i, 106, 107  
 Nymphs, ii, 482, 483, the four, ii,  
 509; the seven, ii, 609  
*O anima Lombarda*, i, 210, 211  
 Occam, William of, ii, 71  
*Ochi suoi belli, gli*, i, 337  
 October, i, 228  
 Oder si d'Agobbio, i, 414-419; ii,  
 406  
*Ogni fonte*, i, 412  
 Olive, symbol of wisdom, ii, 527,  
 534-536  
 Olympus, ii, 301, 302  
*Ombra*, its signification, i, 309,  
 368, 469, shadow ii, 360  
*Ombra* and *Ombre*, spirits in Pur-  
 gatory, ii, 144, 188, 191, 213,  
 266, 273, 384, 393  
*Ombra gentil*, allusion to Virgil,  
 ii, 92, 93  
*Ombre con manti*, the Spirits of  
 the Envious, on second Cornice,  
 i, 481  
 Omnipotence of God, i, 93  
 Orbetello, i, 500  
 Orestes, i, 477  
 Orsago, village in Venetian terri-  
 tory, i, 177  
*Oriente*, i, 326; turning of the  
 eyes to the East in prayer, i, 277

- Oriental sapphire, i, 241  
*Orlo*, edge of Cornice, ii, 378  
*Orse*, the Great and little Bears, i, 149, 141  
*Orso*, Count, i, 201, 202  
*Osanna*, i, 378, ii, 492  
*O sommo Giove*, O supreme God! i, 223, 224  
*Ospizio, quell'*, the stable at Bethlehem, ii, 145  
*Ostendati*, ii, 499  
*Ottacar*, King of Bohemia, i, 258, 259  
*Octavianus*, Caesar Augustus, i, 234, 235  
 Pax, the seven, i, xxii; 348; Erasure of the first, i, 457; of the second, i, 553; of the third, ii, 48, 50; of the fourth, ii, 117; of the fifth, 222, 224; of the sixth, ii, 333, 336; of the seventh, ii, 376; burnt out in the fire, ii, 427  
 Paves, the ten, ii, 499  
*Padre*, title of Virgil, i, 477, *dolce padre*, i, 551, 573; ii, 55, 75, 206, 343; *terrore*, ii, 74, 75  
*Padre nostro*, our Father, ii, 395  
 Padua, i, 176-177  
 Pagani, the family of, i, 533, 534; Magliarardo, i, 533, 534  
 Palanus, ii, 204  
 Pallas, Minerva, i, 441  
*Pappasanda*, i, 423, 424  
*Paradiso*, the, i, xii, xvi  
 Paradise, allusion to the Angels, i, 30, 31; terrestrial Paradise, i, xii, xxviii, 2, ii, 330; 447-654  
*Parla*, note on, ii, 383  
*Purgatorio*, ii, 24  
*Pargetta*, ii, 565  
 Paris, the city, i, 416  
 Parnassus, the mountain, ii, 250, 478, 479, 585  
 Pasiphae, ii, 386, 387  
 Passages of unsurpassed excellence in *Purgatorio*, i, xxvi  
*Paso*, hours of the night, i, 327  
*Passi, Dicci*, i, 490  
*Passi, tra*, i, 284, ii, 403  
 Pass of Pardon, stairway so called, i, 478, 479  
*Pastor*, allusion to the shepherds at Bethlehem, ii, 180, 181  
*Pastor, di Coenza*, i, 117, ii, 27; *Roman pastore*, Adrian V, Pope, ii, 129; *pastori*, ii, 431, 432  
*Paternostro*, the Lord's Prayer, ii, 409, 410  
 Path through Purgatory, difficult, i, 375, 395  
 Patron saint of Florence, i, 262  
*Pecorelle*, the simile of a flock of sheep, i, 104  
*Petta, edele*, term of addressing Virg., i, 433  
*Pedro naco*, i, 537, 538  
 Pedro III, King of Aragon, i, 262-270  
 Pelorus, i, 512  
*Perdoni*, churches in which indulgences could be obtained, i, 484  
*Peregrin*, wayfarers, ii, 437  
*Perseus*, pulpit, i, 288  
 Perpetua's doctrine of, ii, 24, 25  
*Per la rima*, i, 209  
 Perseus, ii, 249, 280  
*Perseus, una*, Jesus Christ, 477  
 Peter, St., i, 357; *Petrus*, ii, 105, 107  
 Phaeton, i, 143  
*Philippe le bel* of France, i, 170, 260, 262, ii, 151, 170  
 Philomela, i, 45  
 Philosophy, scholastic, i, 71, 72  
 Phlegra, town of, i, 441  
 Pia de Tolomei, i, 158, 172, 173, 196  
*Piani*, term for the Cornices, 478  
*Plant*, the mystic tree, ii, 59, 637  
 Puce, nine daughters of Pietro King of Thessaly, i, 6

- Piccarda de' Donati, ii, 297-302  
*Pisè monti*, roots of the mountain,  
 ii, 194  
 Pierre de la Brosse, i, 202  
*Pier*, Federico III, i, 269  
 Pier Pettinagnò, i, 497, 497  
 Pier Traversato, i, 527  
 Pietola, small village, ii, 92  
 Pigeons, flock of, simile, i, 81, 82  
 Pignatelli, Cardinal Archbishop  
 of Cosenza, i, 117  
*Pignozza*, moth, i, 151  
 Pisa, Ubaldinida da, ii, 306, 307  
*Priato, il nuovo, Pirappo le Bel*,  
 ii, 170, 171  
 Pisa, Fannida da, i, 200-202  
 Pisans, i, 510  
 Pisces, constellation, i, 9  
 Pistratus, i, 569  
 Planets, influence of the, ii, 19-22  
 Plato, i, 76, 95, 98, 128, 129, ii, 4  
 Plautus, ii, 240-250  
*Plautus*, i, 67  
 Plines, i, 45-50, 55, no reason  
 given, revised by Dante, i, 308  
 Po, the river, i, 525, 526, ii, 32  
*Poeta, Virgilio*, i, 54, 157, 167, 382,  
 409, 837, ii, 128, 245  
*Poeta*, i, 285, 288, 479  
 Pollax and Cassar, i, 140, 141  
 Polydorus scelerator, i, 369, 370  
 Polydorus, i, 176, 177  
 Polymnestor, i, 176, 177  
 Polynice, i, 445  
*Pome*, any fruit growing on a tree,  
 ii, 424  
*Pomo un altro*, another fruit-tree,  
 ii, 327  
*Pomo*, the fruit on the apple tree,  
 and the Transfiguration of Jesus  
 Christ, ii, 605-607  
 Ponthed, ii, 161, 162  
 Ponte alle Grazie, Florence, i, 458  
 Pope, the ii, 649  
*Porta serrata*, i, 352  
*Porta*, i, 391  
*Portinus*, angel, i, 343  
 Poslipo, Promontory of, i, 91  
 Post-Purgatory, i, 2  
*Potestate, una*, i, 135, 136  
 Pratomagno, small town on the  
 Arno, i, 189-191  
 Poverty, examples of holy, ii, 144-  
 148  
 Prayer, position in, i, 277, 278; in  
 the fourth Cornice no request  
 for intercessory prayer from  
 others, i, 166; the Lords, i,  
 xxx, i, 392-408  
 Prade, son of, i, 413; ii, 65, chief  
 angel of, i, 437; Cornice of, i,  
 357; vice of, i, 447-451; pun-  
 ished, i, 437  
*Primo uomo*, first subject treated  
 by Dante, i, 1  
*Primo uovo*, i, 459  
*Prime Creature*, angels, ii, 570,  
 571  
*Primizie tante*, ii, 488  
*Primo giro*, the Heaven of the  
 Moon, i, 7, 8  
*Primo Ministro*, the Angel War-  
 der, i, 50, 51  
*Primum Mobile*, i, xxx, ii, 470,  
 471, 645; the highest and most  
 remote sphere of Heaven, i, 8  
 Procession, the mystic, ii, 587-  
 595  
 Progne, i, 390; ii, 44, 45  
*Prode*, note upon, i, 556  
 Prophecy, a mysterious, i, 431  
 Proserpine, ii, 450, 460  
 Praxene, the district of, i, 269  
 Provenzano Salvano, of Siena, i,  
 392, 427, 430, 493  
 Prudence, one of the four cardinal  
 virtues, ii, 509  
 Psalms, the Penitential, i, 164, ii,  
 481  
 Ptolemaic system, the, i, xxx,  
 423, ii, 197, 471  
 Puglia, the district of Apulia, i, 260  
 Purgatory, peculiar ex of, i, xxi,  
 xxii, xxxi, xxxiii, the mountain  
 of, i, xxx, 248, ii, 426, 537; Gate  
 of Purgatory, i, xxii, xxxii; 245

- 323, 335, 338, 340, 341, 352-354. Purgatory, i. 234, 471, 473; description of, i. 242; first day in, i. 316; sculptures in, i. 368, 380; characteristic of, ii. 8, 381; occupation in, ii. 173, 174; might-fall a hindrance to progress in, ii. 428
- Purgatory, divisions of Ante-Purgatory, Purgatory Proper, and Post-Purgatory, i. xxv; 2; mention of name, i. 242
- Purgatory, i. 336-337 (the plan of) i. opp. p. 1
- Purgatorio*, the book, i. xxv; date of composition, i. xxv; time spent in composition, i. xxvi; the most beautiful passages in, i. xxvii, xxviii
- Purification of Dante by the Angel, ii. 346
- Purity, ii. 496
- Pygmalion, ii. 174
- Pyramus and Thisbe, ii. 423, 424, 640
- Quando prove*, i. 612
- Quattro [donne]*, ii. 509
- Quattro in unile parute*, ii. 512
- Quattro stelle*, the four bright stars, 3, 10-12, symbolizing the four cardinal virtues, i. 302, 303
- Quel d' inferno*, the devil, ii. 185
- Quella*, Eve, ii. 594
- Quell' entrata aperta*, the gate of Purgatory, i. 337
- Questo tristone amor*, punished in the first three cornices, ii. 68
- Qui*, i. 94, 95
- Qui lugent*, ii. 117
- Quindi e quindi*, ii. 372
- Ribbia fiorentina*, i. 426
- Rachel, symbol of the contemplative life, ii. 434, 435
- Raggi gli ultimi*, time reference, ii. 53
- Rain, the formation of, i. 187, 188
- Ramier, old French for a pilgrim, i. 204
- Rampina*, derivation of, i. 402
- Raphael's *Stanza*, ii. 176
- Ravenna, Lion face Archbishop, of, ii. 304, 307
- Reg. del sommo*, i. 207
- Reg. eterno*, God, ii. 120
- Reina*, meaning Amata, wife of King Ladislaus, ii. 47; meaning Julius Caesar, i. 395
- Rehoboth, ii. 444, 445
- Reno, the river, i. 525
- Rhaphaean mountains, ii. 380
- Rimorso*, ii. 236
- River of Carbonyl, i. 503, 524, 525
- Ripa*, i. 172, 368, 458, ii. 371
- Riviera*, i. 97
- Romania, i. 174; 502-536. *spinto di*, i. 557
- Romagnoles, i. 502-515
- Romagnole of Bretonoro, i. 603
- Roman dames, ancient, ii. 284-290
- Romano anti. hr.*, ii. 260
- Roman Pasticc*, Adrian V. Pont., ii. 122, 130
- Romano*, ii. 610
- Rome, i. 222, ii. 29, 90, 208, 502, 610, *Antico di Roma*, ii. 34-35
- Rondan. Il. pare. cina*, Canteleto T. Grossi, i. 326, 330
- Rubaconte*, now Ponte alle Grazie, i. 456, 457
- Rudolph of Hapsburg, i. 266, 267
- Rule of the road in Purgatory, i. 134
- Rules of Symmetry, i. xxv
- Ruminar*, to chew the cud, i. 27
- Rush, the Emblem of Heaven, i. 30, 39
- Rushes, ii. 194
- Sacraments of the Roman Church, ii. 488
- St. Albertigo, ii. 11
- St. Ambrose, i. 355, 384, ii. 512
- St. Apollinare in Classe, i. 450

- gustine, ii, 512  
 hard, ii, 512  
 indan, ii, 71  
 incis, i, 30  
 igory, i, 378, ii, 512  
 ime, ii, 512  
 in, ii, 512, 513  
 ce, ii, 510-512  
 il, ii, 510-512  
 phen, i, 570, 571  
 mas Aquinas, i, 287, ii, 72,  
 162, *et passim*  
*i miei*, Virgil and Statius,  
 19  
 ia, the Psalmist, i, 376, 377  
 ha, ii, 627  
 Regina, Compline hymn, i  
 itan woman, ii, 186, 187  
 , men of Siena, i, 412, 493  
 Chiesa, i, 123  
 iora, town in the Siennese  
 ntains, i, 221; counts of, i,  
 10, i, 132, 133  
 of Siena, i, xxvii, 487-501  
 ire, chosen for Bishop's  
 s, i, 8; Oriental, i, xxvii;  
 ira, and Ananias, ii, 176  
 n women, ii, 289  
 ia, ii, 90, 287  
 , the planet, ii, 108  
 King, i, 443  
 ll, ii, 629  
 i, 265  
 s, leprosy, i, 275  
*la*, i, 407, stairway to  
 nd Cornice, i, 467, Ascent  
 uth Cornice, ii, 52, sixth  
 way, ii, 222, Ascent of the  
 stairway, ii, 416, 440  
 the stairways on San  
 ato, i, 458-460  
*a, la, dei tre gradi*, ii, 197  
 w, steps of stairway, i, 429  
*in sant*, steps of second  
 way, i, 462  
 Scales or Balances, the zodiacal  
 sign of, i, 40-48  
*Scemo della luna*, time reference,  
 i, 364, 365  
*Schiavi, venti*, Slavonian winds,  
 ii, 538  
*Schiera, la*, the troop of spirits,  
 i, 131  
 Scholastic disputation, ii, 81  
 Scholastic philosophy, ii, 71, 72  
 Sciarra, and Colonna, ii, 169  
*Scias quod ego fui successor Petri*,  
 ii, 128  
*Scientia Scientiarum*, ii, 82  
 Scipio Africanus, ii, 506  
*Sirocco*, the, ii, 451, 452  
 Scorpion, the zodiacal sign, i, 325-  
 327; ii, 340  
*Scorta mia*, ii, 3  
*Scorte, conductors*, ii, 421  
*Scotto*, explanation of, ii, 552  
 Scotists, ii, 72  
 Scotus Erigina, ii, 71  
 Sculptures in first Cornice, i,  
 xxvii, 435-451  
*Scuola*, a company, ii, 606, 643  
 Seyros, the town of, i, 334, 335  
*Sechione*, explanation of the word,  
 ii, 89  
*Se in se rigira*, ii, 360  
*Selva antica*, ii, 453  
*Semenza*, ii, 474  
 Sennacherib, i, 446  
*Sequestra*, meaning of, ii, 371,  
 372  
 Sermoneta, Duke of, i, viii  
 Serpent, the, i, xxvii; 273, 274,  
 286, 301-307; ii, 632  
 Sestos and Abydos, ii, 464, 465  
 Sestri, i, xv  
*Sette arbore d'oro*, the seven can-  
 dlesticks, ii, 490  
*Sette d'uno*, ii, 646, 647  
*Sette liste*, ii, 498  
*Settentrion del primo cielo*, ii, 518  
*Sette, questi*, explanation of, ii,  
 509-515, 629  
 Seven, the sacred number, ii, 4-7



- Seven choirs, i, 375  
 Seven Cornices, i, xxii, 18; ii, 536  
 Seven heads, ii, 624  
 Seven maidens, ii, 507  
 Seven P's, ii, 376, 532, see also P's  
 Seven Stars, i, 303, 304; ii, 432  
 Seven vices, Virgil's discourse,  
 ii, 58-88  
 Sheep, famous simile of, i, 104,  
 105  
 Shinar, the plain of, i, 441, 442  
 Shooting stars, i, 166, 167  
 Sichelgas, King of Tyre, ii, 174, 175  
 Sicily, i, 116  
 Siena, the city of, i, 194, 195, 426-  
 430  
 Sieneze, the, i, 412  
 Siesta, ii, 128  
*Sigillum Peccatoris*, ii, 240  
 Sign language, ii, 124-126, 210-  
 214  
 Sign of the Holy Cross, i, 59, 60  
*Signor*, term of address to Virgil,  
 i, 247; *il mio*, i, 336, 337; *mio*,  
 ii, 125; *caro*, i, 402  
*Signor*, the Lord God, ii, 204  
*Similes*. Dante's Genius and a  
 little boat, i, 3; Sapphire, the  
 colour of, i, 7, 8; a messenger  
 with olive branch, i, 64-66; the  
 flock of pigeons, i, 81, 82; the  
 flock of sheep, i, 104, 105; nar-  
 row gap in hedge, i, 131, 132;  
 the spirits to shooting stars, i,  
 166, 167, *Nive sen. i nov. chire*,  
 i, 214; Italy and a horse, i,  
 216-217; Florence and a sick  
 woman, i, 229; the Gaulian  
 Angels of the Flowery Valley  
 and Falcons, i, 306, 307; Dante  
 and Ganymede, i, 330-332;  
 people chanting to organ at  
 companionment, i, 355, 356; oxen  
 moving yoked together, i, 433,  
 434; spirits of the Envious  
 and the blind beggars, i, 483, 485;  
 spirits on the 2nd Cornice and  
 young falcons, i, 486; the black-  
 bird crying for fine weather, i,  
 491, 495; the people of the  
 Casentino to swine, i, 513, 514;  
 those of Arezzo to curs, i, 514,  
 515; the Pisans to foxes, i,  
 516, 517; the Florentines to  
 wolves, i, 515, 516; the Heaven  
 of the sun and a restless child,  
 i, 546; anger and pungent  
 smoke, ii, 3, 4; the steady rest  
 of a ship, ii, 54, 55; *spina*, ii,  
 140; the shepherds at battle  
 hem, ii, 181; a man allowing his  
 companions to pass on, ii, 300,  
 321; one urged on by the goad of  
 necessity, ii, 341; Dante and  
 person entering an assembly,  
 ii, 309; the Angel of Absen-  
 nen e, ii, 334-336; blind man,  
 ii, 336; the young stock, ii,  
 343; two troops of ants, ii,  
 385; flight of felines, ii, 387;  
 the mountaineer stopped on  
 entering a city, ii, 390;  
 the goat quiescent while sum-  
 mering, ii, 431, 432; the newly wed-  
 brides, ii, 495; the rising  
 sun, ii, 523-525; a man spec-  
 tating his fleets and crews,  
 ii, 533-535; Dante's outburst of  
 grief compared to a vessel  
 breaking at too great a tempo,  
 ii, 557; Dante as silent  
 with shame, i, 567; the  
 trice's eyes like emerald, i,  
 578, 580; the army and a troop  
 of soldiers, ii, 591, 592; the  
 dragon and a wasp, ii, 616-617;  
 the re-covering of the chariot  
 with plumage as fertile soil  
 with grass, ii, 619  
*Simonides*, ii, 251  
*Son*, i, 143  
*Sire, del gusto*, ii, 153  
*Sire, Falto*, God, i, 571  
*Siren*, the, ii, 112; Sirens, i, 462  
*Siro, hui*, i, 151; ii, 192, 193  
*Situnt*, ii, 223

- red and sixty-six, the sym-  
 bole of the number, i, 635  
 Valley, ii, 56  
 148, 158, 565; ii, 73, 115;  
 al Sloth or Accidie  
 l in Fourth Cornice in  
 ory, ii, 39-116  
 ii, 395; Sodom and  
 rah, ii, 386, 387  
 7 Spheres of Heaven, i,  
 3, meaning the Almighty,  
*Uin del*, i, 452-454  
 i, 47, 48, 61, 62, 107, 130,  
 7, 470, 471, 485, 486, ii,  
 90, 210, 240, 292, 339,  
 3, 418, 428, 429, 441, 455,  
 99, 506, 580, 590, 601,  
*ult*, ii, 29, 31  
 Song of, i, 518  
 "The Bow," i, 443  
 Dante's dreams, i, 329-  
 432-437  
 i, ii, 118-120  
 poet and troubadour, i,  
 5; 286; 304, 305, 336-338  
*fronda*, the fruits and  
 f the mystic tree, ii, 606,  
 ii, 363-370  
 the great, i, xxvii; 241;  
 live, sensitive, intellec-  
 128, 129  
 Cross, the four bright  
 of the, i, xxvii; 10-12  
*uda*, i, 341  
 Edmund, i, xi  
 he, ii, 636, 637  
 f Atachne, i, 443, 444  
*irino*, i, 51  
*anto*, ii, 173  
 the First Cornice, i, 391,  
 foundation in the flowery  
 i, 310, 311  
 373  
 address to a spirit, ii, 126  
 aning of, ii, 573, 574  
*Spndt*, meaning of, ii, 533  
*Squills*, the *Angelus*, or *Ave*  
*Maria*, i, 275  
*Star-and-ill-ombra* (*stare* does not  
 mean "to stand"; i, 148, 149  
 Stars into Purgatory, i, 103  
 Stairways, i, 455; 460; 553-557;  
 ii, 52, 53, 116-118, 222, 330;  
 they mount straight up, ii, 122;  
 Monte alle Croci at Florence, i,  
 460  
 Stars, four in number, i, xxvii;  
 10-12, seven, i, 303, 304; ii, 432;  
 morning star, i, 455-457; shoot-  
 ing stars, i, 166, 167  
 Status, i, xxvii, xxviii; ii, 185-  
 257, 330, 346, 370, 593, 651, 652  
*Stella*, *Laurus*, ii, 601, 602  
*Stille*, last word in all three *Can-*  
*tate*, ii, 654  
*Stilo*, i, 302, 303  
 Steps, the three, i, 340, 341, ii,  
 197, 198  
 Storks, the young, ii, 343  
*Su*, the first Cornice of Purgatory,  
 ii, 365, 366  
 Succession of France during two  
 centuries and a half, ii, 153-156  
*Summa Deus lementiae*, ii, 373  
*Summa Theologiae*, by St. Thomas  
 Aquinas, ii, 72, *et passim*  
 Sun, the position of, at time of  
 Dante's supposed vision, i, 314,  
 315  
 Sunrise in Purgatory, i, 6-12; ac-  
 counts of, i, xxvii; 41  
 Suns, the two lights of Christen-  
 dom, ii, 29-31  
*Duo pinto falsa*, meaning of, ii, 94  
*Suora*, ii, 294  
*Suso*, stairway to third Cornice,  
 i, 556, passage upwards, ii, 122  
*Sustanzie pie*, the angels, ii, 541,  
 542  
 Swallows, the, i, 329-331  
 Swords of the Angels described,  
 i, 282, 283; of justice, ii, 562  
 Symmetry, rules of, i, xxv

- Table of Dates, from Scartazzini,  
i, 230, 231
- Talamone, fortress of, i, 499, 500
- Talpe, a mole, ii, 41
- Tan in *ovels* i *ostre cortes deman*,  
ii, 411, 415
- Tarpeian rock, i, 354
- Taumante, *figlia di*, i, 197
- Taurus, ii, 340, 601, 602
- Te Deum laudamus*, i, 355
- Tedder, H. R., i, viii
- Te lucis ante*, hymn of S. Am-  
brose, i, 278, 279
- Temo, explanation of, ii, 599, 600
- Terence, Latin poet and drama-  
tist, ii, 248, 250
- Terra, ii, 507
- Terre, the meaning of the word,  
i, 223
- Terrestrial Paradise described in  
Post Purgatory, i, 2
- Text, Dr Moore's, adopted in this  
work, i, v
- Thebes, the city of, ii, 208; the  
rivers, ii, 246, 247; the The-  
bans, ii, 94, 95
- Themus, ii, 636, 637
- Theodosius, Emperor, i, 384
- Theology, science of, ii, 527, 564,  
576, 577; 580; exemplified by  
Beatrice, ii, 426
- Thetis, the mother of Achilles,  
ii, 252
- Thisbe and Pyramus, ii, 424
- Thomas Aquinas S.L., i, 287; ii,  
72, 161, 162, *et passim*
- Thomas, the, ii, 72
- Three Theological Virtues, ii, 523;  
576; 582; 589
- Thymbreus Apollo, i, 441, 442
- Tiber, the river, i, xxiii, 59, 75
- Tignoso, Federico, i, 529
- Tigris, the river, ii, 647
- Time, indications and references  
to in *Purgatorio*, about thirty  
in number, i, xxiv; 9; 34, 36;  
46, 48; 60-62; 88, 89; 106, 107;  
130; 143; 156, 157; 207, 208;
- 242, 244; 274, 276; 282, 284,  
325, 328; 364, 365; 453, 474;  
543-546; 577, 578; i, 4-62,  
53, 88-92, 108, 253, 254, 342,  
344; 379, 381; 417, 418, 422,  
437; 432, 438; 441, 443, 447,  
448; 645, 647
- Tiresias, ii, 252
- Titone antico*, Tithonus, i, 225,  
328; 543, 551; ii, *Somno*, 108,  
340, 341; 379-381; 397, 417,  
418; 524, 525, 645, 647
- Titus, Emperor, ii, 207, 230
- Tolome, *Pia de*, i, xxvii, 152,  
193, 195
- Tolosano*, ii, 208
- Tornate*, *gr.*, i, 182
- Tortura*, first turning place, i, 207
- Tosca*, Guglielmo Aldobrandesco,  
i, 410, 411; 529, 531; 538, 557,  
ii, 37
- Tours, the city, i, 304, 305
- Trabuc, an *ara*, *il cory*, i, 4, 55
- Trasan, Emperor, i, xxvii, 372, 38
- Trimontana*, the north wind, i,  
568
- Tricorsana, la casa*, i, 530; *Pie*  
*Traversani*, i, 527
- Tre donne*, the three theology-  
virtues, ii, 507
- Tre fiate*, penance, i, 347
- Tre gradi*, the three steps, i, 347,  
347
- Tre occhi*, ii, 509
- Tre Pisci*, allegorical meaning,  
289, 290; ii, 46, 5
- Trees in Purgatory, ii, 247, 266,  
279, 281; 483, the second tree,  
i, 298, 327, 331; the tree of  
Knowledge, ii, 281; 595, 600;  
the tree of Life, ii, 281; the  
renovated tree, ii, 600-602; 637,  
641
- Troy, i, 335, 449
- Troja, Carlo, the historian, i, 307;  
his *Veltro di Dante*, ii, 311
- Turbia, i, xxv; 97
- Turkish Proverb, ii, 22

- Turnus, ii, 46  
 Tuscan, a great, Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi, i, 411  
 Tuscany, i, 426, 499, 500, 506, 508  
 Ubaldin dalla Pila, ii, 306  
*Uviel, di Dio, l.*, angel porter, i, 155; *divino*, i, 57; *di Giose*, ii, 612  
 Ugolin d' Azzo, i, 529  
 Ugolin de' Fantolin, i, 534  
 Uguccione della Faggiuola, i, xvi and xvii; ii, 310, 321, 322  
 Ulysses, ii, 112  
 Urania, the muse of Astronomy, ii, 489  
*Usio dei morti*, gateway of Hell, ii, 550, 551  
 Utica, town of, i, 25, 26  
 Val di Magra, i, 311  
 Valley of the Arno, i, 510, 513; ii, 646, 647  
 Valley, the flowery, i, xxvii; 232, 241-335  
 Valley of the Shadow of Death, ii, 323  
*Vapori acesi*, falling stars, see note, i, 166, 167  
 Varro, Greek writer, ii, 248-250  
*Veechi due*, ii, 510, 511  
*Vedovella mia*, ii, 287  
*Vegho onesto*, allusion to Cato, i, 79; *veglio solo*, ii, 512  
*Veltro*, same as the DXV, i, xxviii; ii, 635, 636  
*Vendetta*, anger, ii, 2  
*Veni, sponsa, de Libano*, ii, 519  
*Venite benedicti patris mei*, ii, 427  
*Ventiquattro senori*, ii, 501  
 Venus, the goddess, ii, 374, 375; as the planet, a morning star at times, and then called Lucifer, the brightest of all stars, i, 8, 9; and when an evening star is called Hesperus, i, 9  
*Vera estule*, ii, 26  
 Verde, the river, i, 118  
*Vernaccia*, a white wine, ii, 304, 305  
 Veronese, Abbot of Zeno, ii, 98, 99  
*Vespa*, the wasp, meaning the dragon, ii, 616, 617  
*Vespero*, the vesper hour, i, 90; 577  
*Vestimento*, raiment of the angel, i, 349  
 Vicar of St. Peter, ii, 198  
 Vicario suo, Boniface VIII, ii, 168, 171  
 Vices, the, Pride, i, 357-464. Envy, i, 466-565; Anger, i, 566, to i, 48; *Acedia* (spiritual sloth), ii, 54-117; Avarice, ii, 122-238; Gluttony, ii, 253-337; Sensuality, ii, 370-425  
*Vico*, meaning of, ii, 249  
 Vine, friend of Provenzano Salvani, i, 425-430  
*Vinum non habent*, i, 476  
*Vipera, la*, badge of the Visconti family, i, 299, 300  
 Virgil, i, *et seq.* mentioned in text, i, 62, 63, 103, 212, 235, 294, 374, 488; ii, 113, 189, 210, 211, 217, 226, 295, 330, 421, 439, 440, 494, 530, 531; his titles, *duca mio*, i, 19, 34, 51, 131, 302, 347, 364; *Maestro*, i, 37, 53, 135, 144, 161, 165; *fuli compagno*, i, 84; *conterlo*, i, 90-92; *Dolce signor mio*, i, 151; *O Luna mia*, i, 204; *Poeta*, ii, i, 140, 156; *Signora*, 207; *Gloria de Latin*, i, 237; *dolce Padre mio*, i, 573; ii, 343; 425; *dottore*, *Falto*, ii, 74; *serio duca*, ii, 424; derivation of his name according to Benvenuto, i, 235; his smiles, i, 464, 465; his disappearance, ii, 531  
 Virgin Mary, the, i, 371, 475, 567, 568; ii, 96, 97, 173, 258, 259, 391  
 Virtues, the nine, four Cardinal and three theological, ii, 582

- Virum non cognosco*, ii, 374  
 Visconti, Nino, Justiciary of Gal-  
 lura, i, xxvii, 233, 273, 288-301  
*Vita nuova*, construction of, i, xxv  
*Vivagni*, margins, ii, 332  
*Voi or tu*, the uses of, ii, 401  
 Voices, the first, i, 460, 461;   
 on the second Cor., ii, 476, 477; 537; ii,   
*voce rivestita*, ii,   
 258; voices of Au-  
 di, ii, 49, 50; voice L.  
 ii, 616  
*Volpe*, a fox, ii, 614  
*Volpi*, the Pisans, i,  
*Vostro viso, il*, fi  
 Dante speaks to  
 note, ii, 560, 561  
 Vulcan, golden necklac-  
 ket, i, 445  
 Wain, the constellation of the  
 Great Bear, i, 16  
 Warder, the Angel, of the Gate of  
 Purgatory, i, 323, 338, 353  
 Wenceslaus II, the Pious, i, 258,  
 259  
 William of Occam, ii, 71  
 Wisdom, typified by a lady, ii,  
 112  
 Wolf, the, ii, 142-144  
 Wolves, the Florentines likened  
 to, ii, 515, 516  
 Wolf, the, green and red, symbolical,  
 ii, 527; the colours of Dante's  
 attire, ii, 523, 524  
 Wolves, ii, 464, 465  
 Wolf, the, ii, 1300, i, xxiii-xxv; ii, 312, 325  
 Wolf, the, ii, 1308, ii, 325  
 Wolf, the, ii, 1318-19, the *Purgatorio*  
 written in the, ii, xxv, xxvi  
 Zanni, Bertaldo, i, 425  
*Zara*, the game of hazard, i, 197,  
 198  
 Zeno, Abbot of St., ii, 98-101  
 Zion, i, 143  
 Zodiac, the signs of, i, 140, 141



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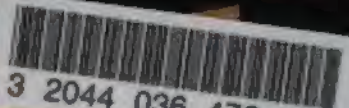






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